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[PART I

THE RELIGION OF THE MOHENJO DARO PEOPLE ACCORDING TO THE INSCRIPTIONS

INTRODUCTION

Sir John Marshall in his work on *Mohenjo Daro and the Indus Civilisation* devotes one full chapter to the Religion of that early nation which he describes after interpreting some images, seals, carvings and signs discovered in the cities of Mohenjo Daro and Harappa. Nevertheless, he could not have any certainty about his statements. Everything was guess work, for no written document was deciphered as yet, which would reveal the religious beliefs of those ancient people.

Now after having deciphered above one thousand and eight hundred inscriptions of those discovered at Mohenjo Daro, Harappa and other sites in Sind and even in Mesopotamia, we are able to outline the main tenets of their faith with great certainty and sometimes with a richness of details which could never be expected from those short epigraphs.


To communicate this to the scholarly world, anxious to know the contents of these inscriptions, is the purpose of this paper.¹

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1. In an article on *Light on the Mohenjo Daro Riddle*, contributed to the *New Review*, July, 1936, pp. 1-16, I advanced some interesting points in connection with the decipherment of these inscriptions, a work in which I am engaged since September, 1935. It is not my purpose to disclose the philological basis of my decipherment at present. This will be done at length in my work on *The Proto-Indian Script and Civilisation*, which I hope to publish shortly.


I

THE SUPREME BEING

In the course of my decipherment I found several inscriptions



with the sign  which is evidently a man. According-

ingly it was read *āḷ* which is the word for man in Dravidian languages. Yet as the work was going on a few inscriptions were found in which *āḷ*, "man", was apparently not the proper value of that sign. This disappointment led me to examine the corresponding signs more carefully and minutely, and this study revealed to me a slight but clear difference between two kinds of signs, which were all valued *āḷ* in my first attempt. This difference consists in the fact that while one sign has the arms and legs boldly separated from the trunk as if the person were


in an exultant mood, thus ; the other sign has its limbs falling limply along the body, giving the impression of a lifeless


body, thus: . If the former is compared with the roocco

sculptures of the 18th century, the latter may be compared with the Gothic statues of the 12th and 13th centuries. Then carefully revising the contents of the inscriptions themselves, I finally came

to the conclusion that  means "man", while  stands

for a being superior to man, *vis.*, god. But since in these inscriptions

there is already a sign for god, *vis.*  *kaḍavuḷ* (with four arms) which seems to be a generic name, it follows that our

sign  must signify the supreme god. What would be the

proper phonetic value of this sign then? That was a difficult

point, for the Dravidians at present do not seem to remember any ancient name given to the supreme God.

First of all, it is to be noticed that among the signs of the Mohenjo Daro script there are families of signs, within which families, as all the signs have a similar appearance, so also their phonetic value varies very little by the introduction or suppression or change of one consonant or vowel sound.¹ Now these

two signs  , being so similar as to be easily

confused as explained above, must belong to the same family and therefore one reading *ā*, the other must also read in a similar way.

This being presupposed I studied the main characteristics or attributes of this supreme God according to the inscriptions in order to find a word which would be both full of meaning and descriptive. From a number of inscriptions in which this sign was found I picked up two, one of which apparently gives the essential description of God, while the other shows his position in relation with the other beings of the Universe. The former was the following :



This inscription reads as follows: *Iruvan-ādu kom mīnanir*, i.e. "the horn playing Minas of one who exists".² Now since the horn players in religious festivals are, even today, servants of the temple, "one who exists" must be an idea that is only referable to God. *Iruvan* must have been a name of God and indeed God is the only being who really exists, for as the metaphysicians explain he exists by himself, while all the other beings exist by another who is God, viz., they have not in themselves the reason of their existence.³

1. Cf. Heras, *Light on the Mohenjo Daro Riddle*, op. cit., p. 13.

2. Marshall, M. D., No. 90.

3. Thus when Moses asked God, after the latter had sent him to Egypt to save his brethren: "If they should say to me: what is his name? What shall I say to them?", God replied to him: "You will tell them: I am who am." (Exod., III, 13-14). Even the phrase *ist-ism-asī* of the *Chandogya Upanishad*, which is now interpreted in a pantheistic sense, had apparently no other meaning in the beginning than the meaning of our inscription, that reveals the high idea of God that the people of Mohenjo Daro had. Cf. Johanna, *The Light of the East*, 1923, February, p. 3.

The other inscription referred to above is as follows :



which reads thus: *Kōil ella kaḡavuḡ-adu* ... (the dots at the end of the inscription mark the word corresponding to the sign which we are now studying), i. e. "The supreme God of all the Gods of the temple".¹ This epigraph shows that in reality this sign refers to a Being which is superior to all the other gods and consequently above the whole Universe.

The name, therefore, of this Supreme God must be one revealing these two ideas: *superiority and self-subsistence*. In all the Dravidian dictionaries there is only one word that would embody them, and this word is *āp*, which might be properly translated "Supreme Being". This word, besides, complies with the other requirements spoken of above, *viz.*, to be similar to *āḡ*; and at the same time *an* being the male termination of nouns, suggests the male shape which is given to God in the images and in the inscriptions.²

Now the Supreme Being above everything is the Lord of the whole Universe, and, therefore, everything may be referred to him with a relation of possession. Thus the inscriptions tell us:

1. "The Supreme Being of all the gods of the fields that makes peace."³
2. "The Supreme Being of the successful dark growing moon".⁴
3. "The Supreme Being of the rain clouds of the Fish".⁵
4. "The Supreme Being of the clouds of man".⁶
5. "The Supreme Being of the Minas".⁷
6. "The Supreme Being of the Minas who have the sun on high".⁸

1. Photo, M. D., 1928-29, No. 4741.

2. The present writer is of opinion that these Proto-Indian people, migrating westwards in a later period, settled in Southern Mesopotamia and became the Sumerians, a contention which will be proved at length in the work mentioned above. Now the Supreme God of the Sumerians in the pre-historic times is *Aḡa*.

3. Marshall, M. D., No. 72.

4. Photo, M. D., 1928-29, No. 4671.

5. Marshall, M. D., No. 295.

6. *Ibid.*, M. D., Pl. CXVI, No. 7.

7. *Ibid.*, H., No. 234.

8. *Ibid.*, M. D. No. 109. It appears that the Minas—in Samakṣya literature called *Matayyas*—formed the main bulk of the people of Mohenjo Daro city.

II

THE ATTRIBUTES OF THE SUPREME BEING

The attributes of the Supreme Being, which will communicate to us a clearer understanding of its essence, may be divided into two groups :

A. QUIESCENT ATTRIBUTES

1. *Life* : God being the only self-subsistent is the source of life and activity. Thus in an inscription he is called : "The Supreme Being of Life".¹ The word *vāḥ*, may mean life and happiness, perhaps because originally life and happiness were synonymous, which is still true in the case of God.

2. *Oneness* : He does not communicate his superiority to any one. He is the only One. Thus an inscription runs as follows : *Ōruva tirpu tirpu irkra Mīn napdīl uḷavan*, i.e. "Mīn, the farmer of the Crab, about whom *the one* has decreed."² As we shall see later "the farmer of the Crab" is a royal title. Therefore no other but the Supreme Being, *the one*, could decree anything about him.

3. *Greatness* : This attribute means that in God there is no limit. Thus we read in an inscription : "Of the very great one".³

B. OPERATIVE ATTRIBUTES

4. *Omniscience* : Two inscriptions speak of the God of the city of Nālūr under the name of *Vīḍukan*.⁴ Now this name properly means "open eye" and refers to a person who has always the eyes open, who sees and knows everything. This very ancient idea agrees with the modern common belief of Hinduism that the gods have no eye-lids. Thus unable to close their eyes, they see everything.⁵

5. *Benevolence* : According to this attribute, the Supreme Being helps men in their needs. A very important inscription

1. Marshall, M. D., No. 347.

2. *Ibid.*, M. D., No. 190.

3. *Ibid.*, H., No. 21.

4. *Ibid.*, H. No. 329 ; H., No. 329.5

5. Though these two inscriptions refer to the individual god of one place, Nālūr, the nature of the name itself shows that it reveals an attribute of the Supreme Being.

reveals to us the belief the Mohenjo Daro people had regarding this point. The inscription runs thus:



Which reads: *udavu ir Min-adu Ān*, i.e. "the Supreme Being of Mina being help."¹ The figure carved on the seal that bears this inscription enhances the value of this epigraph. It represents the skin of a unicorn spread in four directions. Now the unicorn is the *totem* of one of the ancient tribes; it is the most common *totem* among the *totems* shown on the Mohenjo Daro inscriptions. Yet skinning this animal supposes its being killed and the representation of its skin as a trophy discloses the fact that the tribe whose *totem* it was, was defeated by Mina, but the latter in the inscription attributes the victory to *Ān*.

6. *Power of Destruction and Generation*: Another seal, that has been very often reproduced, represents a nude, three faced god, seated in a sort of a *yōga* pose wearing a trident-like headgear. Round this figure several animals are placed. It has been said that this is a figure of Paśupati.² The carver of this seal had not the intention of carving the representation of Śiva as Paśupati. He wanted to represent the Supreme Being surrounded by the *totems* of the different tribes that inhabited Mohenjo Daro.³ The inscription which appears on the upper portion of the seal refers to two very characteristic functions of the same Supreme Being:



This epigraph reads as follows: *Ān naṇḍ valkei kuḍa mīnadu* That means: "The Supreme Being enfeebling and strengthening is of the (months of the) Jar and the Fish."⁴ These months were the two months of autumn⁵, during which the whole of nature seems to weaken and die: leaves fall from the trees, mountains and fields disappear under a coat of snow, cold stiffens the limbs of

1. Photo, M. D., 1928-29, No. 7597.

2. Mackay, *The Indus Civilization*, p. 70.

3. We readily admit that perhaps this and similar representations gave rise to the idea of the Paśupati.

4. Marshall, M. D., No. 381.

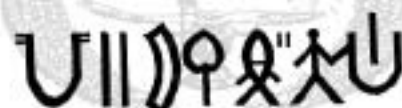
5. The Proto-Indians, as the Mohenjo Daro inscriptions reveal, had eight constellations in their Zodiac. Each month was of 45 days.

the body. But how useful is this for restoring strength and health to both vegetables and animals. From that sort of lethargic sleep nature rises again more vigorous than ever. This enfeebling and strengthening was directly attributed by the Proto-Indians to the Supreme Being. He is elsewhere often called "the God of the chariot and of the cultivated fields,"¹ two symbols of destruction and fertility, which finally reveal Āp as the fore-runner of the modern Śiva.

III

HIS FORMS

Āp is supposed to be the highest God, the god of heaven, in fact he is, as we shall see later on, identified with the Sun. Now the sun in the course of the year travels through the constellations of the Zodiac, which were called houses. Accordingly each month the sun being in a different house was supposed to take a different form, and since the constellations of the Proto-Indians, as said above, were, only eight, the forms of the Sun, i.e. the Supreme Being, were eight. One of the inscriptions keeps a record of this number in a sort of a riddle-like mathematical equation:



The inscription reads as follows: *Epmāi irkra Min vāl eṣṣirkra 7r adu*, i.e. "Epmāi is to the fish and to the acacia what eight is to two."² This equation may be mathematically expressed thus:

$$\frac{x}{\text{fish} + \text{acacia}} = \frac{8}{2}$$

from which we realize that x representing *Epmāi*, must be also 8. And indeed *Epmāi* is till now a modern name of Śiva meaning "eight-bodied or formed". There cannot be any doubt that in those early days this name was only attributed to the Supreme Being.

Another inscription simply tells us that He is eight: "The two Fishes (constellation) of that which is eight and who has the sun on high."³

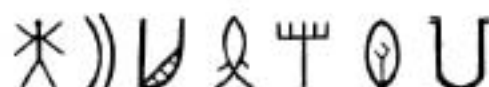
Accordingly the eight forms of the Supreme Being were the eight constellations which were the following:

1. Marshall, M. D., No. 37.
2. Ibid., M. D., No. 42.
3. Marshall, M. D., No. 114.

The Ram, the Harp, the Crab the Mother, the Scale, the Arrow, the Jar and the Fish or the two Fishes.¹

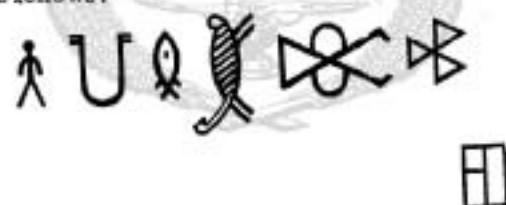
Images of this Supreme Being under these forms were worshipped in different parts of the country. Thus an inscription says: "Of the god of one side (form) who is in the country."²

The most popular of all these forms of God seems to have been the Fish. Several inscriptions refer to this:



Which reads: *Adu tali gēr mīn oriḍa eṣṭu kaḍavuṣ*, i.e., "That (is) the eight (formed) god, whose one side (form) is the sprinkled great Fish".³ Another inscription says: "The Supreme Being of the Fish God (is) in front."⁴ Yet another: "The two fishes who are in the house (temple) of the very great Ram are (forms) of god who is outside (beyond) the country".⁵

Occasionally, two forms of the Supreme Being were combined in the same image. Thus an inscription reads: "Of the great who is two in one who has the sun on high."⁶ We have a particular case of combination in the God of Naḍḍūr.⁷ The inscription that refers to it runs as follows:



It reads: "*Niḷa Naḍḍūr ādu mīn-ādu Āṇi val*, which means: "The Supreme Being of the Ram and the Fish of Naḍḍūr that has lands is happy."⁸ Accordingly the God of Naḍḍūr was a combination of the Ram and the Fish. This combination is represented in the seal itself: an enormous ram, much larger than

1. Some inscriptions refer to one Fish in the constellation, others, nevertheless, refer to two.
2. Marshall, H., No. 87.
3. *Ibid.*, M. D., No. 418.
4. *Ibid.*, M. D., No. 214.
5. Photo, M. D., 1928-29, No. 6380.
6. Photo, M. D., 1928-29, No. 6792.
7. Naḍḍūr in all probability was the name of the ancient city which we know by the name Mohenjo Daro, at present.
8. *A. S. I. Report*, 1928-29, Pl. XXVIII, No. g.

the human figures represented in it, having the head of a fish and bearing the horns over the fish's head. Yet the seal itself seems to show that this is only a *form* of god—a symbol, a representation—for on the other side of the seal the figure of god is represented standing in the middle of a tree, with the trident on his head, after the fashion of the other seal. Before him a devotee half-squatting on the ground offers his prayers to the deity.

IV

THE SUPREME BEING IS THREE-EYED

This is the idea about Śiva in modern Hinduism, which we find clearly expressed with reference to God in the inscriptions of the Proto-Indians; and the idea was so well known that the only mention of "his three eyes"¹, as we find in two inscriptions, revealed to those people the idea of the Supreme Being. These three eyes were being worshipped. "The worshipped three eyes on which the four stars rise."² Accordingly god is called the three-eyed one. Thus the following inscription:



Which reads: *Parava nīla īr minanir auana mān kay*, i.e. "The three-eyed, he of the Minas who are moon Paravas."³ In another inscription it is said that "the twelve stars of the Spring Fish that have the Sun on high (are) the three-eyed one."⁴

In this inscription some connection between the "three-eyed one" and the constellation of the Fish is being disclosed; but in the other inscriptions it is clearly stated that the Fish is also the "three-eyed one". Thus:

1. "The three-eyes of the Great Fish".⁵
2. "The three-eyes of he of the Spring".⁶

1. Marshall, H., No. 379.

2. Photo, M.D., 1928-29, No. 7708.

3. Marshall, M.D., No. 8

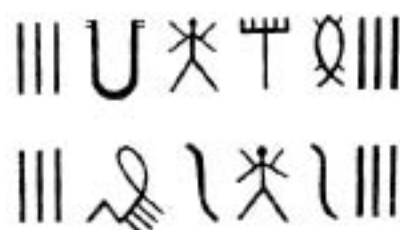
4. *Ibid.*, M.D., No. 111

5. *Ibid.*, M.D., No. 68.

6. Photo, M.D., 1928-29, No. 6531. "He of the Spring" is the Fish who is often called "Spring Fish" (Marshall M.D., No. 111; Photo, M.D., 1928-30, No. 8222; Marshall, M.D., No. 401; *Ibid.*, H., No. 89) as the symbol of the fertility of God, which is specially seen in Spring.

Yet another inscription avers that "in the house the Great Fish meditates on the three-eyed one".¹

The subject is even expressed in two verses carved on two planes of a prism. These verses run thus :



Which reads : *Mūn mīn pīr kaḍavuḷ adu mūn*
Mūn ār kaḍavuḷ ār kārūmugiḷ mūn

This means :

"The three stars are the three (eyes) of the great God "

"The three streams of the stream-God are the three rain clouds"²

Two inscriptions refer to one eye only :




that is : *orkan*, "one eye".³ Such inscriptions evidently refer to the third eye which grew at a later period, according to late Śaivite tradition when the god realized that two eyes were not enough to see everything. Accordingly one inscription speaks "of the growth of the eye",⁴ and consistent with the idea that the fish is three eyed, another inscription refers to the "eye in the Fish",⁵ viz. the third eye.

V

THE SUPREME BEING IS FISH-EYED

This quality which is considered as a beauty note in Indian aesthetics, is also attributed to the Supreme Being in the

1. Marshall, M.D., No. 94.
2. *Ibid.*, M.D., Pl. CXV, No. 16.
3. *Ibid.*, H., No. 3278.
4. *Ibid.*, H., No. 209.
5. *Ibid.*, H., No. 53.

Mohenjo Daro inscriptions:  This inscription which

reads: *Mīn kaṇ*, i.e. "fish-eye" or "fish-eyed"¹, is often met with. Occasionally in order to avoid any doubt the inscription runs: *Per mīn kaṇ*, i.e. "the great fish-eyed".² And naturally, since this fish-eyed is the same three-eyed spoken of before, an inscription combines both qualities when saying: *mān mīn kaṇ*, "three fish eyes".³


VI

THE NAMES OF THE SUPREME BEING

We have accidentally noted above that *Iṛuṣan* "the one who is", seems to be one of the names given to God in those early days.


Another name which has also been mentioned before is *Eṣmaī*, a name which is still given to Śiva among the Dravidian nations of South India. Similarly, *viḍukaṇ*, also referred to above, is used now-a-days in the South.

A new name of God is contained in the following brief

inscription:  Which reads *Perāṇor nālvaḍ*, i.e. "four

houses (or "a number of houses") of those belonging to Perāṇ".⁴ These seem to be the temple servants where Perāṇ was worshipped. Perāṇ or Perumā is a very common name of Śiva in Southern India. Accordingly another inscription calls god "Perāṇ of the chariot and of the cultivated fields."⁵

A fifth name of God is contained in this brief epigraph:

 This reads: *Tāṇḍavan īr nāl maram*, i.e.

"The Tāṇḍavan is in the four trees", i.e. in the forest.⁶ Tāṇḍavan is the name of the dancing Śiva. This shows that the idea of God dancing as the source of all the movement of the universe is a very old one.

1. *Ibid.*, M.D., No. 261; *Ibid.*, M.D., No. 254, etc.

2. *Ibid.*, H., No. 257.

3. *Ibid.*, M.D., No. 385.

4. Photo, M.D., 1928-29, No. 6379.

5. Marshall, M.D., No. 37.

6. *Ibid.*, No. 449.

VII


THE SUN

We have pointed out above that the Supreme Being was identified with the Sun, he being the God of heaven. Yet the Sun was actually worshipped in the temples as is clearly seen in a small oblong object in which the inscription is accompanied by a carving that represents a temple of the sun.

In front of the temple there is a throne over which there is the disc of the sun as if he were a king, for the throne is a symbol of royalty. To the right an inscription reminds us that the temple "is of the high sun", *uyarel uyarel adu*,¹ the word 'high sun' being repeated twice as a token of respect and veneration. In front of the temple there is also the sign of $\bar{A}\eta$ to show that he is the same as the sun. This identification is expressed in a number of epigraphs, for instance in the following :

1. "Pārā of the chariot and the cultivated fields is the Sun on high."²
2. "Of the Great God who is the Sun on high".

Due to this identification, since god is *viduṣkan* omniscient, the sun is also supposed to see everything. On the obverse of a small coin-like object there is an emblem which is often found in the punch marked coins of a much later period. This emblem

is shown thus :  The central circle represents the sun.

All round the sun there are arrows which read *kāp*, "eye". This sign therefore may be read : *si allā kāp i.e.*, "the sun sees everything".⁴

Since the sun was seen rising from the East and after describing an arc over the sky setting in the West, they imagined that the sun was driving a vehicle which once is called a wagon, and other times a chariot. Thus we read in some inscriptions :

1. "Of the wagon of him who is the high sun".⁵

1. *A. S. I. Report*, 1929-30, Pl. XXVIII. No. 11466 (H). Cf. Marshall, M.D., No. 490.
 2. Marshall, M.D., No. 37.
 3. *Ibid.*, M.D., No. 318.
 4. *A. S. I. Report*, 1928-29, Pl. XXXII, No. 1a and b.
 5. *J. R. A. S.*, 1912, pp. 689-700.

2. "That stone-chariot of the great God".¹
3. "Whatsoever is of the stone chariot is of the very great one".²

It is interesting to note that they imagined that the chariot of the sun was of stone, not of any precious metal.

VIII

THE LINGA

That the *phallus* was worshipped in Mohenjo Daro is proved clearly by a number of such stones discovered there and at Harappa. Yet while going through the inscriptions one realizes that its cult was not spread regularly amongst all classes of people. It is true that the *linga* is also identified with the high Sun as in this inscription: "The lustrous *linga* is the high sun".³ But it is not less true that the *Minas*—afterwards called the *Matsyas*—who seem to form the main bulk of the Mohenjo Daro inhabitants, disliked the *linga* worship. One of the inscriptions runs as follows:



This inscription reads: *Ūr nalam dug cuppi irkra mīn minanir* i. e. "The prosperity of the land is of the *Minas* of the Fish who have the despised *linga*".⁴ Another inscription informs us who were especially those who despised the *linga*, "the canal (which is) in front of the...houses of the land of the *linga* (which is) despised by the thinkers of the land".⁵ According to the information supplied by this inscription, the high classes of the country, the *intelligentia* of the land, despised this cult. Only poor and ignorant people adhered to it. Yet it seems that the introduction of this cult among the *Minas* was the work of one of their kings. The following inscription speaks of him:



which reads: *Cuppi sere taltalāḥa* and means: "The imprisoned

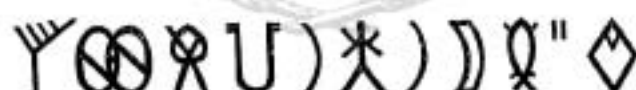
1. Marshall, M.D., Pl. CXVI, No. 30.
2. *Ibid.*, M.D., No. 234.
3. *Ibid.*, H., No. 45. Cf. *Ibid.*, M.D., Pl. XVI, No. 337; *Ibid.*, H. No. 99. etc.
4. Marshall, H., No. 41.
5. *Ibid.*, M. D., No. 389.

illustrious ruler of the *Isiga*".¹ Another inscription gives more details about this ruler :



This inscription reads as follows : *Sere kon Cuppi Min pagal ādu kaḍi tenādu*, i.e., "The imprisoned king Cuppi Mina, the day when the Ram begins in the country of the South."² It seems therefore that this king's devotion to the *Isiga* was so much as to inspire him to take the name of the *Isiga* as his own name. In fact another inscription, undoubtedly referring to the same person, tells us that "his *Isiga* is the high sun".³

The Minas apparently could not tolerate this new cult and the king seems to have been deposed and imprisoned by a popular rising. So an inscription says : "(The object of) the hostility of the Minas is the imprisoned illustrious ruler (who is) a priest."⁴ To the same deposition of this king must refer another short inscription that announces : "The end of the power of Mina".⁵ How this king died is not clear in the Mohenjo Daro epigraphs. One says only : "Of the death of Mina".⁶ But an inscription carved after his death seems to commemorate the bitter feelings of the Minas towards their old king in a sarcastic way. The inscription runs as follows :



The inscription reads : *Vippil irkra Min eṣṣirkra allā kaḍavuḍadu kaval kālkalakār maram*, and means, "The tree of the canalized united countries of the Kavals of (dedicated to) all the gods, whom Mina who was in the house has reached".⁷ The inscription primarily speaks of the Kaval countries which were dedicated to all their gods. This idea seems to have brought to the memory of the composer of the inscription the recollection of king Cuppi Mina who was fond at least of one of the gods of

1. *Ibid.*, M. D., No. 132.

2. *Ibid.*, M. D., No. 49.

3. *Ibid.*, M. D., No. 463.

4. *Illustrated London News*, 4-10-24.

5. Marshall, H. No. 153.

6. *Ibid.*, H., No. 127.

7. *Ibid.*, M.D., No. 11.

Kavals, the *Wiga*, as we shall see later. In a moment of sarcastic wit, he declared that the unfortunate king had already reached those gods who were despised by him and his nation.

What was therefore the origin of this cult? While studying these inscriptions we find the *Wiga* cult established as at home among the two tribes, the Bilavas and the Kavals. (The Bilavas are the Bhills; the Kavals are the robber caste of the North and the South). About the Bilavas the inscriptions say:

1. "In the dark growing half of the moon, when the sun was on high, the Bilavas pulled down the four houses of the *Wiga*."¹

(According to this inscription the *Wiga* among the Bilavas had houses the rent of which was used for fostering its cult.)

2. "The *Wiga* of the eight villages of the Ve|vel Bilavas (is) the high sun of the harvest".² (Ve|vel Bilavas were a section of the Bilavas)

About the Kavals we find:

"The old *Wiga* of the Kavals".³

From these premises we may perhaps deduce the consequence that these two tribes were Kolerian and that they brought this cult from the far-off Eastern Islands.

IX

A DIVINE TRIAD

Among the Mohenjo Daro inscriptions there is one of extraordinary importance, on account of its unexpected revelations in the field of the history of comparative religions and even in the general field of ancient civilization. The inscription runs as follows:



It reads⁴: *uḍa mān pēr kuḍavuḥ-adu kalak air*; that means, "The joined life of the united three great gods".⁵

1. *Ibid.*, M.D., No. 406.

2. Marshall, H., No. 99.

3. *Ibid.*, H., No. 118.

4. The second line of the inscription always reads from left to right.

5. Marshall, M.D., No. 209.

First of all we must determine who were these three great gods. Were they *Āp*, the Sun and the *Līga*? They could not be so: first because the *Līga* was not generally accepted by the Minas and even perhaps we may add by all the so-called Dravidians. Besides *Āp* and the Sun are not two gods, but one, for they are identified not in a passing way, but essentially. These three gods may therefore be *Āp* and two more.

A similar triad of gods is also found in Sumerian inscriptions and the three gods of Sumer in pre-historic times were *Āp*, *Ama* and *Enlil*. *Āp* was the father, *Ama* was the mother and *Enlil* was the son, who afterwards in historic Sumerian times became the father.¹ I suspect that the Proto-Dravidian triad must be similar to this. In fact *Āp*, the father of Sumer, is the same *Āp*, the Supreme Being of India.² The mother is called *Ama* in Sumerian. Now *Amma* is the common word for mother in Dravidian languages and a good number of clay statuettes of the mother goddess have been found in Mohenjo Daro and in Harappa. In the inscriptions the mother goddess is found among the constellations of the Zodiac (She afterwards was called the Virgin). Her

representation is thus:



It should be read *amma*, i. e. "the

mother".³ If we compare this pictograph with some of the images of Mohenjo Daro, we shall find complete resemblance between the two headgears.⁴ Such an idea of the mother goddess must be the first foundation of the Śakta sect of India. I must add here that this *mother* received a name which is the female denomination corresponding to the denomination *mīnakap* attributed to *Āp*. In an inscription she is called *Mīnakappi*.⁵ This in fact had to be the original name of the goddess of Madura, *Mīnakṣi*, whose name now is partly Dravidian-Mina and partly Sanskrit-akṣi.

The counterpart of the son, *Enlil*, is not found in the inscriptions as yet. Perhaps he will be found among the 800 more inscriptions which are still awaiting interpretation.

1. Radan, *Sumerian Hymns and Prayers to God Nin-Ā*, pp. 4-7.
2. The Koṅkani speaking people call their father *Āp* and *Amma*, their mother.
3. Marshall, M.D., No. 182.
4. Cf. Mackay, *The Indus Civilization*, Pl. I, 1.
5. Marshall, M.D., No. 338.

What has been found is the combination of *Āṇ* and *Amma*.

The inscription is as follows:  It reads:

uyarel lēr or Ammān: that is, "one Ammān (not two but one) of the chariot of the sun".² This deity half-man (proper left), and half woman (proper right), which is also found in Sumer with the name of *Amaa-a*³ seems to be the original idea of the Hindu image of *ardhanārīśvara*, which is only found in Śaivism and which has the two parts put in the same relative position.

X

OTHER GODS

While studying these inscriptions we come across numerous references to a number of minor gods who in the course of time were supposed to preside over different places, elements or functions. Thus for instance, while speaking of *Āṇ* we have found a reference to "all the gods of the fields", from which phrase we may rightly conclude that the gods presiding over the fields were more than one or two. One of these gods of the fields was very likely that mentioned in the following inscription:



This inscription reads: *uyarel ir nilāvan kaḍavul-adu*; that means: "Of the God of the living Nilāvan who has the sun on high".⁴ This god of Nilāvan very likely presided over the lands.

Another god of the fields was undoubtedly the god of rain which is so beneficial to agriculture. This god is often spoken of in the inscriptions, for instance:



Which reads: *ārīl irkra mūn kalakūr karmuḡil kaḍavul-adu*, i. e. "The three united countries which are in the country are of the god of the rain clouds",⁴ viz. rains fall upon these

1. Marshall, M.D., No. 209.

2. Radsu, op. cit., p. 7.

3. Marshall, M.D., No. 405.

4. Photo, M.D., 1928-29, No. 7137.

three united countries. This god of the rain clouds or of the rains is often mentioned in the inscriptions.¹

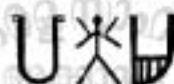
Also the god of thunder is being referred to, but in a descriptive way: "The very great god shaking the height of the clouds who is in the house".² To shake the height of the clouds seems to mean "shaking the high clouds".

The god of death is referred to in connection with one of the human sacrifices, of which we shall speak later:



It reads: *Mīn ā sānu kaḍavuḷ kaṇ īr maram*, i.e. "the two trees under which the seven Mīnas saw the god of death."³ The phrase is equivalent to dying; yet the mention of the god of death is not without interest.

Another brief inscription mentions the god of the netherworld:



It reads: *kīl kaḍavuḷadu*, i.e., "of the god of below".⁴

Besides, local and personal gods are often referred to; for instance,

1. "Of the great god of the cave reached by the growing half of the moon".⁵
2. "Of the god of Mīna who is in the country".⁶

Yet it is evident that when referring to all these gods on many occasions the Supreme Being *Āṇ* is finally in their minds. Thus, besides the god of the main clouds, *Āṇ* itself is also connected with them.

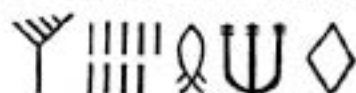


That reads: *nanna Āṇ nanna karmuḡil-adu*, i.e., "The friendly Supreme Being of the approaching rainy clouds".⁷ Or,

1. Marshall, M.D., No. 28; *Ibid.*, M.D., M. 192, etc.
2. *Ibid.*, M.D., Pl. CXVIII, No. 3 (Hr. 4337).
3. *Ibid.*, M.D., No. 494.
4. *Ibid.*, H., No. 5.
5. *Ibid.*, M.D., No. 468.
6. *Ibid.*, M.D., No. 137.
7. Photo, M.D., 1928-29, No. 7190.

another one that speaks of the "shining god of the two fishes that have the sun on high", who cannot be but Āṇ.

Sometimes the trees were specially dedicated to one god or another or to any form of god. Thus the following inscription:



It reads: *Viṣṣ velvāḡe Mīn opad maram*, i. e. "the nine trees of (dedicated to) the Fish (are) the *velvāḡes* of the houses".¹ The inscription only informs us of what kind those trees were *vis. velvāḡes*, otherwise called white *siris*, which were also used for building houses.

It was a common custom for each city or village to have one of these holy trees which were called "the village tree". Thus:

1. "Of the village tree in the Spring when the sun is high."²

Very likely it refers to a festival.

2. "Of the tree of the village of the Minas".³

On one occasion the sun and a tree are identified: "One (are) the sun and the tree".⁴

XII

MINOR DEITIES

The *ayanārs* or protective deities of the cities or villages are very common in Southern India. They have their shrines by the road side at the entrance to the villages. It is interesting that the only inscription that mentions these *ayanārs* calls them "road *ayanārs*". Thus: "The road *ayanārs* of the two cities in the spring with the Scale".⁵ This epigraph refers to a festival in honour of the *ayanārs*, of those cities. The festival was celebrated at the special time when the spring ends with the scale. For this constellation was the first constellation of summer.

Similarly spirits or devils, belief in whom is also much spread through the South, are mentioned in our epigraphs. For instance, an inscription refers to the "three houses of the devil of the villagers".⁶

1. A. S. I., Report, 1923-24, Pl. XIX, No. 2 (M. D.).

2. Marshall, M. D., No. 430.

3. *Ibid.*, M. D., No. 40.

4. *Ibid.*, M. D., No. 55.

5. *Ibid.*, H., No. 35.

6. *Ibid.*, H., Nos. 242, 252.

XIII

EMBLEMS OF GOD

The most commonly mentioned emblem of god is the trident. And that this is a symbol of God is definitely settled in an inscription which mentions "the trident in which there is one"¹ a phrase that evidently refers to Āp on whose head a trident is always seen.

Many villages seem to have had a trident, perhaps instead of an image, in the local temple. Unless the image itself, having a trident on its head was perhaps denominated trident. Thus :

1. "Three houses of the village trident".²
2. "The trident of the village of Mina in the year *vākorvā* (trident of tridents)".³
3. "Of the trident of two villages attaining lustre".⁴

Moreover tridents existed in the fields and in boundaries of properties, very likely in small shrines, as is still customary now-a-days. A few specimens :

1. "The trident of the cultivated fields that are in the country".⁵
2. "The trident of the field of the Kavals".⁶
3. "Two tribes of the Minas who have boundary tridents".⁷

Tridents in fact were a very common object in the house and everywhere. Some inscriptions only mention a number of tridents without informing us where they were, or what use was being made of them. Thus :

1. "Three tridents".⁸
2. "Three tridents which are in the house".⁹
3. "Four tridents which are in the country"¹⁰(several tridents).
4. "Six tridents".¹¹

1. *Ibid.*, M. D., No. 7.

2. *Ibid.*, H., No. 56.

3. *Ibid.*, H., No. 73.

4. *Ibid.*, H., No. 34.

5. *Ibid.*, M. D., No. 131.

6. *Ibid.*, M. D., No. 301.

7. *Ibid.*, M. D., No. 43.

8. *Ibid.*, M. D., No. 270; *Ibid.*, M. D., No. 220.

9. *Ibid.*, H., No. 310.

10. *Ibid.*, M. D., No. 143.

11. *Ibid.*, M. D., Nos. 243, 248.

Another emblem of God only once referred to is the *snake*. The snake is one of the most common symbols of Śiva in modern Hinduism. Thus an inscription informs us that "Mina meditates on the snake of the three-eyed one".¹

Similarly, another inscription mentions the axe which is also often seen in the hands of Śiva; "Whatever is of the axe of the Fish is of the village trident".²

XIV

MODES OF WORSHIP

Just as now-a-days, to see an object worthy of veneration was for these ancient people to worship that object. "Men see the holy tree"³, runs an inscription. In the same way thinking or meditating on a sacred being was equivalent to an act of worship. A few specimens of such worship are given below :

1. "Of the great god who is meditated on in the village."⁴
2. "One meditates on the three eyes."⁵
4. "The imprisoned Minas meditate on the three eyes".⁶
4. "When the Fish reaches the Crab meditates on the three eyes."⁷ (Worship by a constellation.)
5. "When the sun reaches the top, the Minas think on the three eyes."⁸
6. "The Mina of (devoted to) the Fish, who is in the country, worships the three eyed one."⁹

In the same way sprinkling a sacred object with water, milk or any other object was also considered an act of worship. Thus an epigraph says: "This year the sprinkled great Fish (is) one side of the eight (formed) God."¹⁰

Another inscription refers to three vows or solemn promises taken by a man: "Mina who took three vows to God is a friend of the united countries of the Minas".¹¹

1. *Ibid.*, M. D., No. 251.
2. *Ibid.*, M.D. No. 75.
3. *Ibid.*, M.D., Nos. 419, 428.
4. *Ibid.*, M.D., No. 319.
5. *Ibid.*, M.D., No. 168.
6. *Ibid.*, M.D., No. 147.
7. *Ibid.*, M.D., No. 170.
8. *Ibid.*, M.D., No. 345.
9. *Ibid.*, M.D., No. 326. Cf. *Ibid.*, M.D., No. 429.
10. *Ibid.*, M.D., No. 419.
11. *Ibid.*, M.D., No. 431.

XV

HUMAN SACRIFICES

These very words are never found in the inscriptions. Yet when one observes that the number of deceased persons are always the same or at least repeated in certain proportion, one at once realizes that the inscriptions speak of real human sacrifices, about which besides some other details are given in the inscriptions.

The number of persons sacrificed are seven or twentyone, a multiple of seven. For instance,

1. "Of the seven of the united countries who died in the country."¹
2. "Of the death of seven of the Minas who were in the country of Āṇ (who is) the Sun."²
3. "The two trees under which the seven Minas saw the god of death."³
4. "Of the death of twentyone counted persons who were in the country."⁴
5. "Of the death of twentyone counted Minas of outside the country who were in the house."⁵
6. "Of the death of the twentyone counted prisoners in the (month of the) Fish when the growing half of the moon was over the lands."⁶

Only on one occasion the victims sacrificed were not seven not twentyone, but twelve.⁷ Another inscription sounds like a sentence of death :



It reads: *uyareḥ śī sāvu adu*, i. e., "Let the seven die when the sun is on high."⁸ Another seems to be a demand of the god for the sacrifice of seven persons :



1. *Ibid.*, M.D., No. 146.
2. *Ibid.*, M.D., No. 553.
3. *Ibid.*, M.D., Pl. CXVIII, No. 3 (Hr. 4337).
4. *Ibid.*, H. No. 120; *Ibid.*, H. No. 13.
5. *Ibid.*, M.D., No. 557.
6. *Ibid.*, H., No. 51.
7. Photo, M.D., 1928-29, No. 6357.
8. Marshall, M.D., No. 344.

The inscription reads : *Mūnmaṭor ā' ir adu*, i. e. "the existence of the seven persons of Mūnmaṭ".¹ Those persons who were going to be sacrificed were kept in prison for some time and were supposed to be temple prisoners², and at least on one occasion they were kept in a palm grove.³ The sacrifice was performed under the sacred trees⁴, though the actual way of performing it is not described. Two *bandis* took the corpses from the place of the sacrifice to the burning grounds.⁵

XVI

THE TEMPLES

The temple of the sun carved next to the inscription referred to above⁶ seems to be small and square, only containing the shrine of the sun. The roofing is flat but in the four corners four spike-like finials break the flat line of the edifice. In front of the temple there was an open porch in front of which a double awning protected the worshippers from the sun and from the rain. At the very end of the porch roof just over the awning, there is another finial of the same type. The carver of this design has placed the object of worship in the temple in the porch, so that it could be fully seen. It is the disc of the sun here placed over a throne as if meaning that the sun was the Supreme Ruler of the Universe.

Other temples were perhaps larger. They were generally built in the centre of the town towards which all the main streets converged, as the pictograph of a temple representing the usual plan shows:



The temples had servants⁷, amongst whom there were the temple guards.⁸

1. *Ibid.*, M.D., No. 113.
2. *Ibid.*, M.D., Pl. CXVI, No. 6.
3. Photo, M.D., 1928-29, No. 6826.
4. *Marshall*, M.D., Pl. CXVIII, No. 3 (Hr. 4337).
5. *Ibid.*, H., No. 11.
6. *A. S. I. Report*, 1929-30, Pl. XXVIII, No. 11468 (8).
7. Photo, M.D., 1928-29, No. 7135.
8. Photo, M.D., 1928-29, No. 6386.

The temples enjoyed properties for the maintenance of the cult. These properties generally were houses or land, and are spoken of as belonging to the gods themselves. For instance,

1. "Four houses of the fish eyed one."¹
2. "In the dark growing half of the moon when the sun is on high, the Bilvas pulled down the four houses of the *liṅga*."²
3. "Of the palm grove of the *liṅga*."³
4. "The Supreme Being of the Ram and the Fish of Nandūr that has lands is happy."⁴
5. "Of the one palm grove of the Great Fish, outside the country of the prisoner."⁵

Taxes, and tributes were also fixed for the benefit of the temples. For instance,

1. "The Mina of the tax on fish of the high sun-*liṅga*."⁶
2. "One share of the Supreme Being (who is) the high sun is flax."⁷

Some private houses were apparently having small shrines attached to them. An inscription runs thus: "In eight houses (there are) six trident temples."⁸

XVII

THEOCRATICAL GOVERNMENT AND PRIESTHOOD

The Government of Mohenjo Daro was theocratical. God was supposed to be the king of the country. The king was only an administrator on behalf of God and he received the title of "the farmer", and since Mohenjo Daro was called "Nandūr", "the city of the Crab", the complete title of the king was *Nand ulavan* or *Nandil ulavan*, i.e. the Farmer of the Crab.

1. "Mina, farmer of the Crab, who is in the house."⁹
2. "The shining farmer of the Crab who is in the country."¹⁰

1. *A. S. I., Report, 1928-29, Pl. XXXII, Nos. 1a and b.*
2. *Marshall, M.D., No. 406.*
3. *Ibid., M.D., No. 488.*
4. *A. S. I. Report, 1928-29, Pl. XXVIII, No. g.*
5. *Photo, M.D., 1929-30, No. 8024.*
6. *Marshall, H., No. 38.*
7. *Photo, M.D., 1928-29, No. 6390.*
8. *Marshall, M.D., No. 227.*
9. *Ibid., M.D., No. 158.*
10. *Ibid., H. No. 67.*

3. "The Mina outside the country (is) the farmer of the Crab, the Mina of the two united countries."¹

Another inscription removes all doubts as regards the Crab, which is the constellation : "The farmer of the Crab in which the sun is".² Finally another one clearly establishes who is the Lord of the farmer while adding : "The farmer of the Crab of Āq."³

The king having this sacred authority as a minister of God is also naturally entrusted with the office of priest, a dual dignity which is stated in the following inscription :



The inscription reads : *Minanir mārū adu ayyan sere tallalāḥva* i.e., "(the object of) the hostility of the Minas is the imprisoned illustrious ruler (who is a) priest".⁴

XVIII RELIGIOUS FESTIVALS

There are a number of feasts which apparently have no religious significance, for instance the *Nandāl*, at present called *Pongal*⁵, which seems to be at least originally of a purely social character.

Other feasts are only briefly enunciated in a way which would be quite clear for all of them, but which is somewhat puzzling to the epigraphist who tries to unravel the mysteries of the inscriptions seventy centuries after. Their system is similar to ours if we would speak of the feast of Ganga celebrated after the monsoon saying, "On full moon day, Ganga of the abundant waters". Thus run some of the inscription :

1. "When the growing half of the moon reached the (new) year, the three Fish eyes."⁶
2. "The Supreme Being of the Fish and death on full moon day."⁷

1. *Ibid.*, M.D., Pl. XVIII, No. 8 (H. 1051). Cf. *Ibid.*, M.D., Nos. 447, 350, 228, 269, *Ibid.*, H., Nos. 38, 147.
 2. Marshall, M.D., No. 559.
 3. Photo, M.D., 1928-9, No. 5878.
 4. *Illustrated London News*, 4-10-24.
 5. The word *Nandāl* is used now only in connection with boiled rice eaten during the *Pongal* feast. The Mohenjo Daro inscriptions speak of the *Nandāl* only, as if they were calling the feast by this name.
 6. Marshall, M.D., No. 41.
 7. *J. R. A. S.*, 1912, pp. 698-700.

Other inscriptions are a little more explicit.

1. "The rain clouds of the approaching thunder sounding
Scale are the great god, who is (celebrated) during the
twelve suns in the high days every eight year outside
the country of Orār."¹
2. "That trident of the country this year is the trident of
the village."²

According to this inscription it appears that a trident, or perhaps an image having a trident on its head, was transferred from village to village in the country and remained in each village for a year. The stay of the image or trident in the village was undoubtedly marked with special festivals.

XIX

DEATH AND JUDGMENT

For the Mohenjo Daro people to die was the beginning of a new existence. All the phrases used in the inscriptions clearly show that the soul continued living after the body was committed to the earth or cremated—for these were the two ways of disposing of the dead.³ Some specimens are given herewith :

1. "Five houses of two persons reaching the Sun."⁴
2. "The great king four years (ago)...has reached the sun."⁵
3. "Of the seven houses of the head man who is gone to the sky."⁶
4. "Mina is in the very great god."⁷
5. "The farmer of the Crab reaching the Crab."⁸

As was customary in Sumer, in Mohenjo Daro also kings

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1. Marshall, M.D., Pl. OXVI, No. 23.
 2. Photo, M.D., 1928-29, No. 5924.
 3. Marshall, H., No. 11 ; *Ibid.*, M.D., No. 89.
 4. *Ibid.*, H., No. 210.
 5. *Ibid.*, M. D., No. 278.
 6. *Ibid.*, M. D., No. 118.
 7. *Ibid.*, M. D., 5554. The sign that stands for Mina in this inscription is never used meaning the constellation of the Fish. It is the proper name of a man.
 8. Photo, 1929-30, M.D., No. 8333.

when dying were being deified. Thus runs an inscription :



It reads: *Ko kalakār āpdu sāvu kaḍavū-ādu kallare*. That means: "Tomb of the dead god of the year, the lord of the united countries."¹

All this phraseology cannot be explained on the supposition of the ideas of the transmigration of souls or of rebirths. Yet one inscription hints at this latter idea. The fact that it is one only shows that the idea was not much spread, and on this account the inscription is of extra-ordinary importance :



It reads : *Ēḷ sāvu āḷ āpuday-ādu*, i.e. "Of the eight dresses of the man who died seven times".² It seems therefore that the maximum of rebirths a man could expect was eight a number considered sacred on account of the eight forms of *Āp*. According to this the man whose death is recorded in the inscription might have another birth only, for he was supposed to have died seven times.

The belief of judgment after death seems to have existed among the people of Mohenjo Daro as the following two inscriptions show :

1. "The very great Fish is the justice of all men."³
2. "The Supreme Being of the chariot and the cultivated fields is the judge."⁴

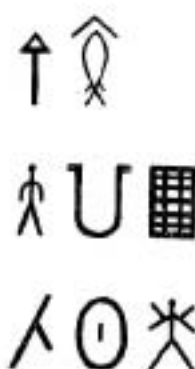
1. Marshall, M.D., No. 89. Perhaps the impression of this seal was put on the walls of this king's tomb.

2. *Ibid.*, M. D., No. 393.

3. *Ibid.*, M. D., No. 117.

4. Photo, M. D., 1929-30, No. 7993.

A third inscription that refers to the same subject suggests that according to those people the judgment of God lasted for a long time, very likely during the whole life time of every man, and the judgment was completed in the day of death, which is called the "day of God." In some way their idea is quite correct: for God to see is to judge and this judgment is finished with death. This inscription, shown alongside, reads: *Mīnan kaṣ Āṇ-adu tīryu kaḍavuḷ paḡal tīrtu*, i. e. "the judgment of the Supreme Being seen by Mīna is completed in the day of God."



XX

VIRTUOUS LIFE, HEAVEN AND PUNISHMENT

If there was a judgment of God there must have been a moral law by which the deeds of man were judged. The inscriptions themselves reveal the fact that only those that reach a definite perfection may obtain heavenly happiness. Thus the following

inscription:  Which reads: *vān tēr*

or *mīn kaṣ vāḷ*, i. e. "Reaching the sky one who is fish-eyed is happy".³ There is still another similar inscription which runs as follows: "The fish-eyed one reaching the sky is happy".⁴

Now these inscriptions do not speak of Āṇ who is the Supreme fish-eyed, for Āṇ cannot reach the sky or heaven, as he is always there. Therefore the inscriptions refer to persons who have become fish-eyed, and apparently only such persons may reach the sky. The limit of perfection in order to enter heaven is therefore to be fish-eyed, and since this is a perfection of Āṇ, to be fish-eyed seems to be equivalent to the imitation of Āṇ. That to be fish-eyed was a possibility for men, a number of inscriptions speaking of persons who were fish-eyed clearly show, for instance:

1. "Four houses of the six fish-eyed ones."⁵

1. Second line from left, third line from right.

2. Marshall, M. D., Pl. CXVI, No. 25

3. *Ibid.*, M. D., No. 387.

4. *Ibid.*, M. D., No. 387.

5. *Ibid.*, H., No. 339.

2. "Five houses of the fish-eyed prisoner."²
3. "The fish-eyed, one who is in the country."³
4. "One fish-eyed, of whom the horn-man is afraid (trembling)."⁴

The reward of a virtuous life was heaven. The phrase "reaching the sky" seems to be synonymous of "reaching heaven". From this expression it is seen how old is the idea, that heaven is somewhere above. The phrases, "reaching the sun" identified with *Āp*, or "reaching the Crab" which is one of the forms of *Āp* show that heaven is first of all the dwelling of God, and consequently to reach the sky would mean to dwell in company with *Āp*.

Where did all those who do not reach the sky go is not clear in the inscriptions. It is true that one of them speaks of "the rustling of the garment of the Supreme Being when he rises to punish"⁴, but it is not clear whether this punishment is after or before death. This inscription may well refer to an earthquake or to any other earthly calamity.



H. HERAS, S.J.

P. S.—After deciphering all the Mohenjo Daro—Harappa inscriptions now available, I may add some information to the final statement of p. 16. The son in the Proto-Indian Triad is named *Āp*. The corresponding sign occurs in several inscriptions.

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1. *Ibid.*, M.D., No. 173.
 2. *Ibid.*, H., No. 398.
 3. *Ibid.*, M.D., No. 387.
 4. Seal in the Louvre Museum, Paris.

THE GREAT TEMPLE AT ELEPHANTA

Elephanta is about six miles from Bombay and about four from the mainland of Konkan. As the launch drew near, the island was seen rising gracefully out of the encircling blue of the sea which breaks in a fine line of white foam against its greenclad sides. A paved ascent constructed in 1853-54 by Karamsi Rammal, a Lohana merchant of Bombay, leads up from the shore to the front of the great Cave. The view around is one of exceeding beauty; the fine bay between Elephanta, Trombay and the mainland; the narrow south-eastern valley on the island and *Karanda* and *Pandri* bushes interspersed with the palmyra and mango trees. There was a strange stillness whose effect was heightened by the swelling upward in soft undulations of the forest on the two hills. Bombay lay ahead, like a huge python. Its tall chimneys threw out curling smoke. Looking at it from the front of the Great Cave one could not help asking, "Is not all this but a drapery of delusion"? There is nothing to indicate that one is in touch with antiquity. No crumbling wall or semi-ruined pillar casts a shadow from the past. But Gharapuri was no mean a city in ancient times. It was a political centre of this side of Western India for a few centuries before and roughly a thousand years after the Christian era. It bore the proud title of the "Goddess of the Fortunes of the Western Sea." Some branch of the Maurya Dynasty governed with fluctuating fortunes the area around Gharapuri with that city as the head quarters. In the *Periplus* it is called *Ter* (*Tagara*). The *Aihole* inscription (A.D. 634) of the great Chalukya Pulakesin II records how he reduced Puri "after attacking it with hundreds of ships". But the island was charming even then as it is now and the conqueror remarked on the beauty of the sky, "dark blue as a young lotus and covered with tiers of massive clouds".

A few significant details about Elephanta should be noted. (1) Here stayed the rulers of an important strip of Western India. (2) In a very real sense Gharapuri (*Grihapuri*) was *their* headquarters. The island has a circumference of about four and a half miles only and must not have contained any *general* population. (3) Not only was this political centre a port in itself but it was very near Sopara, one of the greatest seaports in those times in the whole of India and an important Buddhist town as well.

I wish to stress two things by way of inference, the first, that rock-cut temple on this island formed a *private* place of worship of

these kings. That accounts for the *art* of Elephanta. Intelligence must be patronized to be fruitful. Art requires finance; especially when it consists of boring into hard trap rock. The second suggestion is that in the construction of this temple one can expect *external* influences to enter as a result of contact with foreigners due to trade. The Egyptian influence discerned in the *dvarapals* of the Linga Shrine and the Buddhist influence seen in the other parts of the cave can be explained satisfactorily only on this particular hypothesis.

I ran into the caves. Nowhere else could the truth of the lines—

“Every prospect pleases

And only man is vile”.

be more strikingly learnt. Figure after figure in the cave was wantonly mutilated. A thought ran into my mind; should the statues be restored? Definitely not. For this reason—the introduction of new stone into old statues has several disadvantages; (a) less of the original work is preserved; (b) the removal of the old stone to make way for the new may loosen or damage those adjoining; (c) the new stone makes an unpleasant patch; (d) stone is not a plastic material and cannot conveniently be modelled to conform to the irregularities of the surface on either hand; (e) a new stone cannot be very tightly set in the wall and it may throw on the adjoining stones a greater pressure than they can bear without fracture.

The art of Elephanta is now seen under two disadvantages. In the first place, the sculptured figures are not whole but broken everywhere in all sorts of ways. If the rock-cut temple came into existence in all its glory because Elephanta was an island, its partial damage also was due to the same geographical fact. It was left to the Feringi from the far West to begin and to continue its destruction. Particularly, one way the injury was done should be noticed: as a pastime, the Portuguese Fidalgoes fired field guns into the caves in order to appreciate the echoes “which are here most admirable”: Nothing is a more tempting target than a pensile object. Linschoten visited the place in 1579 and wrote: “these *Pagodas* are now wholly left overgrown, and spoiled, since the Portugals had it under their subjection.” When West met East.....:

Doubtless, again, the caves were painted. Those colours are gone; only traces of the paint remain. This is the second disadvantage. An observer in 1603 says: “.....the entire body inside, the columns, the statues and everything else was formerly covered with a thin coating of lime mixed with a sort of bitumen

and other preparations, which made temple altogether so bright that it was a beautiful object and well worth seeing; and not only did it make the figures very pretty, *but enabled one to perceive very distinctly the features of the countenance and the delicacy of the workmanship*: so that neither in silver nor in wax could they be made or engraven with more nicety, elegance or perfection"—(De Conto). De Conto here mentions the work of the painter (now entirely obliterated, thanks to the Portuguese plasters) as a powerful auxiliary to that of a sculptor. But it must have had an independent value in itself. For I feel sure that the splendid scenery around the island must have been represented in the paintings.

The art of the Elephanta is nameless. When the Portuguese took Bassein and its dependencies, "they went to this Pagoda and removed a famous stone over the entrance, that had an inscription of large and well written characters, which was sent to the King D. Joao III, after the Governor of India had in vain endeavoured to find out any Hindu or Moor in the East who could decipher them." And now there is no trace of it:

It has been held among the Scholars of ancient Indian history that the caves were excavated during the fifth or sixth century, when the Indian artist sat on the crest of the wave of national renaissance under the Imperial Guptas. As has been suggested above, a Maurya king, (or kings) of W. India financed the construction. It is equally clear that not *one* sculptor could have executed the work. For he would have been dead with sheer muscle fatigue.

But whatever be the number of patrons of the enterprise or of those who used the hammer, chisel and mallet, there existed at the back of all, I venture to submit, a great genius in art. It was he, using the resources placed at his command, who was responsible for these things of beauty on this enchanting island. One can say a few things by way of speculation about this genius among sculptors. He was *traditional* in his thought to the extent his own heritage and the requirements of his masters directed him. Hence the resemblance of this rock-cut temple to those at Ellora and elsewhere. Too much is made by those who write the word art with a capital A, of originality in artistic endeavour. The ravings of a maniac though original, genuine and intense are not art creations. The second thing that can be said about our artist is that he was very fond of grouping things in threes. The great Trimurti and the representation of three gods in each piece of sculpture is sufficient indication of this. An objection may be raised that the emphasis on the number three is a very old characteristic of Indian thought. A

seal from Mohenjo Daro depicts a deity with *three* faces sitting cross-legged in the attitude of ritual meditation between various wild animals—in fact, a not far removed ancestor of Shiva if not Shiva himself. But this objection is not valid. *Eka-mukha* (one-faced) Shiva was common in those days. (See Plate XXIV in R. D. Banerji's "The Age of the Imperial Guptas") No. The idea of representing a bust with three heads was peculiarly used by this sculptural genius. In the compartment to the west of Trimurti is another example. From Shiva's crown rises a sort of cup or shell in which is a singular three-headed female figure.

Another characteristic of this artist was the fondness to represent animal forms. The very name of the island "Elephanta" was due to a large stone she-elephant that stood near the old landing place on the south side of the island. (There was a smaller one on its back) The elephant was 'restored' from the shapeless mass of stones and shifted, with a due sense of irony, to the Bombay Zoo. To the South-east of the great cave stood the statue of a horse. Orington (in 1689) speaks of it as being "so lively with such a colour and carriage, and the shape finish with that exactness, that many have rather fancied it, at a distance, a living animal, than only a bare Representation." It had disappeared by 1750. A foreign observer, John Linchoten wrote: "round about the walls are cut out and formed, the Shapes of Elephants, Lions, Tigers, *and a thousand other* such wild and cruel beasts." In the back wall of the Chapel in the east wing of the Great Temple are found a Swan, a Peacock and other animals introduced as ensigns to the ten principal figures. The *Kundalas* of the front face of the Trimurti have tiger and crocodile shapes.

This artist then had these two 'fads': triads and animals. The facts exist; you may not sum them up this way.

There are two ways of making a statue, if you know how, wrote C. E. Montague. You may plump it from within or you may pare down to it from without. The problem before our artist was of the second variety. To solve it successfully meant the possession of a strong sense of releasing a pre-existing beauty from a kind of limbo. He did it with such perfection that one feels natural gems were disengaged from their matrix.

It is difficult to speculate with any approach to accuracy on the *sequence* in which were excavated the various compartments in the great rock-cut temple. These carvings are undoubtedly a marvel of deliberate human effort. One is not sure whether the most important piece (the Trimurti), was also the first to be sculptured. Again, the order in which the statues are described in the guides

to Elephanta (say, Burgess' or Hiranand Sastri's) may perhaps not tally with the order of excavation. Very likely, neither religious nor artistic but *technical* considerations determined, the progress of excavation.

Let that be whatever it was—I will throw away any chronology, a hard job however, for a historian in the larval stage. It is time to take stock of the more important aspects of the carvings.

Indian art, considered as a whole, is religious, symbolical and decorative. Artistic achievement, essentially a projection on matter of the constructive spirit of Man, is regarded both as an act of homage and a reflection of the Divine origin of the universe. Hence there is no separation between the representative, religious and aesthetic contents in the work of the Indian artist. The sculptures at Elephanta illustrate these main features of Indian art and represent the hall-mark of its perfection. They are a typical example of one more generalization about Indian art: it had to wait long to cross the turnstile of fame.

The life and doings of the God Shiva supply the basis of artistic representation at Elephanta. Shiva is a 100 per cent. Indian God, being worshipped even before the Aryans came into India. For more than four thousand years Indian intellect and emotion have had free play around this God, lifting him from the stage of being a savage hunter in the forest to being a bundle of extremely subtle and abstract philosophical concepts. In an intermediary stage as it were, he was domesticated through his.....marriage with Parvati and made to do a lot of useful work for the Gods whenever they found themselves in a tight corner. A very wide range of ideas is therefore found associated with him.

Our artist, then, had plenty of material from which to choose, relating both to the philosophy and mythology concerning Shiva. His selection was brilliantly made. I have no doubt that a rough sketch existed in his mind of the dimensions and arrangement of the figures on the walls *before* they were hewn out. First came Trimurti (marked A in Fig. I) the culmination of the progress of thought about the deity. Then Shiva as a yogi in profound contemplation (shown as B); and *opposite* to and in *contrast* with this, Shiva *dancing* (C). Next on the *left* of Trimurti, Shiva and Parvati as forming one entity (D); and on the *right* Shiva and Parvati as a pair—a *duality* from which sprang all the vast universe (E). A rectangle was thus completely filled in, representing more or less the abstract and philosophical aspects of Shiva. Another rectangle was drawn whose corners were to contain representations

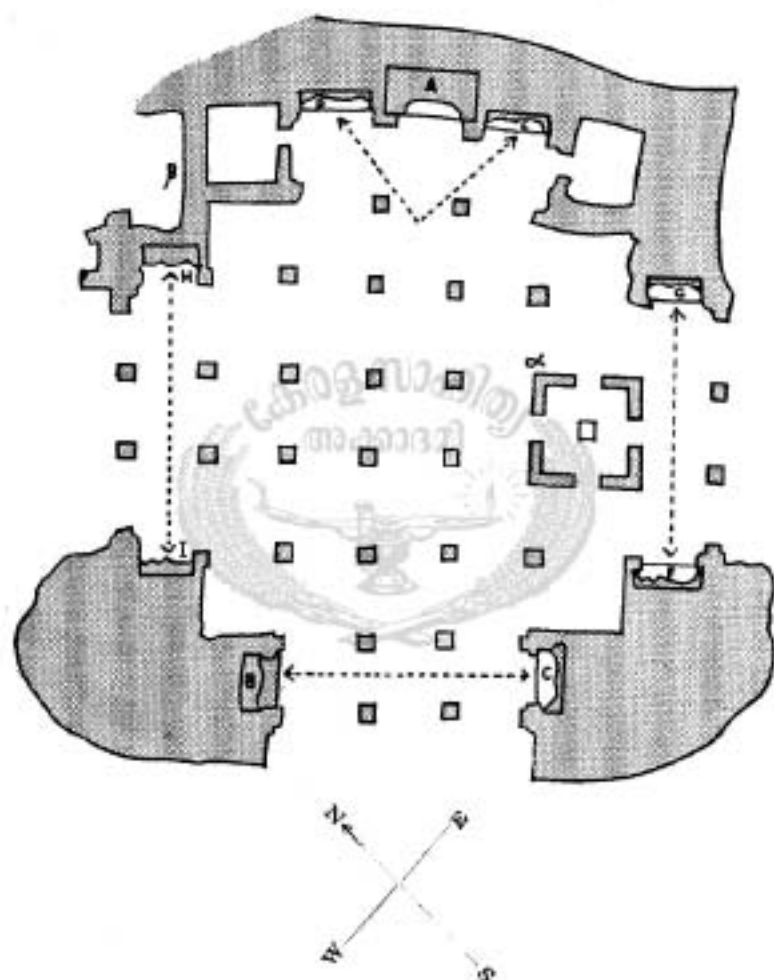


Fig. I—Note that the pillars *do not stand* between B and C, H and I, and G and F.

of the god living life approximating to that of human beings. Shiva as wild hunter (F) was set against Shiva as bride-groom, shown opposite to it (G). A panel (H) showed just a *minor* matter in the day-to-day life of married persons—wife angry with husband. Opposite to it (I on the diagram) a very *unusual* event in the life of Shiva and Parvati—an earth-quake caused by Ravana who wanted silver from Mount Kailas and therefore tilted it for carrying it to Lanka. Not a domestic but a territorial disturbance! Further, considerations affecting light and shade combinations governed the *location* of the statues, as was not unusual in Indian sculpture. This is amply borne out by figure I; especially note the direction arrows and the fact that the sculptures are *inside* a cliff facing west with gaps for light in all the walls except the eastern.

There can be but one conclusion from all this. If I can read the contrast between the abstract and the concrete, the still and the moving, and unity and duality, the gentle and the fierce, the normal and the out of the way, and light and shadow—in these carvings, *it was so intended consciously* by the artist whom therefore, I call great. I wonder how many visitors to Elephanta have ever thought that to adequately appreciate a piece of sculpture there, it is necessary to turn round and have a look at the one opposite to it. The great mind purposefully arranged this *balance of notions*. It is not by accident that an idea is repeated six times with such faithfulness.

Only the main piece, Trimurti, is self-contained. Hence his *three* heads. Otherwise the 'thesis' would have had to *stare* at the 'anti-thesis' in order to shape the contrast. *Therefore* is the middle head that of the *Preserver* maintaining the necessary balance between the Destroyer and the Creator.

I am not one of those who are committed to admire the works of Indian art either because such admiration is indicative of patriotism or because the works belong to a hoary past. What appeals to me is not so much the crowding of ornamental detail as the sheer intellectual basis of its symbolism. Territory and antiquity are subsidiary; their attraction is via such a symbolism, which forms the art of communication *par excellence*.

DEMOCRACY AND CAPITALISM

I

INTRODUCTORY

The setback that democratic institutions have latterly suffered in many lands has given birth to several critical trends as to the foundations and prospects of political liberty. As political retrogression has coincided with a period of economic disaster it is only natural that in several minds the two should be causally connected. The view that democratic institutions are essentially incompatible with the capitalistic organisation of society is being expressed by an increasing number of writers. By making this view the central thesis of his new book on 'the State in Theory and Practice', Prof. H. J. Laski of London University has, in a way, assumed the intellectual leadership of this school of thought. As an important doctrine of contemporary political philosophy and as the most characteristic contribution of a distinguished Professor of Politics, this alleged contradiction between the implications of democracy and capitalism deserves careful consideration at the hands of all students of politics.

Prof. Laski attacks with vigour and precision the so-called Idealist Theory of the State, which as yet dominates almost all political academies outside Soviet Russia. Having demolished, at any rate to his own satisfaction, the citadel of classical political theory, Laski proceeds to place in its stead the Marxian doctrine of a Materialist state. The main criticism against the Idealist theory is that it ignores the direct dependence of political power upon the possession of the means of production, and it is suggested that unless as a result of collectivisation, the ownership of the instruments of production is vested in the community as a whole, the real implications of an Idealist theory of the State and of the free working of a democratic constitution will not be realised in practice. It is further argued that in a capitalist state peaceful change from a political democracy to an economic democracy is wellnigh impossible. If economic reformers acquiesce in existing political arrangements, it is only 'under protest', and at the earliest possible opportunity, created either by a disastrous foreign war or by a devastating internal crisis, the Socialistic forces should ruthlessly exert themselves to take possession of power and to establish their own regime.

Such an account of the present working and the future prospect of civilised polity is depressing enough. But outlined by the masterhand of Laski with all the exquisite and plausible skill of a literary artist the logic of the underlying argument appears to be almost compelling. The whole thesis is presented as an inevitable product of historical causation and is argued with the most consistent objectivity. The good sense and complacency of many students of politics are bound to be disturbed by this 'bomb-shell' thrown in their midst by Laski, and they are bound to search hard to discover where exactly the truth lies.

On a careful perusal of Prof. Laski's work above referred to and of a greater portion of the rest of his publications, the present writer has come to feel that though there is much, indeed very much, to be said in favour of Laski's thought as a useful criticism of prevailing social institutions, as a challenging presentment of the other side of the case, still essentially the Idealist theory, as presented by its more sober exponents like T. H. Green, is right, both historically and analytically. In spite of the eloquent advocacy of Laski the present writer sees no reason to replace the evolutionary and Idealist conception of the State by the materialist interpretation of the State as an instrument of class exploitation. Lest such a judgment might inadvertently be based on an incomplete understanding of Laski's argument it is necessary to present in a nutshell the central thesis of his new work. As this doctrine is almost the kernel of all the characteristic political philosophy of Laski, a reasoned statement of his case will serve as a useful preliminary to the detailed examination that it is the purpose of this article to offer.

II

LASKI ON DEMOCRACY AND CAPITALISM

The State, according to Laski, is the supreme national association, legally equipped to make its will effective by resort to force, if necessary. The Idealist theory of the State finds the historical origin and the philosophical justification of state authority in its objective and character. The objective of state action is stated to be the promotion of the communal good, and its character is described as the representative of the real will of the citizens. Such an explanation of the nature of state authority, as we actually see it in operation, appears to Prof. Laski as inadequate and unsatisfactory. In his opinion evolution of states is vitally correlated to the growth of the economic structure of the community and especially to the property relations that obtain

between classes. Whatever may be the form of government, that social class which is in possession of the means of production effectively manages to make state action pliant to its own special interests. The functioning of the feudal regime and its eventual supersession by Liberal democracy, in which the new class of industrial capitalists governed with the support of the middle class, are held to prove the truth of this analysis. Those who are excluded from the possession of economic power are effectively debarred from the enjoyment of real political power as well. In comparatively unessential matters the dominant class may compromise with the excluded classes, may make concessions and thus purchase their tacit or open acquiescence in their own exploitation. A facade of equality and liberty in unessential things only serves to cover the inherent exclusiveness of Liberal democracy.

Laski feels, however, that the essential condition for the successful adoption of such a policy of temporisation is that the economic system of exclusion working behind the fortifications of an equalitarian state authority, must be in an expanding stage of evolution. The pressing material demands of the economically excluded classes can be met only out of the expanding surplus created for the propertied classes under capitalism. If, however, the economic structure is shaken by a great crisis or is suffering from internal decay such a temporising policy cannot be followed by the dominant class. Its representatives, with little effort, throw the customary political forms of equality and freedom to the winds. Indeed they do not hesitate to organise extra-constitutionally in support of their sectional interests, which they desire to protect with the aid of coercive power. The moment it is found that the possessing class can no longer offer a peaceful share in the common product to the excluded classes, the inherent antagonism between classes develops to the point of civil war. Liberal democracy itself, in its origin, was a challenge of the new industrial middle class to the feudal regime which, having fallen into decay, could no longer fulfil its social implications. In its turn individualist capitalism has come to a stage where it cannot fulfil the economic implications of Liberal democracy, viz. the right of each individual to share in the proceeds and control of communal industry.

So long as Capitalism was in an expanding stage it was possible to conceal from the non-possessing classes the essentially exclusive character of a democracy in a Capitalist state. But now that the world Crisis and the Great Depression have paralysed the pro-

ductive forces of Capitalism, the propertied classes are organising, in several cases unconstitutionally, in support of their sectional interests against the just claims of the discontented workers. The rise of Fascism in Italy and of Nazism in Germany is to be interpreted as a manifestation of the class exclusiveness inherent in Capitalism. In the last resort it is only by the sacrifice of democratic professions and practices that the special interests of the propertied classes can be preserved. This, the latest phase of capitalistic structure, is by no means final or even enduring. In their turn Fascism and Nazism are bound to provoke reaction on the part of the politically and economically excluded sections of the community. Fascism and Nazism are ill-digested, unstable philosophies. Under them constitutional action on the part of citizens is impossible and hence all counter currents tend necessarily to run an anti-constitutional course.

A grim conflict of class interests conducted even outside the constitution appears to be inevitable to Prof. Laski. The injustices and shortcomings of private ownership of capital can be ended only by 'revolutionary' means. Revolution thus appears to Laski, as it does to all Marxists, as the unavoidable midwife of social change. Only when the collectivisation of the means of production is achieved, real democracy is possible. In a classless society the coercive power of the state will be used only in the interests of the community as a whole, as is postulated in the Idealist theory. The path of social peace lies through economic democracy. Some form of revolution and some dictatorial interlude appear to be inevitable, as in the course of history possessors of exclusive social advantages have rarely parted with them except under duress. At any rate the prospects of peaceful abdication in a contracting stage of Capitalism are almost nil.

On the other hand, in well organised modern states, with the coercive power and means of propaganda at the disposal of state authorities, revolutions are by no means easy of accomplishment. Only in the event of a disastrous foreign war or a devastating internal calamity can the forces of revolution hope to master the defensive organisation of capitalist society. Economic reformers must, in the meanwhile, exhaust all possibilities of constitutional action. But the utmost that capitalistic democracy has to offer to the propertyless classes falls short of their just claims, and the limitations placed by the Idealist theory on the rights of justifiable disobedience of established laws by the citizens are not compatible with the essential exclusiveness of Capitalism.

III

IMPORTANCE OF LASKI'S CRITICISM

The present writer is only too conscious of the fact that he has not been able to do anything like due justice to the trenchant and eloquent manner in which Laski himself has presented his challenge to democracy in a capitalist state. The last section, however, contains the substance of Laski's argument in support of his case. If in any material particular the present writer has misunderstood Laski's meaning he is open to correction. But in his latest book Laski has been so frank and he has, like a tried popular author that he is, resorted so often to the repetition of his main argument that it is not very probable that there can have been any material misunderstanding of his meaning. On the basis, therefore, of this outline of Laski's case against the Idealist theory of the State, and against the claims of a Liberal democracy, it is proper to enter into an examination of its validity.

As a contribution to political theory Laski's criticism of the Idealist or Philosophical theory of the State has distinct merit. That a state, like any other social organisation must be judged not only according to its professed aims and principles, but according to its actual achievements along the declared lines, is a truth that needed to be boldly re-asserted in these days of grave and pressing social ills. Even granting that in their very nature ideals are unattainable in practice and that actual achievements are bound to fall short of declared expectations, we must be satisfied on the vital question, viz. whether it is inherently impossible for a given social structure practically to achieve what it professes to aim at. Prof. Laski has concluded that it is inherently impossible for a Capitalist society to achieve the real purposes of democracy. Not every student of political philosophy will concur in this judgement, but all will have to agree that we must pay greater attention to actual achievements than to professed aims, and that at any rate we must satisfy ourselves that there is no inherent incompatibility between the two.

The relationship between the State as an abstract yet real concept and the Government as its concretised form of operation is philosophically well-grounded. But when a Theory of the State, such as the Philosophical or the Idealist Theory, seeks to justify relations between subjects and their governments by reference to the theoretical attributes of the State the relationship sometimes becomes worse than meaningless. It serves as a dangerous argument against the just liberties of the individual citizens. So long as there is no inviolable association between the

theoretical attributes of the State and the actual conduct of governments it is illogical and unfair to judge the conduct of citizens towards their governments only in the light of the philosophical concept of an Ideal state. As Prof. Laski pertinently observes, no theory of the State is adequate which does not make governmental acts the centre of its study. A transcendental approach to social authority is no more justifiable than the purely empirical one.

Following Hobhouse, Laski insists that man's personality must be viewed and judged as a whole. Taking actual and not ideal citizens reason, unreason and impulse, all combine to form their intellectual and moral personality. To talk of the will of such people as real only when it conforms to established laws and institutions, and to deny to it the attribute of reality the moment it departs from established usage is an unjustifiable act of illogicality. The claim that the established laws and customs are crystalised forms of historical reason, of the better judgement of generations of citizens, is no more than a presumption. If it were used as an axiom, not in need of verification in each particular case, the recognition of the independent existence of individual will, will come to an end. No change whatsoever would be constitutionally possible and thus the very postulate of a historical reason would be belied.

It is good historical truth and good common sense to assert that the traditional institutions and the established laws of a nation are presumed to have the support of experience and continued loyalty on their side. An individual in challenging an established law must bear this in mind, but need not, in fact must not, abjure on that account his own right and duty to interpret and judge in his own way the inherent claims of that law to his obedience. Individual judgment in each case is, however, liable to be influenced as much by reason as by passion, by knowledge as by prejudice, by a sense of public duty as by self-interest. Both these types of judgements, as also the mental and purposive processes lying behind them, are real. No amount of sophistical reasoning on the part of Hegelian philosophers will ever prove to the satisfaction of the world of non-philosophical students and of the common body of citizens, that when a convicted thief is being marched to the prison cells his 'real' will is more truthfully interpreted by the judge who awards the sentence than by the counsel for defence. Laski is well justified in asserting that the identification of the so called rational or historical will—whatever these phrases may actually mean, with the established laws of a state is wrong, inasmuch as this line of argument denies the undoubted reality of all individual will, whether in conformity with established law or not.

A theory of the State has to answer the fundamental question about the moral justification of the obedience of state laws on the part of citizens. Actual experience shows that in many cases citizens do obey out of fear, subservience or greed. But as none of these mental attitudes is based on any rational balance of judgement with regard to the laws in question they cannot serve as an answer to the question, 'why should men obey the laws of their governments?'. Why most men do actually obey is a positive inquiry, but why men should or ought to obey is a philosophical speculation which forms the central thread of all discussions about the nature of the State.

All those who have approached this latter question from the standpoint of the moral personality of human beings and of human societies have found only one answer for it. The conviction of the individual citizen that his own will is in some real way translated into state laws is the only moral justification for his obedience of the same. With the growing political awakening among all classes of citizens the possibility of a rational and moral effort on the part of citizens is appreciably increasing. Though under the stress of immediate administrative needs governments can depend upon the coercive machinery at their disposal, in the long run and fundamentally it is truer today than it ever was to say with Laski, that the judgement of the individual citizen is the basis in which laws must find their title to consent.

The recognition of this truth which, by the way, was widespread in democratic states till the recent rise of restrictive politics, entails as an ultimate and possible contingency the right of a dissentient minority to rebel. The constitutional machinery for the ascertaining of citizens' judgements and the formulation of state laws is so unsatisfactory that individuals and groups may occasionally find their judgements in sharp contrast to the contents of the statute book. Even if an ideal constitutional machinery for the formulation of the general will, by a process of integration of individual wills, were to be set up, in the extremely complicated societies of modern times some judgments are ever likely to be excluded from the final shape that the law takes. When individuals or groups thus find themselves unable to accept the moral, rational, or intrinsic validity of a law, it is theoretically open for them to disobey that law. Cases of such conscientious disobedience practised on a large scale constitute many, though not most, of the rebellions of history. As the constituted guardians of the established law are by duty and inclination bound to enforce their authority a disobedience of laws soon takes the form of a violent conflict. While the conflict is going on the conduct of

the rebellious minority is clearly unconstitutional, but subject to the right of the state and other citizens to take up arms in defence of the law as it stands the moral right of minorities to rebel is implicit in all Idealist justification of state authority. At a time when in most countries intolerant, ironheeled dictatorships are enthroned in power Laski has done well in emphasising the moral and political claims of the minorities.

In all this advocacy of the importance of individual judgement to any system of laws Laski is breaking little new ground, though he is ploughing in it a little deeper than the best of English Idealists. The characteristic contribution of Laski to political philosophy has its origin in his acceptance of the Marxian interpretation of social history. Like the more circumspect Marxists Prof. Laski guards himself against a flat denial of other causal factors in historical evolution. Conceding that there are several influences of a material and subjective character which combine to produce a historical result, he yet insists that the principal factor in historical causation is economic. Against opinion so guardedly stated it is difficult to raise any fundamental objection. Even the contemporary events in the social and political life of most countries will suffice to prove the substantial truth of the view that most social events have an economic basis. For the understanding of the working of social institutions, and of the state among others, the reactions on the economic side must be fundamentally considered.

But this is only the first step in Laski's economic interpretation of the state. As the economic aspect is the most dominant feature of social change, so also is the functioning of state authority very closely correlated to the functioning of the prevailing system of production. Control of the productive machine gives to its owners an effective influence over the functioning of the entire social life, including the operations of the State. It is only natural that the dominant economic class should utilise its economic and political power to its own advantage. In all individualist societies there is an unmistakable tendency towards a tacit but effective alliance between those who hold the purse strings and those who swing the big staff. Laws in such a society have a tendency to support the claims of the 'haves' against those of the 'have nots', and state action, even though it may be within the limits of an equalitarian legal system, tends to be partial towards the possessing classes. As Prof. Laski makes clear such a judgement on state action does not involve an imputation of a deliberately factious motive to the State or its agents. By the very law of its nature individualist democracy in a capitalist state

serves as a bulwark for the claims of the capitalists against those of the other classes. The behaviour of almost all states in periods of strikes and lock-outs will supply enough proof for the large element of obvious justice in Laski's observation.

A plausible reply to a position such as this often takes the form of a glorification of the equalitarian opportunities afforded by an economic and political Liberalism. There is, of course, some truth in this view. The opportunities for the betterment of one's position are freely available to all in at least the more enlightened democracies. As all individuals are free to make full use of their inherent capacities for bettering their economic position, it cannot be a perpetual partisanship of one group against another that a democratic state can maintain. The preponderant influence wielded by numerical majorities in a democratic state gives further strength to this view. But as against this speculative optimism is to be set the hard fact of experience on which Laski places special emphasis. Hereditary, traditional and social advantages play such an important role in the effective use that one can make of one's legally secured opportunities that in a broad sense the social stratification in capitalist society may be declared to be exceptionally rigid, excepting in periods of rapid change. Lacking the hope of moving up into the possessing class and knowing full well that the State tends to put its weight on the side of maintaining the economic *status quo*, it is no matter for surprise that the propertyless classes and their champions take an extremely gloomy view of the prospects of social justice being peacefully secured even in democratic states. The prospect in fact may not be as desperate as it appears to Prof. Laski, but that economic inequality and rigidity of class-formation constitute an almost effective barrier in the path of the realisation of the best aims of democratic civilisation cannot be gainsaid. A very much greater approximation to equality of economic possessions and opportunities than is either operative or in prospect at present is beyond doubt an indispensable condition of the securing of greater individual liberty and social peace.

If proofs were wanting for these critical views of Laski they are supplied in abundance by the contemporary rise of dictatorships. Prof. Laski does not argue that the rise of Fascism in Italy and of Nazism in Germany is exclusively due to the unwillingness of the capitalists in the two nations to face the inevitable consequences of political democracy as applied to an unequal economic system. Laski, however, feels that this is the most significant explanation of the rise of these and similar dictatorships. Particularly in a disorganised and decadent state of the economic system, which

has set in since the end of the last World War, the conflict, that Aristotle long ago foresaw, between the poorer many and the richer few has come to a head. Even those who do not agree with the view that Fascism constitutes a flat denial on the part of the propertied classes to observe the rules of the democratic game when it is seen that under these rules they are bound to lose to the propertyless classes, will have to concede the great importance of the economic debacle in giving rise to these definitely unconstitutional and undemocratic systems. The failure of Italy and Germany to provide timely and effective remedies for their pressing economic ills, particularly for the prevailing distress among the labouring classes during the post-war period, gave rise to unstable social conditions out of which Fascism and Nazism took birth. Economic inequality, and more so economic instability, affecting a large part of the population is a very unsuitable condition for the functioning of democracy.

IV

THE IDEALIST THEORY NOT AFFECTED

Prof. Laski has secured a respectable academic place for the long prevalent materialistic or economic interpretation of social change and of the working of social institutions. His observations in support of his views constitute a strong challenge to both the students of politics and the directors of state policy. A greater readiness to secure economic equality and security, in preference to mere quantitative accumulation, is already visible in states which have learnt by long experience of democratic movements the wisdom of timely adjustment to inevitable social changes. In inducing such a welcome attitude, both in England and the United States, Laski has already rendered distinguished services as much to the science of politics as to the greater cause of human justice and liberty. If then the present writer feels impelled to offer a few critical observations on certain other aspects of Prof. Laski's presentment of the case against democracy under Capitalism it is not because he yields to any one else in his profound appreciation of the great eminence and the far-reaching influence of the political philosophy of the London Professor. But it does appear to the present writer that in several important respects a more convincing case will have to be made out before we consent to scrap the Idealist theory or to give up all hopes of a Liberal democracy working within the essential attributes of a free economic system.

The ground for Laski's criticism of the Hegelian version of the Idealist theory is easily understandable, but his dissent from Green does not appear to be convincing. Prof. Laski says that 'the State must aim at satisfying the desires of all its citizens, and satisfying them in equal measure, unless it can demonstrate by rational argument that the good of those who are excluded from equal treatment is involved in their exclusion'; and further that 'exceptions to this rule can be justified only when it can be rationally shown that the exceptions themselves are a necessary part of the equality aimed at, a logical condition of its fulfilment.' (P. 35). It is not clear what Laski exactly has in view when he speaks of the 'desires of all its citizens'. Does desire connote wish, or want, or is it simply the equivalent of will? Desires are mostly the outcome of subjective impulses, and for the State to aim at the satisfaction of these is an impossible proposition, even if it were morally desirable. There is reason to believe that Laski has not this direct meaning of desire in view while prescribing the aims of a state.

In a later place (P. 104) he is more emphatic. "The claim of the State to obedience, I have argued, rests upon its will and ability to secure to its citizens the maximum satisfaction of their wants." It is clear then that Laski would uphold the State's claim to obedience of its citizens if it were shown that the State intends to satisfy the wants of its citizens as much as possible and that it is capable of doing so. If it were not for the unmistakable ring of objectivity in Laski's use of the word 'wants', most idealists would support this statement of the grounds of political obedience. From Hegel to Bosanquet, do not all Idealists claim that the promotion of the maximum good of the society as a whole must be the objective of state action? That even Laski does not conceive of the possibility of the several wants of all citizens proving to be identical with the wants of the community as a whole is implied in his acquiescence in discrimination and exclusion of one type.

If the maintenance of the machinery for the realisation of the wants of all the citizens itself necessitates discrimination of treatment among citizens, or the exclusion of some amongst them from the enjoyment of privileges created by the State, Laski would not object to the situation. In this attitude of his he does not materially differ from many of the Idealists themselves. The exclusion of the slaves in Ancient Greece from the free and equalitarian system of laws applicable to Greek citizens was based on a theory of differing wants for slaves and freemen. It has not been claimed in later times that the wants of different classes are

essentially different and an attempt at eking out the living of the poorer section of the community by compensatory state action is visible in all progressive countries. But where a theory of differing wants for the several classes is not held, and yet the actual satisfaction of wants of a large class of people leaves much to be desired as compared with standards obtaining in the more favoured classes, the defence put forward on behalf of the current social structure is exactly the one that Laski has allowed for. The reasoned defence of Capitalism and of representative democracy is none other than that the maximum possible prospect of individual and collective enjoyment of prosperity and liberty is realised under them.

Prof. Laski appears to be conscious of this obvious limitation on the justice of his criticism of democracy and capitalism. "But it is important," he observes, (P. 36) "to note here the need for the state, when it maintains such a differentiation, to convince those directly excluded from it of its validity. It is not a sufficient defence of slavery, that the slave-owners think it for the ultimate benefit of the slaves. It is not a sufficient defence of the system of private property in the instruments of production that their owners think it a system which works to the ultimate benefit of those who do not so own." Apart from one's own judgement about the institutions of slavery and private property, it must be said that Laski, in asking for the satisfaction of the excluded about the justice of exclusion, is neither consistent nor logical. Laski, being a realist, should be the last person to attribute rationality to all the mental processes of citizens, and yet conviction of the excluded entails a rational effort on their part which all of them may not be competent to undertake successfully. It is well-known, on the other hand, that reason itself appears in a perverted form to those who are the sufferers of unreason. Many Athenian slaves probably believed in the justice of Aristotle's categories of born slaves and free men. Many members of the lower classes even now believe that they are inherently different from and inferior to the superior classes. The doctrines of sin and predestination play an important part in the psychological make up of humanity. It is on record that several Negroes took up cudgels on behalf of their own enslavement in the American Civil War. Not only is it often inherently impossible to convince people of the justice or injustice of State acts, but it may be argued logically that such a course is unsound. It is difficult to prove to a drunkard that he is drunk, to a poor man that his poverty is due to some shortcoming of his own, and to a defeated candidate that his election manifesto is all wrong.

That all exclusion from collective benefits should be rationally justified as being essential for the maintenance of the social system which makes the benefits possible and thus as being ultimately in the interest of both the excluded and the non-excluded is a proposition that most of the later Idealists will subscribe to. But to claim that justice of exclusion should be rationally brought home to the excluded is neither feasible nor valid.

This conclusion may appear dangerously near the Hegelian extreme of clothing the actually existing institutions with all the attributes of an Ideal state and refusing to citizens the right to disobey lawful authority under all circumstances. Laski has really this *impasse* in view in the unfolding of his whole case. If the institutions of majority-rule operating in a capitalist society are to be held not only legally, but even morally, inviolable on the part of the excluded classes, as of course on the part of all classes of citizens, the hope of an early establishment of a socialist state by 'respectable' means recedes into the background. To socialists and their friends this is naturally an unwelcome prospect, but it does not supply to the thesis of convincing the excluded of the justice of their exclusion the logicity and consistency that it inherently lacks.

This problem of the right of minorities and, in an extreme case, of individuals to revolt against the established order is of fundamental importance in political philosophy. Hegel appears to have denied such a right under all circumstances. It is not, however, correct to figure him as an opponent of all change. To Hegel the State and its laws were the crystalised products of historical reason. This view implied a belief in the process of historical change which is affected by the views of minorities and of individuals even though they may not be effective in immediate constitutional channels. Even the process of 'Tories running away with the clothes of Whigs while the latter were bathing,' and 'Conservatives stealing the thunder of Socialists' has an important bearing on the whole question of the influence of minorities on state action. It is, however, clear that Hegel did not concede the moral right of rebellion against laws, which to him were the embodiment of all morality. But very few of the present day supporters of the Idealist school follow Hegel in his entire rejection of the right to rebel.

Any useful criticism of the Idealist theory must aim at answering the position that Green takes up on the central issue. Green denies, as all students of political institutions do, the existence of a legal right of rebellion. But he favours under

certain circumstances not only the political right but the political duty of rebellion. If, as Rousseau long ago observed, the will of all is not necessarily the General Will, much less is the will of the majority always the same as the General Will. The view point and the personality of the observer are more important to the formulation of a generalised will than the number of observers. Even if a single individual citizen endowed not only with all the intellectual equipment necessary to form a responsible judgement on state policy, but also with the moral capacity of viewing the matter from a non-personal collective angle of vision comes to a decision contrary to the one favoured by the constituted instruments of public action then, according to Green, it becomes not only the right but the duty of such a man to resist, irrespective of consequences, the pseudo-collective will as reflected in the constitutionally declared laws. To those whose belief in the liberty of the individual and the need for social progress is not merely the result of some pre-conceived assumptions, but is based on a dispassionate observation of human conduct and of the working of social institutions such a position as that assumed by Green ought to appear satisfactory and justifiable. It reconciles the need of authority and liberty, of stability and progress, as effectively as is rationally necessary and humanly possible.

But to give up this position in favour of the more extreme one where every individual and group, irrespective of its intellectual and moral equipment, is held to be free to rebel against society whenever it feels aggrieved is incompletely to understand the moral and material utility of law and order in human life. An *a priori* belief in historical materialism may serve as a convenient debating weapon. Socialists may argue that the inferior intellectual and moral equipment of members of the excluded classes is due to their having been the sufferers of economic inequality. To a certain extent this is undoubtedly true, but an admission of the influence of material possessions on the intellectual and moral calibre of the possessors does not naturally lead to the admission that a right to revolt should be extended to all irrespective of their capacity to understand all the material and moral implications of their action. The trend of Laski's views appears to be definitely to condone, if not actually to sanction, the right of political rebellion on the ground of economic inequality.

Language of this sort in the mouth of an English professor may sound strange to those who have what Laski would probably call fond hopes about democracy. In a democracy where almost all adult citizens have an opportunity to select their own representatives for the sovereign legislature, there is a real and definite

contribution made by even minorities and individuals in shaping state policy. If it is argued that every citizen, irrespective of his own intellectual and moral status and of the magnitude of his grievance, has a right to disobey laws of which he does not approve all civil society will come to a standstill, and anarchy will constitute a worse evil than the limited shortcomings of democracy in a capitalist state. But if it is intended that free scope should be given to individuals and groups to influence state action by persuasion that intention can be, and is to a considerable extent already, translated into the political practices of advanced democracies, e.g. England. The fear that the propertied classes and services will resort to unconstitutional action in keeping out workers' representatives from the enjoyment of effective power, even if they man governmental offices, is at worst a bad guess and is at best only a generalisation based on particular examples.

Laksi's interpretation of the rise of Fascism in Italy and of Nazism in Germany as the revolt of Capitalism in decay cannot be accepted as an adequate or even as the most significant explanation of the two events. It must be admitted that both in Italy and Germany in the creation of the unsettled and tense atmosphere in which the new dictatorships had their rise, economic disintegration played an important role. But it is not quite convincing to argue that economic disintegration having rendered capitalism too weak in these lands to resist the constitutional demands of the proletariat, the capitalists had recourse to unconstitutional resistance. At any rate in Italy the unconstitutionality started with the non-propertied section of the population. Both in Germany and Italy purely political factors, such as the inherent unsuitability of the parliamentary form of democracy to the particular social, economic and cultural peculiarities of the two nations, and the emergencies created by the War and by the Post-war settlements, had even more to answer for in the process of the rise of dictatorships than the alleged inability of the capitalists 'to lose as good sportsmen'. Laksi indeed admits that the economic factor is not the only factor which explains the rise of Fascism and Nazism, but he clearly states that in his opinion that factor is the most important of all. This view of his is as yet too narrow and shaky a foundation on which to base the whole superstructure of the doctrine of essential incompatibility of democracy with capitalism, and of economic reform with constitutionality.

Another ground on which Laksi bases his view that even a majority government if composed of Socialists will not be allowed to put into execution far-reaching socialistic schemes is, if anything, more untenable. Any far-reaching reform, whether socialistic or

other, in a democratic state will have to be definitely referred to the electorate at a general election. If a Socialist Government comes into power after a successful general election, in which it had presented its scheme of reform to the electorate, there is little doubt that the constitutional machinery will be as much serviceable to its reforming activity as to that of other political parties in office. Professor Laski fears that the Labour Party in power will not be allowed 'to turn the economic system of the nation upside down'. The fear is well founded, but it does not constitute a special handicap on the Labour Party. The Conservative Government was not allowed to introduce Protection before the issue had been presented to the electorate on several occasions and even now that Government is apprehensive of electoral wrath on account of excessive protection. Constant propaganda and prolonged agitation are essential and useful preliminaries to all far-reaching reforms in any direction. There is no reason why the Socialists should be treated with special favour or disfavour in this respect.

When Prof. Laski allows himself to doubt the constitutional loyalty and the political good sense of the House of Lords, the Services, and even the King, *vis-à-vis* a powerful Socialistic Government bent on bringing about radical economic reform, it must be said that there is as yet no valid ground for his apprehensions. The experience of Mr. De Valera should put heart into all would-be radical reformers within the framework of the British constitution. Given a sufficiently long and extensive propaganda, given the inherent worth of the programme of reform, which last must be judged in the light of the appeal that it makes to the electorate, there is no reason to universalise a conclusion that constituted political authorities in a capitalist democracy will not allow the normal functioning of state policy under a Socialist Government. The apprehensions about the loyalty of the services and the independence of the King do not appear to be well founded. There is bound to be personal bias in all ranks of the state service, but if propaganda and agitation are sufficiently prolonged and intensive, they imperceptibly yet effectively influence the minds of all citizens, in or out of office. If it is an economic and political coup by a Socialist Government that Laski has in view, then certainly neither the King nor the services are bound to co-operate with the Government in office. But this reservation is common to all governments of all parties.

Professor Laski has allowed himself to be unnecessarily depressed by the gloomy prospect opened up by the Economic

Crisis and the Great Depression. It is to be feared that the alleged breakdown of Capitalism has been taken too seriously by Laski and that he has not cared sufficiently to inquire into the real causes and extent of the economic disaster. Few people take Mr. Lloyd George's authority on any public question as decisive in these days. Least of all is he considered a high authority on economic issues. Still it is a characteristically sweeping and snappy statement of Mr. Lloyd George that Laski quotes in support of his view that capitalism is heading for a breakdown. "There must be something fundamentally wrong with our economic system, because abundance produces scarcity." Capitalism to-day is like a rich man fallen on evil days, so that even those who once basked in its favour can afford to throw stones at it. It is indeed undisputed that the economic structure of modern society requires to be repaired in several important respects e.g. monetary reconstruction and regulation of industry. But to condemn the entire capitalist structure to doom on the basis of its recent misfortunes shows as little historical perspective as scientific acumen.

Laski takes the extreme Marxian view about historical materialism, and the more panicky views about the future of Capitalism at their face value. To a pessimist frame of mind so created he adds his peculiar distrust about the constitutional bonafides of the British political institutions, and concludes that it is inherently impossible that democracy will ever work well under Capitalism. The antagonism between classes is for him too powerful and universal an impediment to the free working of democracy. This conclusion leads up to several avenues of prospective reorganisation which are as interesting as the process by which the condemnation of Liberal democracy is attained. Prof. Laski refers to the first of modern Idealists, Rousseau, as having justified the surrender of power on the part of the individual to the collective authority on the ground of achieving equality thereby, and from this assumption about the view of Rousseau, Laski deduces the conclusion that as under Capitalism equality is not obtainable the surrender of authority on the part of individuals may practically be held to be withdrawn. This course of reasoning is rather unfortunate as in Rousseau's chapter on the Social Pact it is made clear that in the judgement of the great political philosopher individual liberty is held to have been sacrificed for certainty and security, and not for equality as such. The equality that Rousseau speaks of is political equality which is capable of being assured under a democratic constitution whether in a Capitalist or a Collectivist society.

Collectivisation of the means of production is the haven into which Laski would steer the ship of State, in the fond hope that thereby a classless society would be created and no single class would be left to utilise the machinery of the state to dominate over the rest. Granting for the sake of argument that collectivisation of the means of production is a desirable social end, Laski's optimism about the prospects of democracy under that system appears to be illfounded. It is not quite certain that even in Collectivist society inequality of economic possessions will not be tolerated. Moreover, economic possessions are only one of the several bases on which classes may be formed. In the Soviet Russia of today, as also among the free Athenians, control of the means of production did not constitute a primary basis for class division. Natural affinities such as immediate interest, intellectual conviction, racial and religious sympathy, these and similar non-economic factors constitute an equally serviceable basis of 'class' formation, which may have far-reaching reactions on state policy. Prof. Laski, like most of the Socialist theorists, is in one sense even a greater idealist than Hegel, Green and Bosanquet. He is almost a 'Utopian'. He appears to believe that once the collectivist state is established democracy would have smooth passage. Unfortunately such does not appear to be the case. Economic obstacles are not the only important obstacles in the way of democracy, and in so far as they are economic, not all of them arise out of the special features of Capitalism. Human nature, differing capacities, and differing scales of moral and material values are bound to produce serious political and economic inequality between man and man, whether the order of society is capitalist or socialist.

It is most unfortunate that such an eminent leader of political thought as Prof. Laski should have preached a gospel of despair to all those who hope for peaceful constitutional change for the better in the economic and political spheres. It is further unfortunate that he has based his principal accusation against democracy under capitalism on the very partial connection between economic and political inequality, and between economic equality and political liberty. Most regrettable of all is his prognosis of the future. Possessors of special advantages have never in history surrendered the just claims of the excluded except under pressure of revolution, hence the path of revolution, is the only one which will enable economic reform to be achieved. This in substance is Laski's final conclusion. If it were well based in history and scientific analysis it would be as disheartening as inexorable. Fortunately there is reason to believe that for once Laski has allowed his enthusiasm for reform and freedom to get the better of his

scientific rigour and fairness. The growing social consciousness and political experience of all classes of the people, including the capitalists, cannot be so lightly brushed aside as Prof. Laski has persuaded himself to do. Nor is the doom of Capitalism any more irrevokable than the uncertainties of a Collectivist society.

The conviction of the present writer is that the central problem of the relation between the individual and the State is not vitally affected by the economic system. Even if all the world were to go Collectivist in a day the problem would not be materially altered. Is a Russian farmer who does not see the justice of the Soviet plan of collectivisation of farms justified in disobedience of state orders? What are the limits of disobedience in a Soviet state? Are things in these respects any better in Collectivist Russia, than what they are in democratic England or Fascist Italy? Economic inequality does have significance in narrowing the chances of actual enjoyment of the fruits of political liberty on the part of citizens and hence all policies which are aimed at removing the root causes of economic inequality deserve our best support. But all that social and economic reform might achieve will not do away with inequality altogether, because inequality arising out of the special attributes of individuals is natural and even helpful to the fullest growth of personality. And even if complete economic equality were achieved the central problem of political philosophy would still remain to be solved. No better answer to those questions—why should a citizen obey the laws of his government and when is he justified in disobeying them—has yet been given than is contained in the views of T. H. Green referred to above.

D. G. KARVE.

THE NEW ECONOMIC ROLE OF THE STATE

For over half a century we have witnessed the rapid growth of the demand for the extension of the Economic functions of the state. The origins of that demand can be traced indeed to the time a century ago when State intervention was called for in the shape of Factory Legislation to remove the hardship felt by labour from the system of free contract between the Capitalist and the Employer. But in our times the demand for conscious control of the Economic system has been increasing rapidly *pari passu* with the identification of the State with the Economic process. State intervention is now asked for on various weighty grounds: in the name of Secretary and stability of the Economic system—that contention being strongly reinforced by the present depression; in the name of Economic progress and rationalization, and also to secure greater welfare through Equality of distribution.

An important factor in the change of the attitude of economists towards State intervention was the shifting of emphasis from the notion of wealth to that of Economic Welfare. Here a very important place must be given to "Marshall's proof that *laissez faire* breaks down in certain conditions *theoretically* and not merely *practically*" (Keynes). To a certain extent he indicated the practical consequences of his doctrine, and in the preface to his work on *Industry and Trade* he noted "the limited tendencies of self-interest to direct each individual's action on those lines in which it will be most beneficial to others". In America these thoughts found an echo in the writings of Professor Felter and many other Economists who championed the claims of "Welfare Economics" as against those of "Price Economics". But the ideas were most thoroughly worked out by Professor Pigou. He emphasised the existence of various hindrances which prevented the distribution of economic resources in such a way as to raise the national dividend to a maximum position, and indicated various devices and ways for eliminating these obstacles and for "directing self interest into social channels"¹. He would have the State intervene, among other things to encourage investment, to control monopolies and industrial combinations, to raise unfairly low wages, to secure insurance against unemployment and industrial accidents, diseases, and to advance the cause of agriculture. It is noteworthy that Professor Pigou's line of treatment was used

1. Economics of Welfare pp. 115 ; 127 ; 30.

as a ground work by a distinguished Fascist economist like Gaetano Napolitano in order to construct the theory of the State's function of controlling not only national industry but the entire economic life of the country.

The tendency of economic thought in the direction of accepting an extension of State's economic functions was promoted by the theoretical trend towards *Institutional Economics*. Professor Commons has urged that "collective action, as well as individual action has always been there; but from Adam Smith to the twentieth century it has been excluded or ignored except as attacks on Trade Unions or postscripts on Ethics or *public policy*. The problem now is not to create a different kind of economics divorced from preceding schools, but how to give collective action, in all its varieties its due place throughout economic theory". While Professor Commons is a representative of American thought, Professor Cannan had also been urging that the free play of self-interest is "confined to certain directions by our general social institutions, especially the Family, Property, and *the territorial state*. It is for human institutions like the state, to "compel self-interest to work in directions in which it will be beneficent".

Passing from the consideration of theoretical speculative factors to the realistic aspects of the matter and actual causative elements, the main single cause leading to an increase in the economic activity of the state consists of the highly dynamic character of our present day economy. The progress of invention and of application of science to industrial purposes is such that, as has been well observed, we have now an Industrial Revolution in each decade. We have mechanization both in the manufacturing sphere and in grain production irrespectively of elasticity of demand. In fact there is maladjustment of supply and demand in this respect as a result of progress. The adjustment both of wages and profits to the changing economic environment has become a most difficult problem. Here we have great trouble with "the speed and the mechanism and the adjustment of the machine which provides employment"—to use an expression of Sir Josiah Stamp. In the face of abrupt and immense changes the economic system has lost its balance and its power of adjustment; nor is there any chance of "Science taking a twenty years' holiday from invention" as has been ingeniously suggested. No wonder that men look to the State as the only authority big enough to redress the misdirection of economic activity.

Other Economic considerations also lead directly to the increase of the economic power and functions of the State. The

multifarious struggles and clash of interests of economic classes necessitate the arbitrament of the State—if general class warfare is not going to be the order of the day. The conflicting interests of Labour and Capital would alone require the strengthening of the economic power of the State in great measure. But there are other conflicts—conflicts between monopolistic producers and consumers and clashes of interest between industries. To these conflicts of present and existing interests are to be added a large and growing number of conflicts looming large on the position. Thus Mr. J. A. Hobson has recently advanced the view that the State is the true organ of Rationalization of industries and has shown that in the absence of guidance by the State, the rationalization of particular industries might easily injure other industries as well as labourers and consumers. In the absence of State guidance he foresees a fresh crop of internecine conflicts among rationalised trades and industries, especially as some traders are less susceptible to rationalisation than other. Moreover the normal tendency of trade rationalisation is towards monopoly, and only the action of the State can guard against this undesirable development.

But there are other than purely economic factors which make men rest their hopes more and more on the State. Professor Jaspers of Berlin has well pointed out, that, as the result of the domination of the Technical mass-orders and the consequent "dominion of the apparatus and the machine," "man is deracinated, reduced to the level of a thing and has lost the essence of humanity". His only desire is to occupy the best obtainable place in the apparatus. The desire to shoulder responsibility and the capacity to choose true leaders have both been weakened. The trouble of thinking out One's line of action in the midst of the highly complicated surroundings is too great for most men and it is easier to leave decision to the will of the State. This is a less complimentary aspect of the constitution of the authoritarian state—but one which has to be noticed in the interest of truth.

What then are the *actual proposals* which have been advanced as regards the proper lines of extension of the Economic role of the State?

I

Here we should be less than fair if we did not first give their due to the conservative element among the economists and to those who are most reluctant to extend the scope of State intervention. That element is naturally represented most in great Britain—a country with a comparatively conservative mentality. Here we

meet with eminent economists like Professors Beveridge, Robbins and Clay. This Group is of opinion that the State can achieve its task of remedying the dislocation of industry and commerce by proper action *within the present sphere of its activities*. Thus Professor Clay looks for recovery "to the diffused initiative of the more intelligent and enterprising traders, financiers and Engineers engaged in this and other countries". He would have Governments "reverse their post-war practice of protecting and subsidizing industries that cannot face world competition. Our own Government will have use its new tariff as an instrument for breaking down, rather than adding to, trade barriers". In the same spirit Professor Sir William Beveridge seeks a way out of the world's crisis within the framework of the capitalistic system, by suppressing through international co-operation, the anarchy of purchasing power but keeping and increasing the liberty of production and exchange. In his view no middle course is possible since "control and freedom do not mix properly. We have to decide either to let production be guided by the free play of prices or to plan it socialistically from beginning to end". Professor Robbins is even bolder and has argued that "there is nothing in the market and competitive production as such, which should lead us to expect a periodic tendency to slump and wide-spread depression". It is interventionism and monetary uncertainty that are responsible for the slump. It is further insisted on that our present troubles are not a crises of plenty but only a disease of the system of exchange and of prices, and hence they may be remedied by merely administering the proper tonics to the competitive system.

But it can be contended, that in the very reasoning of this group of distinguished teachers one can find traces of doubt regarding the possibility of getting back to "the automatic working of a self-adjusting system". There are hints about the growing rigidity of the system of prices and wages as the result in great measure of the spread or dominance of the monopolistic element. How can that movement be reversed? and without such reversal what chance is there for self-adjustment within anything like a reasonable period of time? We have no powers under the former system to regulate or control the consumer's choice, and that demand is becoming more and more capricious. While Sir W. Beveridge speaks of abolishing the anarchy of purchasing power he is fully aware of the difficulties in the way of securing stable money and of the close interrelations between monetary policy and other elements in economic policy. Misdirection of

production is indeed closely connected with anarchy of purchasing power. It has also been contended, and on good grounds too that "the process of intervention has already gone so far in the world as a whole that no single nation can afford to get out of step".¹

II

At the other extreme stands a group of economists who advocate planning on a thorough-going comprehensive scale through the instrumentality of the State. These Economists can point to the fact that cycles and depressions are the inevitable accompaniments of the system of private enterprise, and that though a great deal has been made of the potentialities of credit control, there is no certainty whatever that such control will rid us of the trade cycle. The old system of automatic adjustment depend on mobility of both capital and labour—a mobility which has passed away with the rise of combinations, monopolies and trade unions. Other considerations too point in the same direction; the Profit motive appears to be losing its former power and effectiveness; for the capitalist refuses to take the full risks of business which was his special task.² We have proceeded so far along the paths of interventionism that we could not go back even if we would and there are unimportant considerations and factors which must push us forward. Thus the rising tide of Economic Nationalism all over the world is bound to make the progress of Interventionism inevitable. Indeed, it is argued that we must get out of the present half and half stage as soon as we can. For already not only Labour but Capital is on the dole. The profit motive has lost its effectiveness and Capital keeps passing on its risks and burdens to the State by securing favours like protectionist tariffs, currency depreciation, subsidies to industry and a huge capital expenditure by the State. The only way out of such troubles is to resort to comprehensive planning and control by the State. As Sir Basil Blackett put it in his Halley Stewart lecture, we must beware of acting and thinking piecemeal and should adopt the Hegelian motto: "The Altogetherness of everything". We should look a generation ahead at least, and from that point of view assess the value and the relative priority of particular measures. Mrs. Barbara Wootton—the distinguished advocate of planning—also insists upon the element of comprehensiveness in planning. She has observed that "in the Soviet Union the whole is planned and

1. *The Burden of Plenty*, p. 117.

2. Professor Fisher, "The clash of Progress and Security", p. 226.

every detail is chaos, whereas in the rest of the world every detail is planned and the whole is chaos." We must now "plan intelligently, both for the whole and for the details".

But there are grave objections to such thorough-going and comprehensive planning. In the first place it has been well pointed out that "planning is but a *means* to an *End*. Until we can agree upon the *ends*, discussions of the means are only castles, in the air". Planning is obviously not merely a matter of technique and apparatus but of ideals; and not many of us are agreed regarding the revision of whole of our Social structure. Even a partial planning, and on national scale only, implies a vast process of study and co-operative pooling of resource and intelligence. Most of us will agree that it would be desirable to set up central planning bodies to think out "compensatory and defensive devices" both for normal times and emergencies. We cannot, with any advantage, hand over to any political or economic autocracy absolute control where such multitudinous and complex variables are concerned. But in the second place planning on such lines would destroy all *liberty* whether that of the producer or the consumer. The state which has to adopt all resources to the needs and requirements of the public must have the say as regards the details both of production and of consumption. It will allocate production resources in every sphere and at every stage and it must ration the total product according to its own light. While the results of such rationing will improve the economic condition of those who are unemployed at present, it will certainly reduce the incomes of all other classes. That is why even such a stalwart advocate of Economic Planning as Sir Basil, Blackett hesitates and proposes to "steer a wise course between tyrannous compulsion and anarchic individualism?"¹

But the fear of installing a very fallible autocracy is not the only factor in the way of adopting the policy of comprehensive planning on the national scale. The economic solidarity of nations at the present time is such that national planning cannot hope to be effective unless it is supplemented by international planning. To use the words of a very wise economist and Statesman. (M. Albert Thomas): "National planning, if carried out country by country and without international co-ordination, may well prove extremely dangerous in that competition between such planning units can lead to economic and political strife."² Planning is

1. Halley Stewart Lectures, 1931, p. 99.

2. Annals of the American Academy, July, 1932.

bound to be a failure unless it takes account of the changing conditions of production, consumption and population in the world as a whole.

III

For these reasons, among other, we might well leave such comprehensive and detailed Planning as a task to be accomplished by future generations, and content ourselves with a compromise, and a good beginning, in our own day. We might well accept such a growth of state functions as will amount in the phraseology of Mr. Keynes—to "purposive direction". The state will supplement the guiding influence of banking policy on the rate of interest by "a somewhat comprehensive socialisation of investment". It will also "exercise a guiding influence on the propensity to consume partly through its scheme of taxation partly by fixing the rate of interest and partly perhaps in other ways. But for the rest individual initiative is left unaffected".¹ Capitalism is to be disburdened of its unfavourable aspects, and it is to be assisted to get over its transitional rentier stage by cheapening the cost of capital and securing a reduction in the rate of interest. Through its control of the rate of interest the State can secure full employment by solving the problem of the hitch between saving and real investment. With the same object the state is to control the supply of money. But in making these proposals Mr. Keynes shows characteristic caution. For he adds that only experience can show how far state policy can be directed safely "to increasing and supplementing the inducement to invest, and how far it is safe to stimulate the average propensity to consume." Obviously Mr. Keynes has suggested the policy required to remedy the weak point of the Capitalist system and to leave to it adequate scope. It has been objected to Mr. Keynes's programme that with a falling volume of international trade and with calling a halt to foreign investment his prescription may not be effectual.² It might be replied that the proposals of Mr. Keynes leave room for "international leading in appropriate conditions." Further so far as international trade ceases to be "a desperate expedient to maintain employment at home by forcing sales on foreign markets and restricting purchases" its scope and importance are bound to increase.

The fundamental importance of the function of the state with regard to investment is recognised by most economists in our day.

1. Keynes, "General theory of unemployment, Interest and Money," pp. 378-382.

2. Burden of Plenty, p. 90.

Thus Professor Allan G. B. Fisher has contended that the reluctance of entrepreneurs and business men "to make the appropriate responses to variations in relative prices and relative profits" and to take the risks of innovation of capital for industries which have to be promoted. But he would have the state proceed on these lines provided the experiments being conducted on the lines of institutions like the Credit for Industries Ltd. for facilitating finance for approved industries prove inadequate.¹ So also Mr. A. T. K. Grant has urged that "so far as risk-bearing is concerned, individual enterprise has no future." Since our present efforts at equalising distribution must reduce the entrepreneur's expectation of profits, and since it is necessary to avoid slumps and to maintain progress "there is no alternative but for society to concern itself directly with the investment process in order to maintain and even out the flow of new investment".² If Capitalism is to be rehabilitated and is to perform adequately its task of carrying on "an even and balanced and regulated flow of new development" it has to be assisted and supplemented by the assumption of this new function by the State with regard to investment.

Meanwhile the State and other public authorities can do much to keep up employment by a proper policy of public works. And apart from its direct effect upon employment such a policy will accustom the State to the practice of long range planning, to form programmes of constructive work and to forecast the fluctuations of the demand for labour in the interests of stabilization of employment. These are introductory exercises for the task of Economic planning in general.

The proposals put forward by Sir Arthur Salter the enlargement of the economic functions of the State do not differ materially from the suggestions of Mr. Keynes. Avowedly Sir Arthur advocates "a compromise between the two alternatives of State planning and price adjustment" and "selective compromise designed to unite the best of both methods". His is "the policy of increasing socialization not proceeding so far as complete Socialism." He proposes the formation of a National Investment Control Board to regulate the main flow of investment for proper distribution of capital as between the different demands for it. He would go further and extend "public operation of industries" in all cases where competition offers less advantage than monopoly management." But he agrees with Mr. Keynes "that private

1. Professor A. G. B. Fisher, "The Clash of Progress and Security," pp. 208-220.

2. A. T. K. Grant, "Society and Enterprise" pp. 190-201.

enterprise and the automatic system should still be left with a substantial part in our whole economy."

These proposals of a compromise character meet the argument advanced by Mr. G. D. H. Cole (in his "Economic Planning") that genuine planning is not possible under capitalism in a parliamentary regime. His argument is that Capital would not allow the government to organize a controlling system over industry for fear that the Socialists might capture the mechanism for their own objects. The measure of economic control proposed to be set up by Mr. Keynes, Sir A. Salter and their followers is not, however, of such a character or extent as to provoke such efforts and manoeuvres on the part of the Socialists.

However, it has been objected to this modest line of the expansion of State functions that it wants the community "to live under Socialism for our goods and services, and under free private capitalism for others". The answer is that this is to some extent the State of things already in advanced countries, which are using the proceeds of high taxation for the benefit at once of needy industries and the proper classes. But it is interesting that one country—Sweden—has shown in recent years how much economic welfare can be advanced and how far recovery can be effected by means of a policy of happy compromise between collectivism and free individual enterprise. This is set forth with a wealth of facts in a book just published by the Yale University Press—Mr. Marquis Childs' "Sweden—the Middle way". Sweden has shown how to combine the component elements—State control, State enterprise, co-operation both productive and consumers—to the best advantage in different economic spheres. It shows that the notion that "control and freedom cannot mix properly" is a mere dogmatic assertion. The State and co-operative societies compete and work side by side in Sweden a great many aspects of national economics. They have worked together in various directions to break down monopoly and to beat down unreasonably high profits and, as a result, to secure for their country a measure of unexpected prosperity.

This might help to teach us the lesson that in our advance towards collectivism or collective control of business we must not let ourselves be hindered by undue regard for clear-cut formulae and dogmas. The road leading to the adoption of most advisable form of compromise between collectivism and Individualism—to the determination of the most advisable extension of the functions of the State is a long one and includes many experimental stages. In the matter of the procedure of such extension of State functions

even the most progressive countries would do well to follow the *via media* indicated by men like Mr. Keynes and Sir A. Salter. We should hasten slowly in such an important sphere where the factors of the situation are so various and complicated. It will be a great advance and a great achievement if we set up adequate flow of currency and credit in the right channels, "bring Saving and Investment into proper alignment, and extend public operation only to some industries where it is essentially necessary. It is far more profitable to work out in detail the actual problems of empirical collectivism than to attach undue importance and give much thought to the labels and shibboleths of theoretical collectivism. For "experience quickly reveals behind the mask of comprehensive schemes like Socialism, Communism and Bolshevism, the specific problems of functions, industries and interests each one of which demands its particular attack".¹

JAHANGIR C. COYAJI.



1. Professor Walter H. Hamilton in the *Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences*, Vol. II, P. 636.

THE DOUGLAS CREDIT SCHEME

It may be said that the modern industrial world has solved the problem of production. It has evolved methods by which goods of all kinds can be turned out in unprecedented quantities. If there be deficiency and want in any quarters, it is not because the economic system is incapable of producing enough to feed and clothe and provide all with conveniences and comforts. Why then does the economic problem still exist? It is because though the goods are there, or at any rate potentially there, the purchasing power that would enable consumers to buy them is lacking. On the one hand there is "plenty" and on the other hand there is "poverty", and the reason for the co-existence of these two opposites is "lack of purchasing-power".

Major C. H. Douglas has put forward a diagnosis of this modern economic disease and has propounded a remedy. His diagnosis is contained in his celebrated "A and B Theorem", and his remedy is the issue of purchasing-power to the purchasing public in the shape of fresh supplies of credit. The remedy is very attractive in its apparent simplicity and its avoidance of any social upheaval. We fear however that Major Douglas' scheme must be pronounced fallacious—that his diagnosis is incorrect and that his remedy is infeasible.

Take first the diagnosis as given in the "A and B Theorem". Major Douglas puts the matter thus at page 21 of his "Credit Power and Democracy",—"A factory or other productive organization has, besides its economic function as a producer of goods, a purely financial aspect—it may be regarded on the one hand as a device for the distribution of purchasing-power to individuals through the media of wages, salaries and dividends; and on the other hand as a manufactory of prices—financial values. From this standpoint its payments may be divided into two groups: Group A: All payments made to individuals (wages, salaries and dividends). Group B: All payments made to other organizations (raw materials, bank charges, and other external costs). Now the rate of flow of purchasing-power to individuals is represented by A, but since all payments go into prices, the rate of flow of prices cannot be less than A plus B. The product of any factory may be considered as something which the public ought to be able to buy, although in many cases it is an intermediate product of no use to individuals but only to a subsequent manufacture; but

since A will not purchase A plus B, a proportion of the product at least equivalent to B must be distributed by a form of purchasing-power which is not comprised in the descriptions grouped under A."

In its essence then the economic malaise, as Major Douglas sees it, is due to the fact that the economic system does not distribute sufficient purchasing-power to the public to buy the goods that are being produced. It distributes wages, salaries and profits. These three are a part but only a part of the total cost of the goods. The cost includes also such factory charges as the expenditure that the producer has to make on raw materials, power, lighting and depreciation of buildings and plant. Major Douglas asserts that these factory charges do not become purchasing-power in respect of the commodities of whose cost they form part. They have either been distributed at an earlier period (in the form of wages, salaries and dividends) and used by consumers to buy other goods; or if they have not been expended in that way they will exist in the present in the form of bank credit. These factory charges or B costs are payments that are made to the banking system and not to the consuming public. Therefore the goods that are represented by the B payments can be purchased only by means of bank credit. This means that the home public can consume the production represented by the B costs, only if the banks set free fresh purchasing-power by granting credits for new capital production. That new capital production will involve the distribution of new A costs, and if these are sufficiently large the previously unpurchasable product represented by the B costs of the earlier production will be absorbed by consumption. In this kind of way the economic system staggers along from crisis to crisis, with a periodic scrapping of capital necessitated by the fact that from time to time the gap between production and purchasing-power becomes unbridgeable. To remedy this state of affairs Major Douglas proposes a scheme whereby the deficiency of purchasing-power would be made good by the issue of consumers' credits. The consumers have purchasing-power only sufficient to buy the amount of goods represented by the A costs. Therefore to enable the consumers to buy the whole of the production the total product must be sold as much below cost as is represented by the amount of the B costs.

In examining this scheme, the first question we must ask is whether Major Douglas is right in asserting that there is under the present system of production and distribution an inevitable gap between total prices and total purchasing-power. It seems that he is mistaken in this—as can be seen when one realises

what is involved in the fact that his B costs all resolve themselves ultimately into A costs. Suppose you buy a writing desk. The price you pay contains a proportionate share of the maker's profit and of all his costs. Some of these costs are B costs which the maker expends in the form of payments to other organizations or entrepreneurs for the raw materials or semi-manufactured things that he has need of in his industry. Thus the desk-manufacturer pays money to other organizations for supplying him with wood, varnish, oil-cloth, metal fittings, etc. These would be B costs. But the entrepreneurs who receive these payments use part of the money to supply more wood, varnish, oil-cloth, metal fittings, etc. In that process they distribute A costs in the form of workers' wages, managers' salaries; and from the payments received from the firms that have bought their products they also pay themselves their profits. The rest of what they receive will be paid by them to preceding organizations. To take one as an example of all, the supplier of the metal fittings will make payments to the organization that supplies him with the metal sheets from which he manufactures his products. The supplier of the metal sheets in turn will expend part of what he receives in the form of A costs and part in B costs going, e.g., to the organization that supplies him with the metal ore. Thus as you go back along the line of production, you find that while the B element is there it is continually decreasing, chiefly because it is a repayment of labour costs to a preceding organization—a repayment which involves the re-employment of an equivalent amount of labour. The conclusion is that ultimately the whole amount that you pay for the writing-desk is distributed to individual consumers as wages, salaries, profits, interest, and rent.

This conclusion would appear to demolish the idea that there is an inevitable gap between total prices and total purchasing-power. But Major Douglas is not ready to abandon the field on account of this argument. He admits that B payments are at some point made to individuals, and that so at some point they have become purchasing-power, but he nevertheless continues to assert the existence of the gap on the ground that the rate of the flow of purchasing-power from individuals into the credit system is less than the rate of the outflow of purchasing-power from the credit system to individuals. His point of view is given in the following quotation:—'Let not the patient reader allow himself to become confused by the fact that B has at some previous time been represented by payments of wages, salaries and dividends. While this is of course true, it is quite irrelevant—it is the rate of

flow which is vital. The whole economic system is in ceaseless motion—purchasing-power is constantly flowing back from individuals into the credit system from whence it came, and if the outflow is less than the inflow, someone has to lose purchasing-power." (*Credit Power and Democracy*: p. 24)

Major Douglas seems to forget that "the whole economic system is in ceaseless motion", when he uses the A and B Theorem to prove the gap between total prices and total purchasing-power. Goods are sold today at prices which are composed of the A and B costs. These costs have in the more or less distant past taken the form of wages, salaries, profits, interest or rent, and consequently have been purchasing-power for goods produced in a previous period. While production keeps flowing on, the payments made by the producers to obtain the materials and services that they require provide the purchasing-power for buying the goods and services that are arriving on the market about that time. In the same way for the goods that are being produced by the entrepreneurs now (by means of the expenditure of costs which provide the purchasing-power for the goods at present for sale) the purchasing-power will be supplied by the expenditure of costs that entrepreneurs will be making in the process of production about the time that these goods come on the market. Different industries differ with regard to the interval that elapses between the expenditure of costs and the realization of price. But the process is going on continuously, and therefore the distribution of purchasing-power in respect of future goods is a continuous flow more or less equal to the amount represented by the costs of the goods and services that are at the same time flowing into the market. We say "more or less equal", because of course there is always the possibility of disturbance of equilibrium from the sides both of supply and of demand. But there seems no proof of an inevitable and essential difference of rate of flow, for which Major Douglas contends and which would make total purchasing-power continually fall short of total prices.

Turning now to the remedy which Major Douglas has propounded, the main criticism that has to be brought against it is that it could not do what he claims that it could do—viz., subsidise consumers without raising prices. In the evidence that Major Douglas gave before the Macmillan Committee on Finance and Industry in May, 1930, he clearly fails to prove the possibility of filling the assumed gap between production and purchasing-power by a subsidy to consumers that would enable them to buy all that was produced and that yet would not cause a rise in prices.

On that occasion he put forward the following example to indicate how the desired end might be attained. "Supposing that you sold a motor-car for £100—we will make it an easy figure to keep it in mind—the customer would pay £100 as at the present time and receive an account for it; he would be given a receipt for the £100. He might conceivably turn that receipt into his bank, which would credit his account with, let us say, £25. The bank might collect the whole of those consumers' credits at any suitable period and turn them over to some Government department like the Treasury, which would credit the bank with the amount that it had credited the consumer. That would finish the transaction so far as the mechanism was concerned, and the result of that would be that you would have credited to the consumer a proportion of the general credit of the country which by hypothesis is his already, but not credited to him. The result of that would be a lowering of the price of the motor-car by 25 per cent, and there would be an increased sale of motor-cars, or, let us say, an increased sale of all goods, because he would have £25 more to spend on other goods."¹

The matter really seems to turn upon the question whether it is possible—as Major Douglas asserts—to "lower the price level by the application to the price level of a creation of credit." Credit is to be created in order to subsidise the consumer. The manufacturer is to get the full £100 for his motor-car, but the consumer is really only to pay £75 for it, since on producing the receipt for the £100 he is to get £25 paid into his bank account, and the £25 credited to the consumer is to be debited to the Treasury. Major Douglas seems to think that the £25 of money so created and put into the money-stream can somehow be removed from the money-stream whenever it has performed this function of enabling the consumer to get the £100 car for £75. But once the subsidy or rebate or whatever it is to be called has been credited to the consumer in the books of the bank, it belongs to the consumer and will be used by him as purchasing-power. If the money comes back to the bank, it will come in the form of deposits, and it is not possible for banks to cancel deposits.

It is difficult therefore to avoid the conclusion that the consumers' credits would in effect be an inflation of currency and would consequently cause a rise in prices. It is true that inflation

1. The quotation is from W. R. Hiskett's book, *Social Credits or Socialism*, in which Major Douglas' evidence before that Committee is given in full and subjected to a very thorough examination. The present writer would acknowledge his indebtedness to Mr. Hiskett's clear exposition.

may, under certain circumstances, give a fillip to industry and the increased production of goods may counter-balance the increase in purchasing-power. But the Douglas scheme is intended to be much more than an occasional stimulant, and it has in view the continual replacement of the supposedly non-available B costs. Prices can be reduced through a diminution in the quantity of money or through a diminution in the remuneration received by the producer. The consumers' credits, putting increased purchasing-power into the hands of consumers while leaving other things as before, would surely result in the consumers buying the same quantities of goods as before at an increased price. The total prices of products must equal the total purchasing-power distributed in the process of producing these products. If any supplementary purchasing-power is introduced into the system, it must raise prices. Existing prices are always in correlation with the claims upon goods constituted by the existing purchasing-power. The creation of consumers' credits means in effect an increase in the number of claims on the same amount of goods, and that is bound to raise the price of these goods.

We cannot accept either the diagnosis or the remedy that Major Douglas puts forward for the problem with which he is concerned. Yet he has done a great thing by concentrating attention upon this insistent question of our times—Why is it that while mankind is capable of producing enough to supply the full needs of all, the inability to distribute that potentially ample product keeps a great proportion of mankind in poverty or insufficiency? We may not be able to approve his actual proposals, but we can appreciate his impelling conviction and guiding intuition of which, in conclusion, the following two examples, quoted from his evidence before the Macmillan Committee, may be given: "My primary proposition is, that the financial system has no *locus standi* at all outside the industrial and distributive systems, and that you can make any changes that you like with perfect ease in the financial system so long as those changes serve the necessities of the industrial and social system"; and, "It is inconceivable that you cannot get a mechanism which will enable you to equate purchasing-power to the capacity to deliver."

JAMES KELLOCK.

THE FINANCING OF PRIMARY EDUCATION IN BOMBAY CITY

The working of any department depends for its efficiency on sound financial condition. And this is particularly the case with education which by the nature of things is a spending department, the receipts being nominal. The history of Primary Education in Bombay City can be divided into two broad periods (since 1889 onwards) at the year 1909, which is a year of landmark as in that year the Municipality became responsible for the primary education in this City. The period after 1909 under the Schools Committee proper falls under two sub-divisions as from 1909 to 1918, and from 1919 to present times, as since 1919 the Government who had cleaned their hands off as regards any monetary responsibility about primary education in 1909, now began to contribute a certain proportion of the extra expenditure, in view of adopting the policy of expansion of education on a voluntary system for ten years, with the object of introducing compulsion throughout the city at the end of the tenth year. We shall briefly discuss the main features of financial state during these periods.

FINANCIAL STATE DURING THE DAYS OF THE JOINT SCHOOLS COMMITTEE

Coming to the period under the Joint Schools Committee from 1889 to 1909, at the outset it is necessary for us to bear in mind that this was the time when primary education by the Municipality was in its infant stage, and that the Aided and Unrecognised schools were more in number and educated a far greater number of children than that in Municipal schools. During this period under the Joint Schools Committee as the Government was partly responsible for primary education, the amount of Government grant was fixed and definite, and the Government increased this grant in proportion to the increasing expenditure on primary education. The Government grant was ordinarily fixed at one-third of the total expenditure. The following table shows how the contribution of the Municipality from the General Fund towards the cost of primary education, as well as the Government grant went on increasing from year to year :—

<i>Year</i>	<i>Amount of Municipal Contribution</i>	<i>Amount of Government grant</i>
	<i>Rs.</i>	<i>Rs.</i>
1891-92	51,300	28,000
1896-97	52,135	39,666
1900-01	80,000	42,666
1903-04	80,000	47,833
1905-06	1,14,616	72,768
1907-08	1,25,036	72,768

Figures for a few select years only have been given, in order to give an idea as to how expenditure on primary education both by the Municipality and the Government went on increasing from year to year, and especially after the year 1903. The increase in expenditure was obviously due to the increased number of schools, larger number of pupils under instruction, rising expenditure on rent, better school equipment, revision of teachers' salaries increasing number of trained teachers, separate Urdu department from about the year 1893-94, and lastly the increasing amount of grant given to Aided schools. An all-round increasing expenditure in this way indicates slow but steady and sure progress of primary education in the city during this period, and it is at the same time a proof of growing efficiency in the working of the system. For our purpose it is gratifying for us to note that the increasing burden of expenditure from year to year was very willingly borne both by the Municipality and the Government.

The following table shows how the total expenditure on primary education went on increasing during this period :—

<i>Year</i>	<i>Amount of total expenditure</i>		
	<i>Rs.</i>		
1891-92	97,133
1896-97	1,27,731
1900-01	1,41,281
1903-04	1,62,400
1905-06	1,19,803
1907-08	2,33,134

The total annual expenditure increased from Rs. 97 thousand in 1892 to Rs. 233 thousand in 1908, or by 2·4 times. But the number of schools increased from 63 in 1892 to about 102 in 1908, that is by 1·6 times, and the number of children under instruction increased by little more than 1·5 times (from 6,212 in 1892 to

9,466 in 1908). Thus the comparative greater rise in expenditure¹ by 1908, that is a rise by eight-tenth of the expenditure, or a rise of about Rs. 77,600 was due to the expenditure incurred in order to attain greater efficiency in the administrative machinery as already explained.

INCOME FROM FEES

We have already stated that the department of primary education can have only nominal receipts. The following table gives the figures of income from fees during the days of the Joint Schools Committee :—

<i>Year</i>				<i>Amount of income from fees</i>
				<i>Rs.</i>
1893-94	...	...	...	20,911
1896-97	...	...	...	17,111
1900-01	...	...	...	15,756
1903-04	...	...	...	18,294
1905-06	...	...	...	19,700
1907-08	...	...	...	20,593

The income goes down in the years 1896-97 and 1900-01 due to the adverse effects of the plague of 1896. In the year 1907-08, the income is only Rs. 20 thousand, almost the same as that in the year 1893-94, which is due to the fact that though the number of children attending Municipal schools had increased by 1.5 times, yet there was a considerable reduction in the rate of fees during the first decade of the present century.

The amount spent on grants-in-aid to Aided Schools which was Rs. 20,000 in 1892-93, rose to Rs. 27,920 by the year 1906-07.

EXPENDITURE ON RENT

The amount of expenditure on rent also increased during this period as is clear from the following table :—

<i>Year</i>				<i>Expenditure on rent</i>
				<i>Rs.</i>
1896-97	...	...	...	25,934
1900-01	...	...	...	30,767
1903-04	...	...	...	35,659
1905-06	...	...	...	42,482
1907-08	...	...	...	51,978

1. This figure is arrived at in this way. The rise in schools and children was respectively 1.6 times and 1.5 times by 1908 as compared to the figures for 1892. The rise in expenditure was by 2.4 times. This rise of (2.4 minus 1.6 equal to 0.8 or) eight-tenth of the expenditure of 1892 is equal to Rs. 77,600.

AVERAGE COST PER CHILD

The following table showing the average annual cost per child during the days of the Joint Schools Committee is instructive :—

<i>Year</i>	<i>Annual Average Cost per Child</i>			<i>Rs.</i>
1893-94	13.6
1896-97	17.0
1900-01	21.9
1903-04	19.5
1905-06	17.3
1907-08	21.5

The figure for 1896-97 is due to the adverse effect of the plague. The normal condition was not restored for about five or six years after the plague of 1896, and hence also we have an average high expenditure per child in the year 1900-01. The rise in average cost per child by 1908 as compared to the cost in 1893-94, is due to the increased all-round expenditure and efficiency to which a reference has already been made before.

We analyse below the figures of average cost per child for three select years in order to give a clearer idea of how expenditure on Teachers' salaries, rent, and miscellaneous items is rising from year to year :—

<i>Head of expenditure</i>				<i>1893-94</i>	<i>1900-01</i>	<i>1907-08</i>
				<i>Rs.</i>	<i>Rs.</i>	<i>Rs.</i>
Teachers' salaries	...	...	...	9.2	14.3	13.6
Rent	...	...	...	3.4	5.6	5.5
Miscellaneous	...	...	...	1.0	2.0	2.4
Total average cost per child	...	...	...	13.6	21.9	21.5

This table clearly shows how expenditure on Teachers' salaries, rent, and miscellaneous items went on increasing from year to year.

This short review of the financing of Primary Education in the days of the Joint Schools Committee, indicates that the financial position was sound during this period, the Municipality and the Government willingly bore the rising expenditure, the system of administrative machinery was gaining in efficiency, and there was an all-round progress.

FINANCING UNDER THE SCHOOLS COMMITTEE: 1909 TO 1918

We now briefly discuss the main features of the financial position since the formation of the Schools Committee in the year

1909 to the year 1918. During this period the Government did not contribute anything to meet the cost of Primary Education as per the contents of the Police Charges Act of 1907. The following table shows how the Municipal Contribution went on increasing from year to year during this period:—

<i>Year</i>				<i>Amount of Municipal Contribution</i>
				Rs.
1909-10	...	...	...	2,15,276
1912-13	...	...	...	3,37,257
1915-16	...	...	...	4,62,000
1917-18	...	...	...	6,44,000

This clearly shows how the Municipal grant increased by three times during the nine years preceding the year 1917-18. As no Government grant was received during this period, the actual expenditure on primary education also increased almost in the same proportion, the actual annual expenditure for 1909-10, and 1917-18 being Rs. 2,88,202 and Rs. 8,95,243 respectively. Thus the actual rise in expenditure during these nine years was nearly by 2.5 times. The number of Municipal schools rose by a little more than 2 times during this period, and the number of children learning in the Municipal Schools by 2.7 times (from 10,314 in 1909 to 28,377 in 1918). Thus the progress during the first nine years of the regime of the Schools Committee as measured by the figures of expenditure and the number of children attending schools was almost the same, the respective rise in each case being by 2.5 times and 2.7 times.

The rise in expenditure being just the same as the rise in the number of children learning in Municipal schools, and being nearly the same as the rise in the number of Municipal schools we can guess that comparatively little was done during these nine years to add to the general efficiency of the educational or administrative machinery. In other words, there was no revision of teachers' salaries, the proportion of trained teachers was not considerably increased, no innovation was introduced in order to make education more popular or attractive. The reader will remember that the period under the Joint Schools Committee compares favourably with this period in this respect as about Rs. 77,600 were spent in order to add to the efficiency of the department. The progress since 1909 was mainly due to the changing conditions and the natural expansion of schools and school-going children.

INCOME FROM FEES

How the income from fees grew along with the increasing number of school-going children can be seen from the following table:—

<i>Year</i>				<i>Income from Fees</i>
				Rs.
1910	...	...	...	21,372
1913	...	...	...	29,163
1916	...	...	...	37,681
1918	...	...	...	43,386

EXPENDITURE ON RENT

The following figures show how the expenditure on rent increased from year to year:—

<i>Year</i>				<i>Expenditure on Rent</i>
				Rs.
1911	...	...	...	62,207
1913	...	...	...	86,002
1916	...	...	...	1,20,192
1918	...	...	...	1,63,197

AVERAGE ANNUAL COST PER CHILD

The preceding three tables indicate how expenditure and number of children rose almost in the same proportion during the first nine years under the regime of the Schools Committee. The same tendency is further corroborated by the implications of the following table showing the average annual expenditure per child learning in Municipal Schools from year to year:—

<i>Year</i>				<i>Annual average cost per child</i>
				Rs.
1910	...	...	...	21.9
1913	...	...	...	19.9
1916	...	...	...	20.5
1918	...	...	...	22.0

These figures of average cost show little variation, they are almost steady. The figures necessarily indicate that in spite of increasing total yearly expenditure, and in spite of increase in the number of school-going children, the actual expenditure per child on teachers' salaries, on rent per child, and on other miscellaneous items, almost remained steady. Little was done during these nine years to add to the efficiency of the department by spending

more money in wise channels. This was possibly due to the fact that these were the only nine years during which period, the Municipality alone was responsible for financing primary education under the control of the Schools Committee. The actual Municipal contribution by 1918 increased by a big sum like Rs. 4,46,196. In one way we say that the actual expenditure during these nine years rose by 2.5 times, but from the point of Municipal grant we have to say that the grant which was Rs. 1,97,804 in 1909, rose by an amount of Rs. 4,46,196 or by nearly an addition of 225 per cent, with no special feature except the credit for expanding primary education in this city. That is perhaps mainly the reason why the period from 1909 to 1918 is marked by expansion of primary schools and school-going children but nothing novel was done to add to the efficiency of the system. The financial position was however satisfactory as the increasing expenditure of the Schools Committee was met by the Municipality without any grudge.

FINANCING DURING THE YEARS 1919 TO 1935

We now enter into the last stage from 1919 onwards upto the most recent times. This period is marked by the scheme of voluntary expansion of primary education for ten years with the object of making it compulsory by the end of ten year's period, and hence by the financial connection again established with the Government since 1919. The Government agreed to contribute additional half of the expenditure for voluntary expansion of primary education over the net budgetted expenditure for the year 1917-18 (that is over Rs. 6,95,243). The Government's willingness to share this responsibility however subsequently led to much unpleasantness. The Act XV of 1920 was passed in order to introduce Compulsory Education in the city of Bombay and by 1925 Compulsory Education was introduced in "F" and "G" wards. The general policy of expenditure underwent great changes in various respects. As a result of all these things, we find the financial administration of the Schools Committee being overshadowed by watchful economy and retrenchment even at the sacrifice of efficiency in order to make the two ends meet, during the last three or four years. We shall now discuss the main features of this period as far as they relate to financial condition.

THE PERIOD FROM 1919 TO 1925

Compulsory primary education was introduced in "F" and "G" Wards in November 1925. So it will be convenient for us to consider the main features of financial position from 1919 to 1925. How the amount of Municipal contribution went on

increasing from year to year is visible from the figures given in the table below:—

Year				<i>Amount of Municipal contribution</i>
				Ra.
1919	...	...	...	8,36,600
1920	...	...	...	12,36,920
1921	...	...	...	15,90,800
1922	...	...	...	18,79,340
1923	...	...	...	21,09,260
1924	...	...	...	23,91,400
1925	...	...	...	24,26,090

During the seven years the amount of Municipal grant increased by three times. This was due to the policy of expansion on voluntary basis which was followed since the year 1919. Under the able direction of Rao Bahadur Padhye, the then Secretary of the Schools Committee, a vigorous planned-out policy of expanding education, of making it universal, popular and useful, was followed during this period. At the same time, the aim was to secure the highest possible efficiency by making the class of teachers efficient and interested in their work. With this object, teachers' salaries were revised from time to time and liberal scale was given to them in order to keep them contented. Efforts were also made to secure administrative efficiency in the working of the department during this time. As the aim of the voluntary expansion was to make education popular and attractive, money was spent in furnishing schools with necessary equipment. New schools were opened at various places, attention was paid to the sanitary condition of school buildings, and no opportunity was lost to remove a school to a better building. In this way efforts were done in order to improve the condition of schools and the lot of teachers.

During this period the number of schools increased by 1.45 times (from 233 in 1919 to 337 in 1925), while the number of children under instruction increased by 1.4 times (from 28,832 in 1919 to 37,816 in 1925). But the total Municipal expenditure on primary education which was Rs. 8,53,437 in 1919 rose to Rs. 23,46,350 by 1925, that is by 2.7 times. Comparing the rise in expenditure which is by 2.7 times with the rise in the number of schools or in the number of school-going children which is about 1.4 times each, we are able to conclude that about 1.3 times of the expenditure of 1919, that is about Rs. 11,37,900 were absorbed for increasing the efficiency of primary education and making it

more popular. Thus to speak in round figures, more than 11 lakhs of Rupees were spent for expansion of education on voluntary basis and for attaining efficiency. However, these remarks should be understood by making due allowance for the fact that prices of things increased by leaps and bounds after the World-War. Owing to this reason rents of buildings in the City of Bombay rose enormously, and the Municipality had to spend double the amount on rent. The rise of expenditure in case of teachers' salaries was due to the revision of grades, which was rendered necessary owing to post-war conditions in the years 1919, 1920 and 1924. The rise of expenditure on rent and miscellaneous item (books, furniture, contingencies etc.) was due to the increased price-level. However, making due allowance for the inevitable rise due to the increased price-level, we are confident to ascertain that a considerable part of the additional 11 lakhs of Rupees was absorbed by the efforts to secure increased all-round efficiency.

The following table shows how the income from fees rose during this period :—

<i>Year</i>				<i>Income from fees</i> Rs.
1919	...	...	...	43,870
1922	...	...	...	50,561
1925	...	...	...	60,988

AVERAGE ANNUAL EXPENDITURE PER CHILD

The following figures of the average annual expenditure per child for various years are significant :—

<i>Year</i>				<i>Annual Average cost per child</i> Rs.
1919	...	...	...	28.6
1920	...	...	...	42.4
1921	...	...	...	46.3
1922	...	...	...	51.9
1925	...	...	...	57.8

It is quite obvious how the average cost per child rose by more than two times during this interval of seven years.

The period from 1919 to 1925 was marked by increased expenditure on primary education. The whole policy was shaped by the expansion on voluntary basis so as to make education popular. The Government since the formation of the Schools Committee in 1909 contributed for the first time a sum of Rs. 1,17,411 as their half share of the extra cost incurred in the year 1918-19. This was the first year of the ten years' programme

of voluntary expansion with the idea of introducing compulsion by the end of the tenth year. The Government contribution for the next two years was Rs. 2,47,006 and Rs. 4,41,232, respectively. But when the question for contribution for 1923 arose, there were differences of opinion on the part of the Government with the result that actually a smaller amount was paid by them than was claimed by the Municipality. The actual amount paid by Government was Rs. 4,41,833. During the next two years also, in 1924 and 1925, differences of opinion continued, and the amount, actually paid by the Government for these two years was respectively Rs. 4,41,000 and Rs. 4,45,833. These amount were far less than what Government had agreed to contribute willingly in 1919.

However, the financial position was on the whole sound during this interval, and it was only in the last year (1924-25) that attention of the Schools Committee was turned to effect economy with the result that the total expenditure of the year went down by about Rs. 90,000 as compared to the preceding year.

FINANCIAL POSITION DURING THE PERIOD 1926 TO 1935

During this period the amount of Municipal contribution went on rising from year to year as is evident from the following table :—

<i>Year</i>				<i>Amount of Municipal contribution</i>
				Rs.
1926	...	...	...	26,56,500
1928	...	...	...	29,22,750
1930	...	...	...	31,12,660
1932	...	...	...	30,00,000
1934	...	...	...	31,22,976
1935	...	...	...	31,16,310

Though there is a general rise by 1.2 times during this period yet the last two figures clearly show that there is a tendency to effect retrenchment. The Municipality wants to cut the grant. The following figures of actual expenditure of the Schools Committee also tell the same story :—

<i>Year</i>				<i>Actual expenditure</i>
				Rs.
1926	...	...	...	25,44,099
1930	...	...	...	29,68,294
1934	...	...	...	32,01,190
1935	...	...	...	31,40,769

The last two figures indicate that there is a distinct tendency to cut down the actual expenditure every year.

During this period the number of schools almost remained the same, but the number of school-going children rose by more than 1.6 times (being 43,013 in 1926 and 70,184 in March 1935). But the expenditure rose only by 1.2 times. This clearly shows that almost the same number of schools could accommodate 1.6 times of the children, and hence a considerable economy was secured in expenditure. No expenditure was possible during this period in order to add to the efficiency of the department as was the case during the periods from 1890 to 1908, and 1919 to 1925.

The following table shows how the average cost per child went down during this period :—

<i>Year</i>				<i>Average cost per child</i>
				<i>Rs.</i>
1927	...	...	...	59.9
1929	...	...	...	56.9
1931	...	...	...	50.9
1933	...	...	...	46.6
1934	...	...	...	45.1
1935	...	...	...	42.4

Though the average cost per child is falling during the ten years, yet it is falling very rapidly since 1933. In other words there is considerable retrenchment and economy even at the cost of efficiency, in the administration of the department for the last three years. The lowering down of the cost was rendered possible because of the same number of schools accommodating a larger number of students, and an average rise of about 4 thousand annually in the number of school-going children. This renders possible maximum work at minimum cost.

Since the introduction of compulsion, as education is made free, the income from fees has gone down as is obvious from the following table :—

<i>Year</i>				<i>Income from fees</i>
				<i>Rs.</i>
1926	...	...	...	49,417
1928	...	...	...	5,751
1931	...	...	...	13,570
1933	...	...	...	11,888
1935	...	...	...	18,191

The rise in the income from fees after 1931 is due to the amount of fee which is charged in Central schools and in Upper Primary schools.

Expenditure on rent is almost stationary during this period as is obvious from the following figures :—

Year				<i>Expenditure on Rent</i>
				Rs.
1927	...	...	...	4,94,216
1930	...	...	...	4,54,323
1933	...	...	...	4,43,846
1935	...	...	...	4,45,046

The expenditure on rent has gone down by about Rs. 45 thousand since 1927, because in order to effect economy in expenditure special attempts were made by the Schools Committee from time to time by submitting appeals to land-lords to get reduction of rents of school buildings.

THE QUESTION OF THE GOVERNMENT GRANT THE SUIT AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT

We have already seen how in 1919, the Government undertook to share half of the additional expenditure every year over the budgetted expenditure for the year 1917-18 (Rs. 6,58,000). The Government actually paid the amount for the three years 1918-19, 1919-20 and 1920-21. But when the Corporation claimed the grant on the expenditure for 1921-22, the Government raised certain objection. The Government pointed out that under the scheme the yearly increase over the expenditure of 1917-18 was to be only $1\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs, and in the year of introduction of compulsion an addition of $5\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs. Thus under the scheme the highest amount for which the Government were liable, if the scheme was completely carried out, was only Rs. 9 lakhs. Hence with regard to the payment of grant for the year 1922-23, it was pointed out by the Government that the liability of the Government as originally estimated by the Corporation was only $2\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs. While the sum now demanded by the Corporation had reached a very high figure of more than $6\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs. Undoubtedly, the amount claimed by the Corporation had risen by $2\frac{1}{2}$ times (estimated $2\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs, but actually claimed being $6\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs). That there should be such an enormous variation between the estimate and the actual when the scheme was submitted only five years ago, was really a delicate position for either party. The reader will remember that during the years 1919 to 1925, a liberal policy of

expenditure was followed in order to make primary education useful, attractive, popular and efficient, under the scheme of voluntary expansion. To add to the increasing expenditure came the post-war high level of prices. Hence owing to inevitable circumstances there was such a wide gulf between the estimated and the actual expenditure. The expenditure by 1923 had enormously increased owing to increased number of teachers and the revision of their salaries with retrospective effects, increased rents of buildings, liberal policy of grant-in-aid to Aided Schools, and the rise of expenditure in other miscellaneous matters. Thus by 1923 a delicate situation arose over the agreement of 1919, when on the one hand the Government maintained that they were liable for the figures estimated in the ten years' scheme and no more, while the Corporation maintained that under the agreement Government were bound to pay exactly half of the excess expenditure actually incurred over the budget estimates of 1917-18. Both perhaps seemed to be right in one way. The Government maintained that the essential basis of the agreement was the estimate of the scheme submitted in 1918. They complained for the first time that the original estimates were largely exceeded, and that the total cost at the end of the ten years' period was likely to rise to Rs. 55 lakhs. The Government further pointed out that while the expenditure had grown the promised extension was not realised.

Negotiations went on between the two parties in order to arrive at an understanding. But no understanding was reached. The Government pointed out the adequacy of the Audit and other Accounts checks over the accounts of the Schools Committee. Various items were pointed out as coming under "Inadmissible expenditure". The Corporation in 1924 requested the Municipal Commissioner to institute legal proceedings to enforce the Government to pay the Corporation's claims for grant on primary education. The suit for claims of about Rs. 12 lakhs was filed in the High Court of Bombay in 1927, which came for hearing in 1932 when the Corporation's claim was dismissed with costs. In his judgment, the Learned Judge admitted the moral justification of the Corporation's claim, but decided the suit against the Corporation by maintaining that the agreement of 1919 did not amount to a legal contract enforceable by law.

A brief history of the famous suit is given as it has a great bearing on the financial position of the Schools Committee during this period. Had the Government shared actually half of the excess expenditure over the budget estimates of 1917-18, the Schools

Committee would have continued with the liberal policy of expenditure as was carried on between 1919 to 1924. The departure from the estimates of 1918 was due to inevitable post-war circumstances. As the Government have not shared half of the additional cost of the actual expenditure, the Schools Committee has to follow for the last five years a vigorous scheme of retrenchment, even at the sacrifice of efficiency and actual needs of the City. Not only this but the actual progress of compulsory education has been hindered owing to these unpleasant relations with the Government. As a consequence of these legal proceedings, the very out-look of Government towards the extension of primary education in this City is not sympathetic. This attitude of the Government has caused a serious effect on the Standing Committee and the Corporation which is at times reflected in the discussions of the budget estimates of the Schools Committee in recent times. As far as finances are concerned the attitude of sympathy and co-operation, on the part of the Corporation and the Standing Committee, and the Government is no longer there.

However, Government have remained true to the wording of estimates of 1918, and they have contributed their share towards expansion under voluntary basis and towards extension of compulsion in "F" and "G" Wards as is clear from the grants for various years given below :—

<i>Year</i>				<i>Amount of Government Contribution</i>
1925	...	...	...	4,45,833
1926	...	...	...	5,86,088
1927	...	...	...	8,84,731
1930	...	...	...	8,10,418
1932	...	...	...	7,94,184
1933	...	...	...	6,18,501
1934	...	...	...	6,94,732
1935	...	...	...	7,39,000

Thus the Government at present gives a grant of about Rs. 7 lakhs towards the expenses of primary education.

SOURCES OF EXPENDITURE ON PRIMARY EDUCATION

As the Government gives the grant of Rs. 7 lakhs, the Corporation has to spend about Rs. 24 lakhs every year on Primary education. It is very important to note this fact, because while criticising the budget estimates of the Schools Committee, the Members of the Standing Committee and of the Corporation make

much of the huge expenditure on primary education being like Rupees 31 lakhs or thereabout every year. This criticism is somewhat misleading, as about 7 lakhs are contributed by the Government. A layman or an ordinary reader of news-papers is misled by criticism which takes place in the Corporation over the expenditure on primary education. He is scarcely aware of the fact that actually the Corporation has to bear a burden of about Rupees 24 laks only. This funny position occurs because of the technical nature of the question. Since the inception of the Schools Committee in 1909, the Schools Committee alone is responsible for primary education. Nothing was contributed by Government from 1909 to 1919. It was from 1920 onwards, under the circumstances already noted, that the Government began to contribute their share to the cost of primary education in this city. As the Schools Committee is technically responsible for primary education a yearly grant is made by the Corporation alone to meet the necessary expenditure. The Government contribution to primary education is considered as a source of revenue or income to the Corporation. In the Official Annual Reports of the Schools Committee in appendix "A" showing the statement of income and expenditure of the Schools Fund, no mention is made of the Government contribution. Therefore in understanding the figures of the annual grant to primary education by the Corporation since 1920 onwards, it should be borne in mind that the figures for successive years as a matter of fact include the respective Government grants for those years. In the days of the Joint Schools Committee (1899 to 1908), as the Municipality and the Government were jointly responsible for the cost of primary education, in the accounts and reports, grants were shown to be met by the Municipality as well as by the Government.

CRITICISM OF THE PRESENT POLICY—FINANCIAL STRINGENCY AND RETRENCHMENT

The foregoing discussion has shown how retrenchment and economy in expenditure were rendered necessary since the year 1924-25. The financial difficulties of the Schools Committee intensified in course of time due to the failure of the suit against the Government. During the retrenchment enquiry under Sir Visvesvaraya in 1925, a preliminary examination of the finances of the Schools Committee was undertaken, when the high average cost per child under instruction in Municipal Schools was criticised and suggestions were made as to how the retrenchment axe could be applied. As a result, by May 1926, 30 schools were amalgamated or closed and 56 teachers were discharged. It was reported by the

Schools Committee that the recommendation of the introduction of the Shift System was unworkable in Bombay. A Retrenchment Officer was again appointed in 1928, who from different tests pointed out that there was an excess of expenditure from about 1½ lakhs to 2½ lakhs of Rupees every year in the annual expenditure on primary education. He made some recommendations for reducing expenditure which were considered by the Schools Committee. The obvious outcome of these recommendations was the reduction of teachers' salaries in the year 1930 for new recruits only, the adoption of the standard of 30 pupils per teacher, the introduction of the Shift System as an experimental measure since 1931, and dividing the school year into two terms and restricting the new admissions to the first month of each year. By carrying out into practice these recommendations gradually after 1931, a considerable economy was secured in the average annual expenditure per child and the total comparative cost of primary education. That is why the average cost per child came down from Rs. 50.9 in 1931 to Rs. 45.1 in 1934, and to Rs. 42.4 in 1935. It is very instructive for us to note how the average cost per child was reduced by Rs. 2.7 during the year 1934-35, in spite of an increase of 3,280 in the number of school-going children. The measures adopted for economy were—(1) Continuation of the Shift System without payment of allowances to teachers or peons, (2) Dispensing with the services of about 185 non-permanent teachers from August 1934, (3) Stopping supply of furniture and necessary equipment to schools, (4) Cutting down expenditure on grants-in-aid to Aided Schools, (5) Preventing further increase in the expenditure on rent by deciding not to engage any new premises.

These ways of securing economy indicate how in all respects economy was secured at the cost of efficiency. The story is still worse when we come to the actual expenditure of the year 1935-36. The estimated average cost per child is likely to be Rs. 41, that is a reduction of Rupee 1.4 over the year 1934-35. The lowering down of the expenditure in the current year is due to the unfortunate position that whereas the Schools Committee demanded a grant of Rs. 33 lakhs for the year 1935-36, the Corporation sanctioned a grant of Rs. 30,69,520 only. This meant that the Committee had to meet a large deficit of Rs. 1,83,000 by adjusting the expenditure in any way they deemed fit. Hence since April 1935 the Schools Committee had to take drastic steps like the following to adjust the actual expenditure during the year :—(1) Services of about 150 teachers were dispensed with during the year. No substitutes were employed to fill up leave vacancies or other

vacancies caused by retirements or deaths of teachers. (2) All provisions for about 4,000 children who were expected to join during the latter part of the year was not to be taken into account. (3) Schools were strictly informed that new admissions should be made only if the students could be admitted without incurring any additional expenditure on teachers, rent and furniture etc.

In spite of economy in these ways the Schools Committee were not in a position to adjust their actuals for the last year, and when in October 1935 a grant of Rs. 35,000 was requested to be sanctioned, the Corporation instead of sanctioning it referred the matter to the Standing Committee. No comment is necessary on this attitude of the Corporation towards the expenditure on primary education or on the subservient position of the Schools Committee in financial matters.

CONCLUSION

This brief history of the financing of Primary Education since 1889, shows that the matters were quite simple upto the year 1918 or 1919. The Joint Schools Committee upto 1908 or the Schools Committee after that date were never faced with any monetary troubles. There was a rapid progress since 1919 to 1925, as a policy of expansion of primary education on voluntary basis was followed. The Government promised to offer liberal help. But by 1924 owing to inevitable departures from the estimates in the Schools Committee's expenditure, the Government began to change their policy. The Corporation took a legal step against the Government, to enforce arrears of claims of grant due from Government, but with no success. The difficulties of the Corporation and of the Schools Committee were indirectly intensified due to this. Since 1925, the administration of the Schools Committee is marked by planned-out schemes to secure economy of expenditure. But the position has become very serious since 1934 as drastic steps are being taken to economise at the cost of efficiency, even when the average annual expenditure per child under instruction in Municipal Schools is lowered down by Rs. 15/- during the last ten years.

B. M. KALE.

A NOTE ON CROSS-COUSIN MARRIAGE AND DUAL ORGANIZATION IN KATHIAWAR.

Prevalence of the interesting custom of cross-cousin marriage has been fully reported from South India obtaining among most of the peoples as well as from North-east India and is known to be sporadic among the lower castes of the United Provinces¹. Sir James Fraser concludes his survey of this custom in India with the remark that it is favoured among "all races except the Aryan"². Dr. J. H. Hutton goes further and opines that not only is it found among non-Indo-Aryan peoples of India but "is clearly a survival of a matrilineal system"³. Mr. S. V. Karandikar⁴ basing his argument on a passage in the *Rigveda* which refers to the paternal aunt's or maternal uncle's daughter being one's share and also on a statement in the *Śatapatha Brahmana* comes to the conclusion that the Indo-Aryans allowed and practised marriage with their cognates in the third or the fourth generation. Similarly Dr. S. C. Sarkar holds that in pre-Buddhist India Indians could marry their first cousins through mother's brother or father's sister⁵. Evidence of the existence of this custom amongst peoples, who are supposedly of Indo-Aryan stocks and who during historic period are not known to have been living in close proximity to or to have been culturally influenced by the Dravidian-speaking peoples of the South is important to a student of Indian cultural history. During my tour in Kathiawar last November, I discovered in my conversation with the people that the Grasia Rajputs married their maternal uncle's daughter. On further inquiry I was told by a Rajput officer of high education and official position that the Rajputs of Rajputana also have the custom. I have failed to trace any documentary authority for his statement about the Rajputs of Rajputana. As a matter of fact in one of the census reports on Rajputana and Ajmer-Merwara it is categorically stated that "no trace of cousin marriage" is found among the castes inhabiting these areas.⁶

1. W. H. R. Rivers: J. R. A. S. 1907; G. S. Ghurye: J. R. A. S. 1923; T. C. Hodson: "Man in India", 1928; J. K. Bose: *Journal of the Department of Letters, Calcutta University*, Vol. XXV.
2. *Folklore in the old Testament*, Vol. II, p. 134.
3. *Census of India, 1931, Report Vol. I*, p. 458.
4. *Hindu Exogamy*, pp. 14-19.
5. *Some Aspects of the Earliest Social History of India*, p. 101.
6. *Census of India, 1911, Report*, p. 184.

Discovery of the occurrence of marriage with maternal uncle's daughter—marriage with father's sister's daughter is not countenanced—aroused my curiosity which was duly rewarded. The Kathis, whose inroad into and rule over this part of the country gave it its name in place of its Sanskrit name Saurashtra, prefer to marry their maternal uncle's daughters. No other caste in Kathiawar is known to allow this kind of marriage, excepting those sections of some castes, like Soni (goldsmith) and Hajam (barber) who habitually render their services to the Kathis. One Barot (bard) at Kundla in Bhavnagar State further informed me in the presence of a number of influential members of the caste that there are two divisions among the Kathis. There are 132 surnames among the Kathis which are arranged in two divisions, one division being called Sakhiyat and the other Auratiya. Families belonging to the Sakhiyat division must not marry among themselves but must seek a bride from or give a daughter to the members of the other division.

The bard who was my informant could furnish me with the following 30 surnames though he mentioned that there are 132 in use among the Kathis. None of the caste-people who had gathered could add to them. They are: Basia, Bhuwa, Bisiya, Boghra, Boricha, Chabhada, Chandu, Chandsur, Chavda, Dhadhal, Hudal, Jabalia, Khachar, Khadak, Khuman, Lalu, Lunasar, Mala, Maitra, Makwana, Motiyar, Patgir, Sangad, Sodhia, Totala, Trangsadia, Vala, Vankha, Vikma and Vinchia. Of these the families bearing the names of Khuman, Khachar, Vala, Lunasar, Chandu, Chandsur, Motiyar, Hudal and Vikma form one division and marry and give in marriage to persons from the families bearing any of the remaining names. Thus it is clearly a case of dual organization.

Repeated inquiries to elicit information about a similar organization among the Grasis Rajputs convinced me of its absence among them.

Well-informed persons of both the castes are aware of the uniqueness of their custom of marrying one's maternal uncle's daughter among the peoples of Kathiawar. They point to the prevalence of similar practice among the Yādavas and the Pāṇḍavas, so famed in Hindu mythology and represented there as having had intimate relations with ancient Saurashtra.

Of all the famous families in ancient Hindu history that of the Pāṇḍavas and to some extent that of Kṛishṇa, the famous preacher, diplomat and friend of the Pāṇḍavas, on the one hand and that of the Sākya¹, Buddha's family, from Magadha on the other are

1. Karandikar, p. 21

the stocks represented in traditional history as having habitually married their maternal uncle's daughters.

Subhadra, the sister of Kṛishṇa and the wife of the Pāṇḍava hero, Arjuna, is known to have been the daughter of Arjuna's maternal uncle. Later Brahmanic writers, like Kumārila, are at great pains, to explain away this marriage as not being between cross-cousins, such marriages having been by that time repugnant to the Brahmanic tradition¹. One of Kṛishṇa's sons, Pradyumna, married his maternal uncle's daughter by name Rukmavati and Pradyumna's son Aniruddha, married his maternal uncle's daughter, daughter of Rukmavati's brother, by name Rochana. Parīkshit, the son of Abhimanyu, who was the son of Arjuna and Subhadra, married the daughter of his mother's brother Uttara, the son of Virāṭ². Abhimanyu himself is represented as having secured Vatsalā, the daughter of his maternal uncle Balarāma, the brother of Kṛishṇa, as one of his two wives³.

Among the older writers Bandhāyana mentioned the custom of cross-cousin marriage as one of the peculiarities of the people of the South; but neither he nor any other law-giver refers to Saurāshṭra in this connection. Only a late commentator, Hari-swāmin, while commenting on the passage from the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, referred to above, mentions the people of Saurāshṭra. But according to him the Kāpyas (followers of a particular Vedic school) allow marriage in the third generation and the Saurāshṭras intermarry in the fourth, and thus, do not marry their cross-cousins⁴.

N. B.—The following account appears in the Bombay Gazetteer, VIII, p. 130: "Each tribe of Kathis consists mainly of two separate classes, Shakhayats who do not intermarry either with clansmen of their own tribe or with Shakhayats of other tribes; and Avartiās who intermarry with Shakhayats and with whom Shakhayats intermarry, but who do not intermarry amongst themselves. The Shakhayats include five tribes.....the Avartiās include over 100 tribes. There is also a connecting link between Kathis and Āhirs, namely the Bābriās or Barbaras who marry with Shakhayats Kathis and also with Āhirs."

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1. Karandikar, *ibid*.
2. See under respective names in Siddhesvara Sastri Chirav's "Dictionary of Ancient Indian Biography" (in Marathi).
3. V. S. Apte, Sanskrit-English Dictionary, "Abhimanyu"; also R. B. Godbole's "Ancient Indian Historical Dictionary" (in Marathi).
4. Karandikar, p. 19.

RACIAL CHANGE AND SOCIAL CHANGE¹

INTRODUCTORY

An exhaustive discussion of the present problem will have to take into account factors of varying magnitude and importance—ranging from the purely biological to the more or less mythical aspects of the issues involved. We shall then find that its scientific biological treatment will be unable to enunciate clear-cut principles for practical guidance, as the factors involved in human and social evolution cannot be reduced—at least in the present state of Genetics—to the bare constitution of the genetic structure. At the most it will help us to take a sceptical attitude towards the extravagant theories of race and heredity. The mischief which such theories are able to create by their appeal to innate pugnacity and crude self-preserving instincts has been demonstrated again and again by history. The real irony of the situation, however, lies in the fact that Biology is illegitimately adduced to support the contentions of these attempts. Such illegitimate use is again not only confined to crude beliefs in racial superiority (often based on mythical notions of blood purity and cohesion) but is also seen in tendentious inquiries into racial differences.

A full consideration of these important aspects of the problem is further complicated by difficulties due to the absence of a proper terminology. Race, for example, is so elusive a word as to be practically useless for scientific purposes. Its use to signify external characteristics (and in a few cases internal characteristics where the unit factors can be abstracted) may be legitimate. But such a restriction of the term will lead us nowhere, as it ignores the influence of geographical and cultural settings. Then, again, there are other difficulties which by their nature must remain insoluble. Does, for example, the germinal constitution change in the course of time? The fact that the theory of inheritance of acquired characters is not now countenanced by Biology would lend support to the contrary view. But we cannot say anything definite on this point as we know nothing about the germinal constitution of our ancestors. We are again unable to determine the respective rôles in social evolution played by the individual in society and the

1. In writing this paper my thanks are due to Professor Morris Ginsberg for suggesting the subject and to Professor Lancelot Hogben from whose researches I have derived my main inspiration.

aggregate of individuals who constitute society. Lastly, there is the persistent difficulty of experimentation in this field. Our conclusions, therefore, will have to be constantly modified by these considerations.

I

The concept of race in a genetical sense involves two sets of variables. One consists of physical differences (such as texture of the hair, and shape of the nose), which depend upon hereditary transmission. The other is composed of factors like geographical propinquity "tending to stabilise the purity of combinations of particular characteristics".¹ As regards the first, it has been ascertained that the colour of skin and shape of skull are not important as racial determinants. Generally, therefore, on these considerations, we can determine three broad types of human groupings—the Negroids, the Mongoloids, and the Caucasians. A complete investigation of their respective peculiarities will have to take a larger number of factors into consideration, especially when attempts are made to correlate physical differences and intellectual ability. At present, however, investigation of geographically localised differences has been restricted to the blood groups. But a classification based solely on a characteristic such as this cannot be of any great practical help. A satisfactory explanation can only come when we are able to show how particular characters have arisen in widely separated groups, whether this can be attributed to inter-crossing in pre-historic times between the most widely separated groups, or whether the same characters have appeared again and again as sports in different parts of the world, establishing themselves independently in different stocks. It seems that the most we can do at present is to distinguish groups by some single ascertained character or by a small group of such characters. Beyond this we cannot go and assume a close approximation to genetic purity when we define a group of human beings by a large and heterogeneous assemblage of physical traits.

The concept of race becomes more nebulous still when we pass the narrower and more obvious distinctions based on physical characters. It is here that the real battle is waged in a hopeless confusion of attacks and counter-attacks. Without the least experimental foundation races are classified as "primitive" or "advanced" by reference to quite arbitrary criteria, substantiated by the cultural history of a few hundred years of

1. Hogben, L. : *Genetic Principles in Medicine and Social Science*, London 1931, p. 123.

the "advanced" races. For scientific purposes we have to admit the difficulty of determining which of the living races of the ethnologist is more "primitive". Moreover, there is nothing either in genetic principles or ethnological data which can give credence to the view that culturally primitive races are backward because of their inborn limitations. As Professor Hogben admirably develops this argument: "The development of early civilizations by the coloured races, when the Nordic peoples were still barbarians, does not compel us to believe in the inferiority of the Nordic people. Conversely, the achievements of more backward peoples in the present era do not compel us to assume that they are incapable of our own type of social organisation. The dissemination of culture is a slow process. The significant factors in cultural evolution are still obscure. If we adopt the view that important contributions are made by comparatively few members of any race, averages have less significance than is sometimes assumed, and the only means of determining the inherent backwardness of the less favoured races is to extend to them the opportunities which we have enjoyed during a comparatively short period in the history of the human race. The demand for equality of racial opportunity for further social development has largely been justified in the past by mystical beliefs concerning the brotherhood of man. In contradistinction to mystical egalitarianism the exponents of racial supremacy and racial exploitation have affected the sanction of biological realism. A more reasonable position for the biologist to adopt would be an attitude of experimental scepticism. Experiment, and experiment alone can decide the limits of development imposed by whatever genetic differences distinguish one racial group considered as a fictitious whole from another racial group considered as a fictitious whole."¹

II

The evidence for racial differences has not been confined to the observation of physical differences. Attempts have also been made to investigate the mental equipment of various races primarily by means of intelligence tests. The procedure has its merits, and if the tests and material is carefully chosen may yield definite results. Thus it has been found that intelligence tests "yield very constant results for the same individual examined on successive occasions with a short intervening period, and very constant results for the order within a group tested successively over a period of years."²

1. *Ibid.*, pp. 132-33.

2. Hogben, L.: *Nature and Nurture*, London 1933, pp. 27-28.

It is possible that what are regarded as inborn differences and inborn similarities (as in the case of twins) may have much to do with environmental factors. The Freudian school has already familiarised us with the importance of social environment when the basic patterns of conditioned behaviour are being established. Professor Hogben observes, "In the light of the new evidence derived from the study of twins, no conclusions about inborn differences based on comparisons of occupational and racial groups have any scientific validity."¹ Reviewing some of such test-findings in 1930, Brigham observes that "comparative studies of the various national and racial groups may not be made with existing tests", and that in particular "one of the most pretentious of these comparative racial studies"—Brigham's own, in connection with the American Army Tests—was without foundation.²

The value of such inquiries, again, often becomes doubtful owing to the tendentious approach of the investigators. Apart from the primary difficulty of conducting them in an atmosphere of absolute confidence, they are often vitiated by an improper selection of the material. The investigations carried on by Davenport and Staggerda in Jamaica, where the social environment of the inhabiting races is more uniform than in the U. S. A., promised fruitful results. The authors, after examining 105 Blacks, 100 Whites, and 165 Browns, came to the conclusion that with the Blacks and the Browns generally "excellence in early life was found to be correlated negatively with excellence in adult life".³ This conclusion was no doubt gratifying, especially as the research was advertised to have been carried out with up-to-date scientific methods. If we examine the material, however, we find—to take a glaring instance of abuse that 17 of the Blacks and 14 of the Browns were prison-inmates. No prisoners were included in the White group. Again, when it was found that the Browns and the Blacks scored highly in mental arithmetic, the ability to manipulate figures was certified as characteristic of lower mental growth. The claims of a test based on criteria so arbitrarily pliable may well be questioned. All this does not exclude, however, the possibility of further research detecting and measuring racial differences due to differences of genetic constitution. "The difficulty of treating group differences of this kind in a genuinely scientific temper will be less when Psychology can equip biological research with sufficient variety of

1. *Ibid.*, p. 29.

2. Hogben, L.: *Genetic Principles in Medicine and Social Science*, London, 1931, p. 136.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 137.

similar methods for the precise description of other aspects of social behaviour.^{1,2}

III

Where we have to deal only with social groups, the technique of correlation can be used to draw attention to the existence of genetic differences, or differences due to environment, provided the selection of data is appropriate to the differences we wish to detect. Experiments, such as those on monozygotic and dizygotic twins, show that the intellectual resemblance between individuals who are known to be genetically alike is greater than that between individuals who may be presumed to be genetically different. This observed correlation, however, does not furnish us with a measure of the influence of nurture. We cannot abstract gene characters from characters due to environment, owing to their close relationship on account of familial influence among viviparous animals—influence which is stronger in human societies where the environment of different families differs. Consequently, in so far as we recognise this interdependence between nature and nurture we are not entitled to set limits to social changes which might be introduced by regulating the environment.

Environment, therefore, plays an important rôle in development. In "lower" organisms (i.e. those which are cold-blooded), it has been proved that striking modifications can be effected by purely environmental influences. Some flowering plants are also peculiarly susceptible to these influences. This high susceptibility, however, is not found in warm-blooded "higher" organisms which differ from the lower organisms in "the perfection of a self-regulating arrangement which tends to protect the tissues from variations in the external environment".³ Thus while violent environmental variations are counteracted, the organism is at the same time endowed with greater adaptability to surroundings.

This is especially true in human societies. Here the conditions and consequences of group life create for man a type of environment from which he finds it difficult completely to disengage himself. Indeed, such independence of development is not possible for him without renouncing his claims to the benefits of social life. This much for social life we have to concede, though we may not subscribe to all the tenets of the Sociologistic school of Durkheim and his followers who regard all social patterns and

1. Hogben, L. : *Nature and Nurture*, London 1933, p. 29.

2. Hogben, L. : *Genetic Principles*, p. 92.

social evolution as the direct result of a group consciousness in which the individual occupies quite a minor place. Man is a social being in the sense that a proper development of his faculties depends on social intercourse. Or, as Fichte puts it, "It is only among men that man becomes man". On the other hand, the individual in society, while being influenced by the social framework of institutions, technique, ideas, all along exerts an influence on society which, when the sum total of all these interactions is considered, tends to give its peculiar stamp to both the individual *quod* individual and the collective entity which we call society. Thus regarded social change is a dynamic process. Essentially it is cumulative over long periods, though particular points in this trend may exhibit a variety of elements. Here there may be stagnant pools of useless and overburdened tradition, there an urge for reform. Often it seems that in the interplay of these forces social change proceeds inevitably. But the extreme complexity of the factors involved makes any such clear-cut explanation by its nature incomplete. The problem becomes more intricate still when we consider two or more different societies or races, and the causes of variability which make them what they are. For, biologically, unit characters as such cannot be classified as *wholly* hereditary or *wholly* environmental. We can classify them as determined *predominantly* by the one or the other agency if, and only if, the conditions of development are specified.

IV

If we follow this rigorous attitude in the domain of Eugenics, the necessity here too of a cautious approach to the problem becomes increasingly evident. The claims of Eugenics have often been vaunted with the enthusiasm of a new revelation. On the other hand, they have been ridiculed by others with equal vehemence. It is yet, however, an open question how far selective agencies influence factors operating over comparatively short periods of human history, and how far they can be used for moulding the future of the human race. A satisfactory answer to these questions can only be given when we are able to define the mode of transmission of the genetic differences with which we are concerned. At present we know very little about the nature and frequency of mutations as they occur in nature. And without an exact knowledge of these we cannot determine the direction in which selection operates. Moreover, an inordinate stress on the purely genetic aspect of the problem is likely to blind us to the environmental and cultural agencies, the direction of which can be controlled with greater certainty. It is possible that "increasing

complexity of cultural achievement may proceed in human societies independently of any change in man's inborn equipment".¹

The problem, it will be observed, is not one of Genetics only but of Sociology and Social Philosophy as well. In the absence of sufficient historical and sociological data, it is therefore futile to maintain that "selection is the sole effective process known to science by which a race can continuously progress".² This attitude of the orthodox eugenicists, based as it is on the Darwinian theory of natural selection, does not get much support from contemporary biologists like J. B. S. Haldane, Sewall Wright, R. A. Fisher, and Lancelot Hogben. According to the Darwinian theory of natural selection evolution is considered as a continuous process, thus making selection a creative agency and inseparably linking the two. On the other hand, present-day Biology views selection as a discontinuous process and thus a destructive agency in social evolution. We shall be able to appreciate this fundamental difference between these two points of view if we consider their attitude towards the process of artificial selection. Darwin and his followers considered artificial selection in terms of a "blending" inheritance. It was supposed that the male and the female of the species contributed to their offspring a sort of an "average" of the qualities possessed by them. It has been, however, experimentally proved that there is no such mode of transmission in life. What we get is "Particulate" inheritance, for genetic inheritance is primarily determined by the Mendelian doctrine of dominance and recessivity.³

Nor is the value of war and conquest as selective agencies proved by the researches of economic and social historians. For a conclusive proof we need to know, firstly, whether the "superior" stock in course of time leads to the extermination of the conquered people, and, secondly, whether inborn gifts are definitely correlated with acquired technique and training. The evidence for the first is scanty, and from what we know of recent history is preponderantly in the reverse direction. As for the second point, no comprehensive research has yet been made in this direction. Moreover, war affects indiscriminately both the fit and the unfit and is thus predominantly a dysgenic agency.

1. *Ibid.*, p. 169.

2. Pearson, K.: *Groundwork of Eugenics*, p. 20.

3. It is not necessary here to go into the practical aspects of the claims of Eugenics, as their main concern today is with the industrialized countries of the West.

In any case, biological arguments ought not to be adduced to explain social changes, without exhausting historical and sociological material. As Professor Ginsberg observes, "When the facts of social life are studied directly it becomes clear that the factors bringing about change differ *toto cœlo* from those which are supposed to operate in the field of biological evolution, that human quality does not differ profoundly from period to period, and that progress is in the main independent of changes in genetic structure, but depends upon changes in tradition and on methods of adaptation and organization increasingly independent of specific race qualities".¹

V

Before concluding this paper I intend to examine briefly some of the important contributions made to the problem by the present German Chancellor. In his book *Mein Kampf* Hitler is throughout inspired by the rôle of the so-called Aryans as the "culture-sustaining" race. For this he finds illustrations throughout history—if by history we understand the comparatively short span of the last few centuries. Thus in North America the Germanic element, as he calls it, because it kept its racial purity intact, has been able to develop a progressive civilization. What a contrast we find in South America where the races have freely mixed! "The loss of racial purity ruins the fortrees of a race for ever, it continues to sink lower and lower in mankind, and its consequences can never be expelled again from body and mind." It is difficult, indeed, to do full justice to such an impassioned faith. But anyone who knows anything about history will have to admit the utter hollowness of its claims to veracity. It is not race-mixture as such that has been responsible for the fall of ancient civilizations like those of Egypt, Greece, and Rome, but the decay of a cultural tradition due to adverse circumstances such as wars and epidemics and desiccation. The violence that these can do to the cultural life of a people can hardly be exaggerated. It has been said, for example, that a new world war will wipe out modern civilization in a few months. If and when that happens the calamity can hardly be ascribed to race-mixture or to the faulty genetic constitution of the participants. Apart from all this, if Hitler's explanation of race-mixture is taken at its face value, his thesis of a pure race falls to the ground. Even if we confine ourselves to the existing territories of the Third Reich it cannot be proved that the Aryans, if ever they came to settle in

1. Ginsberg, M.: *Studies in Sociology*, London 1932, p. 152.

this region, found it an empty paradise wherein no man had set his foot before them. Whatever superiority we may attach to the blood of this particular species of the Aryans there is nothing in genetic principles to sustain the view that it was immune from the tarnishing effects of such a race-mixture. Further on we are told that "Every crossing of races leads sooner or later to the decay of the hybrid product, so long as the higher portion of the cross survives united in racial purity. It is only when the last vestige of the higher racial unit become bastardized that the hybrid product ceases to be in danger of extinction. But a foundation must be laid of a natural, if slow, process of regeneration, which shall gradually wipe out the racial poison, that is, given that a foundation stock still exists, and the process of bastardization is arrested". All this assumes that there is a definite inheritance of characters, that we have unmistakable criteria of determining racial purity, and that by artificial selection—necessarily difficult in human societies, even under Nazi auspices—we can control and arrest "bastardization". How far we can accede to these assumptions must be left to individual consciences, for in matters of this kind we have to trust more in a chance revelation than in an objective scientific proof! But the theory of race which Hitler propounds does not stop at this. He is equally at pains to establish the supremacy of the German Aryans in *all ages*. The people whom Tacitus met and observed were not "barbarians" but heroes fighting with their innate superior equipment against adverse physical conditions. If they had been a little south of their habitat they would have vied with the Hellenes in developing a civilization of equal grandeur. This does not explain, however, why they did not move to the south where conditions were more propitious. Apparently even in those hard times the spirit of this man chose to fight and make a fatherland rather than retreat before the forces of nature. Thus in the end the argument betrays itself, and Hitler is constrained to admit that the latent qualities of even the superior races can flower only under favourable conditions.

SUMMARY

1. Race is an elusive concept, and unless we know more about unit characters and their mode of inheritance it is extremely hazardous to dogmatize on the innate superiority or inferiority of a group of people who are regarded as composing a race.

2. The main factors of social change are social and not racial.

3. A consideration of genetic differences involved in different groups of people cannot be abstracted from environmental and cultural influences.

4. These latter influences in so far as they can be controlled by human agency have the first claim on social reform.

5. Without sound experimental evidence as to the influence of genetic constitution on social behaviour we are not justified in drawing conclusions which relate these two as cause and effect.

P. S. REGH.



Reviews

The Life of Sir Charles Napier, by Colonel Sir William F. Buller (Macmillan & Co. Ltd., London).

This is a welcome addition to the literature on the conqueror of Sind, especially, at a time when Sind has been reconstituted into a separate province. The book has been written specially for Indian Students and its simple style should be of special appeal to them. The first seven chapters deal with the early life of the conqueror, and bring into prominence the salient factors that went to the making of the hero—especially his training during the Napoleonic Wars in the Spanish Peninsula. It is of special significance in this connection to note that throughout stress is laid on those qualities of broad and humanistic outlooks on life that must invariably distinguish the mere conqueror from the administrator. Sir Charles Napier possessed human sympathies in more than the average measure—and that fact no doubt is the cause of his success as an administrator in Sind. One quotation of Napier's on what constitutes the true prosperity of a nation will be enough to show that Napier possessed that insight into things which is an essential characteristic of a great man. "Men are restless and discontented with poverty in manufacturing places. They have all its sufferings and have not those pleasures which make people content under it, that is health, enjoyment of country life, fresh air and interest in the seasons and in the various products of Nature. The exhausted, unhealthy manufacturer has no such enjoyment: he has no resources but gin, gambling and all kinds of debauchery. The countryman worships God, the manufacturer worships gold, and thus the practice of sin united to mammon worship makes the ruffian. Yet such is the system which your political economists call the prosperity of the nation. Hell may be paved with good-intentions, but it is assuredly hung with Manchester Cotton."

It is not surprising that in that age of Materialism and Economic Liberalism, Napier was throughout his period of service in England out of his elements, and received scant recognition. But we never know our own destiny till the hour of death; and Napier's chance came with the appointment in India in 1841. Chapters 8, 9, 10 and 11 are concerned with Napier's life and work in India, and are therefore of chief interest to the Indian student. And it cannot be denied that the author has dealt with the subject in a spirit of impartiality rare to find in such works. In

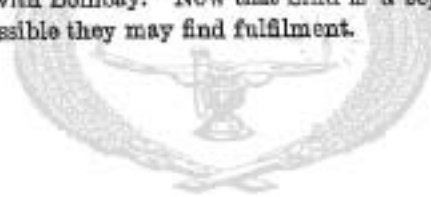
Chapter 8 "The War in Sind"—it is made absolutely clear, that the war was forced upon the Mirs on account of the necessities of British Imperialism—in much the same way as Italy has recently carried out her schemes against Abyssinia. In the author's words "Pressed by an army on the middle Indus by the Sikhs from the Punjab and by a flotilla on the Coast, they were to be squeezed into compliance with our demands, which included cession of territory, fortresses and sea-ports, payments of treasures to Shah Shuja, annual subsidies to ourselves and rights of passage for troops and supplies". That Imperialism must ever find fresh victims is not surprising; what is surprising is that Napier, with his humanistic sympathies, should have willingly and deliberately allowed himself to become the instrument of an unjust and unprovoked aggression. The justification given by the author "Napier knew all this nefarious history when he went to Sind, but he knew too the utter impossibility of getting again into deep water by a recurrence to an absolutely just policy with the Rulers of Sind. In India to go forward has often been to go wrong, but to go back in that country has always been to admit the truth of an argument which if prolonged to its fullest consequences must lead us to the sea coast" may have been indeed, sufficient in case of ordinary politicians—but Napier was always more than that. The fact, of course, is that Napier's morality then—as of Europe even to-day—had tribal limits, and did not extend beyond the Suez Canal on the Eastern side. It is not surprising, therefore, that having decided that the destruction of the Mirs was a necessity, Napier should have adopted every possible tactic to force the Mirs to declare hostility to British. "I almost wish," he writes, on December 5th, "that they (Mirs) proudly defied us and fought, for they are so weak, so humble, that punishing them goes against the grain." Like Mussolini to-day, Napier salves his conscience with thoughts of civilising the Heathen. "Peace and civilisation will then (after British conquest) replace war and barbarism. My conscience will be light, for I see no wrong in so regulating a set of tyrants who are themselves invaders, and have in 60 years nearly destroyed the country. The people hate them. I may be wrong, but I can not see it and my conscience will not be troubled." It is true the removal of injustice is a knightly duty but only if self interest is entirely absent. The Englishman's good fortune is that self interest and altruism have been so often combined.

Napier forced war upon the Mirs—and the battle of Meeanee was the scene of action. The details of the battle have been given so often that the author can throw no new light on it. The victory of the English was a foregone conclusion, and Napier's

military genius can hardly be placed on more slender foundations if it is to rest on this victory.

This victory is no greater proof of his military genius than the conquest of Abyssinia by Italian might. The real greatness of Napier's work in Sind lies in his administration of Sind, of which he was the first Governor from 1843 to 1847. Essentially, a man of peace—even he forced war upon the Mirs—Napier now found an opportunity for his humanism in converting the Unhappy Valley into a Happy Valley. "Working at his plans for justice, repression of outrage, irrigation, roads, bridges, moles, harbours and embankments." One single sentence of his gives an insight into his greatness, and the contrast with modern times. "My formula is this: Punish the Government servant first, and inquire about the right and wrong when there is time." No wonder his name is still honoured amongst the poor. It was this sense of justice that provided moral justification for British conquest of Sind. In 1848, Napier went back to England, and though in 1849-50 he was back again as Commander-in-Chief, his life's mission had been done.

Napier's dreams for the progress of Sind remained in suspense on its union with Bombay. Now that Sind is a separate province again, it is possible they may find fulfilment.



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PART III

WORDS—THEIR SIGNIFICANCE AND ROMANCE

If the greatness of man lies in his capacity to think, the power and precision of his thoughts depend considerably on the happy selection of his words, which are the symbols of ideas, and but for mastery over which man would never rise high in the scale of civilization. Ideas are inseparable from words as diamonds are from their lustre or milk from its whiteness. Great and vitalizing thoughts must imply adequacy and efficiency of expression, for ideas are almost incommunicable without words, and words but empty sounds without the ideas that impregnate them with sense. The cultural progress of man—in religion, literature, art, science, law, politics, philosophy, etc.—is enshrined in his history, but some rare and valuable side-light is indirectly thrown on historical matters by the derivations of words, which sometimes by themselves summarize a thought, custom, incident or the characteristic of a distinguished person. The biographies of some words are as interesting as the descriptions of events : they reveal relations between countries, show the progress of or decline in moral standards, manifest a nation's love for art or disclose the secrets of a long-forgotten but historically important institution. Thus, as Emerson says, language is fossil poetry, and words, which must be recognised as the helpmates of history, often carry us back to a dim, distant past, and serve to determine the features of ancient customs and usages, which may be said to survive only in these fossils, awaiting the investigating pen of the etymologist to reveal their inner secrets.

There is, for instance, a blood-curdling historical memory beneath the word assassin, which is derived from the Persian "hashish",

the maddening juice of the hemp. This takes us back to the terrible Hasan Sabbâh, called Sheikh al Jabal or the Old Man of the Mountain, and his gang of desperadoes, who during the Crusades secretly murdered both Muslim and Christian after giving their victims due information about their impending fate. The fanatics, who had implicit faith in their master, were intoxicated by hemp-drink, and they carried their murderous fury into action in the hope of securing immediate admission into paradise. Here indeed we have history in a nutshell. The word pecuniary, which comes from the Latin *pecu* meaning cattle, reminds us that before metal was coined property consisted of herds of cows. For instance, we read in Indian epics of cows being awarded to the Brahmins by Hindu kings on auspicious occasions. This word must therefore be considered of great economic interest. The word idiot, derived from the Greek *idiotes*, meaning a private person, reveals to us the educational and political system of the ancient Greeks, among whom the ideal of man was to be a good citizen, participating in public life. He who voluntarily or by natural inaptitude shirked the responsibilities of the State was therefore called an *idiotes* or private person, which word subsequently came to mean one destitute of ordinary intellectual capacity. Here we find the very *zeitgeist* compressed within the brief compass of a word. Ostracism is another interesting word pointing to the system of political banishment first introduced into Athens about B.C. 487 by the reformer Cleisthenes. On a fixed day each citizen wrote upon an *ostrakon*, meaning tile or oyster-shell (whence the word ostracism), the name of the person whom he wished to see banished. If the votes against any one person numbered 6000, he was asked to exile himself from the city without any accusation or trial for ten years, subsequently reduced to five. This was supposed to be a polite method of getting rid of troublesome leaders.

The word calculus is derived from the Latin *calx* meaning a pebble, which serves to remind us that the ancients used pebbles in reckoning on the abacus or counting-board as well as in voting. In the trial-scene of Orestes in "The Eumenides" of Æschylus the votes are found to be equally divided; Athene (Minerva) therefore gives her casting vote to Orestes, thereby establishing the Athenian principle that when votes were equal the verdict must invariably be in favour of acquittal. The casting-vote has thenceforth been known as the "Calculus Minervæ" or "Minerva's Pebble". Important light is shed on the social life of Greece by the derivation of the ordinary word school which comes from the Greek *scholê* meaning leisure, which to our notions ill agrees with and is perhaps hostile to its modern significance. But one must remember that the slaves in

Greece completely outnumbered the free population, which formed the aristocracy of the country. The servile work being entirely taken up by the slaves, the Greek freemen had abundant leisure, which was largely devoted to the pursuit of art and literature. Hence to the Greeks leisure and learning came to be synonymous. The word parasite comes from the Greek *para*, beside, and *sitos*, food, and refers to that class of diners-out and hangers-on who are a common and unavoidable feature in all countries, though they were a regular pest to Greek and particularly to Roman aristocratic society, as evidenced in the comedies of Plautus and Terence and the satires of Juvenal and Lucian.

It would be difficult for the ordinary man to realize that the word academy comes from the name of a historical person, Academus, the friend of Plato, who permitted the philosopher to teach his disciples in his gardens, known to fame at a later date as Plato's Academy. So too the word Stoic hails from the *Stoa Poikile* or the painted portico of Athens where Zeno, the founder of the school of the "budge doctors of the Stoic fur", instructed his pupils. The word sycophant comes from the Greek *sukon*, a fig, and *phaino*, I show. The importance of this word lies only in the novelty of the custom it perpetuates. The Athenians had forbidden the exportation of figs, but there were persons who surreptitiously carried on a smuggling business in those fruits. Such law-breakers were arrested and hauled up before the authorities by "sycophants", who sought to curry favour with the Government at others' expense. The word gradually came to signify a mean toady.

Language may be compared to a faded palimpsest, which requires patient and indefatigable study before it can disclose its secrets. A word sometimes reminds us of an old friend, whom we remember as an acquaintance but are unable to recognize. We have seen that the word idiot points to a Greek political ideal; but dunce on the contrary undeservedly immortalizes a great Schoolman and philosopher of the Middle Ages, J. Duns Scotus, who fell a victim to the fury of his fanatical adversaries. The followers of Thomas Aquinas, called Thomists, regarded with contempt those of Duns Scotus, called Scotists, and later on branded them as "Dunces" or fools. The crime of simony or the buying or selling of church livings carries us to Simon Magus who is referred to in Acts VIII, 18 as having offered money to purchase the gift of the Holy Ghost. Our pantaloons, strange to say, are of saintly origin, and come down from St. Pantaleone, the patron saint of the Venetians, among whom Pantaleone is a very common Christian name. From them the word was applied to the garment particularly common among them. Panta-

loon as the buffoon in Italian drama was so used by the other Italians as a nickname for a Venetian. Tawdry is another word which goes to show how a holy name is sometimes degraded and tortured out of its original significance. The word, which means gaudy, comes from St. Ethelreda, which name was later on shortened into St. Audrey. It refers to the annual fair of St. Audrey in the isle of Ely, where showy but useless articles were placed for sale.

Dr. E. A. Abbot in his *Shakespearian Grammar* observes with truth that implied metaphor is the basis of language, because we can only describe invisible relations by visible ones. We know that fire burns, and so we say—"he was inflamed with passion". Hence we have such expressions as "consumed with anxiety", "blind to facts", "radiant with happiness", "budding orator", "sleeping partner", "floating capital", "sinking fund", etc. Words are often replete with poetry, which itself largely consists of metaphors: after a time the charm of poetry or the novelty of metaphor fades away from the words, which, like kings in the guise of ordinary men, remain undiscovered in their original glory by all save philologists. The daisy, which is a veritable poetic flower among words, is in fact day's eye, which means the sun. This name has been transferred to this "wee, modest crimson tippit flower," because it spreads out its petals to the sunlight in the morning and closes them at sunset. The dandelion comes from the French "dent de lion", the lion's tooth, from its tooth-like jagged leaves. Tribulation is derived from the Latin *tribulum*, a threshing instrument which separates the husk from the corn. Every thinking human being will agree that tribulation and sorrow are divine agencies to distinguish all that is trivial and slight in us from all that is noble, exalted and beautiful. The derivation of caprice is thoroughly significant for it comes from Latin *capra* a goat, an animal remarkable for its sudden skips and freaks: while cynic is appropriately derived from the Greek *kyon* a dog, known for its snappish and snarling habits. There is a touch of poetry in the derivation of the word squirrel which comes from the Greek *skia*, a shadow, and *oura*, a tail, since the little animal usually sits and munches under the shadow of its tail. The word itself thus preserves the prominent characteristic of our shy little garden friend.

The wealth or paucity of words in a language is indicative of the stage of culture reached by a nation. Excellence in literature, politics, philosophy, and even in the more practical departments of civilization must seek its inevitable medium in language. We are told of certain uncivilized societies in whose speech the words for "love" or "gratitude" did not exist, and hence Christian missionaries were put to great trouble in explaining those virtues which were never

dreamt of in savage philosophy, though the barbarians naturally had several words to signify knife, flesh, hunting and scalping. The language of a country abounding in certain animals also abounds in words signifying the names of those animals, while the very name of the creature unknown to that country is absent from its lexicon. An animal is known to be popular in a country when numerous names are being assigned to it in the language. That India is the home of cows, elephants and snakes could be judged even from the Sanskrit language which is rich in the names of those creatures. Adopting the same method we find that the horse is the favourite animal in Persia as is the camel in Arabia. Mr. Lowell Thomas says in his *"With Lawrence in Arabia"* that in the Arabic language there are 822 words for "camel" and 1037 words for "sword," which must be considered thoroughly significant of the habits and characteristics of that predominantly nomadic nation of born warriors. The horse was once a favourite animal in the West, and cavalier, cavalry, and cavalcade are all derived from the Latin *caballus* a horse, once regarded as indispensable in war. From the same source originates that beautiful word chivalry, which has now been driven out of vogue by modern, scientific, "civilized" methods of warfare as well as by the emancipated New Woman who claims equality with man in every walk of life. The absence of a certain word in the lexicon of a nation may strongly argue the popular ignorance of the idea or object conveyed by the word. Mr. L. Pearsall Smith observes in his *English Language* that though all the Aryan languages contain the meanings of "door" and "house," still they never refer to "windows." If this rather bold statement is really unexceptionable, it would enable the anthropologist to prove, as Mr. Smith actually does, that the early Aryans never knew the use of windows.

If language be taken as a moral barometer, we shall have to admit that our lexicons are richer in terms of abuse than in words of grace. Nay, it is strange as it is true that in many languages that which once signified good latterly came to mean foolish, and what once denoted cleverness subsequently ended in indicating deceit. The words silly and simple once meant blessed and sincere, but both now imply folly, while 'innocent' is often used even now in the sinister sense of ignorant. Old English classics will serve to remind us that cunning, sly and crafty once meant dexterous, but they now invariably signify deceit. It should seem from this that excess of goodness is usually taken for stupidity by a self-centred society, while people who soon shine by their clever but often very shady transactions are appreciated as smart and ingenious. The world has always kowtowed to the rich and invariably come down with unjust severity on the

poor. This statement cannot be disputed for it is borne out by semantics. The words kind, free and gentle are made to signify noble birth, while churl, boor, villain and blackguard, which once meant countryman, tiller, farm-servant and scullion respectively, now appear in our dictionaries to mean either unmannerly fellows or rascals. Thus do our lexicons hold the mirror up to ourselves and unconsciously reveal us in our true colours.

Our languages are to a very large extent moulded by the ideas we entertain and the feelings we cherish, and a close study of words would enable us to grasp the very genius of a language. The Sanskrit language is said to be pre-eminently suited to philosophical study : the French shines in conversation, the English in oratory : the Italian is characterised by music, the Persian by a melting mellifluousness. Urdu is magnificently adapted to military pursuits, while Gujarati, the language of a province that has invariably bowed its head to foreign masters since 1297 A. D., suitably abounds in terms of tender apology and modest unpretentiousness.

Religion has been given to man that he may know himself and be at peace with his brethren. It is only too true that this divine decree has been more honoured in the breach than in the observance, with the result that religion, degraded into fanaticism, has enabled man to spread red ruin far and wide in the fair name of God and His prophets. This again may be noticed in the history of certain words perverted by the bigoted fury of people from their original significance. The prophet Muhammad had a hearty dislike of idol-worship, and yet the word mammet, named after the prophet, means an idol and mammetry is idolatry. So too Baphomet, a corruption of Muhammad, conveys the significance of idol, as if to annoy and spite the iconoclastic followers of the Arabian prophet. Mr. John Fiske in his *Myths and Mythmakers* derives the word bogey from the well-known Assyrian god Bagh of the cuneiform inscriptions. Such is the fate of a fallen deity, who becomes the devil or bogey of a triumphant creed. Readers of *Paradise Lost* will remember how Milton has consigned the gods of ancient religions to hell and enlisted them among his fallen angels under the leadership of Satan. Another victim of fanatic fury is the unfortunate word termagant, once wrongly supposed to be "Tir e Mogân", the angel Tir of the Magi. The Crusaders are said to have introduced this word in Europe as meaning a Saracen god or idol, the co-partner of Muhammad, though of course the Saracens abominated idolatry and reprobated polytheism. Then termagant appeared in the Mediæval Moralities as a violent, blustering character and is referred to in this capacity by Hamlet when he warns the players against "o'erdoing Termagant" or "out-herod-

ing Herod". Later on by a strange freak of popular caprice the word was applied, as it is to-day, to a brawling and turbulent woman.

The ancient pagan belief in polytheism and mythology has enriched the language with many significant words. Echo and Narcissus have been bodily taken up in the English language. The open, four-wheeled carriage, phaeton, reminds us of the youthful god of that name, who obtained reluctant permission of his father Phœbus, the sun-god, to drive his chariot and ultimately came to grief. Herculean, volcanic and dædalian take us to the gods of strength and fire and the cunning mythical master of the engineering art. 'Protean' reminds us of the deity who continually changed his form, and Mercurial of the swift-footed, caduceus-bearing messenger of the gods. The words jovial, derived from Jove, martial from Mars, venereal from Venus, and saturnine from Saturn embody the characteristics of these deities; while sunny and moony or lunatic reveal the influence of the heavenly bodies on human nature. But the most interesting word bequeathed us by a Greek god is 'panic', which takes us as far back as B. C. 490, the year of Marathon, the first battle in which the Greeks, in fact only the Athenians, had defeated the Persians. So profound was the importance of this battle that it became the subject of numerous legends. It was said that Pan lent his invisible might to the victors, and such were his fearful shrieks that they caused a 'panic' among the Persians and struck terror and dismay in their broken ranks, thus helping to complete their disastrous rout.

We shall now discuss certain words which commemorate noteworthy incidents, customs or personal characteristics. Even though the historical records regarding the incident may disappear, the word embodying it will for ever continue to reveal the forgotten importance of the event and thus serve the purpose of history. The word shibboleth means the watchword of a party, but thereby hangs the old Jewish tale recorded in Judges XII. It so happened that the Gileadites under Jephthah defeated the Ephraimites and took many prisoners. At the passage of the Jordan the Gileadites hit upon the word shibboleth, literally meaning a stream, as a criterion to discover which of their prisoners were Ephraimites, who could only pronounce the word as sibboleth, and who were thereupon immediately recognized and put to death.¹ The expression Hip, Hip, Hurrah has an interesting but unhappily not an authentic historical background, which takes us to the fanatic times of the Middle Ages, when the German knights

¹ This would at once remind us of the unsuccessful siege of Syracuse in B. C. 413 by Nicias and Demosthenes, and the plight of the Athenians, who were dragged into slavery, but many of whom were allowed to escape if they could recite passages from the dramas of Euripides.

went out on a Jew-hunt shouting 'Hep, Hep'. This expression is composed of the initial letters of "Hierosolyma est perdita" (Jerusalem is destroyed). Hurrah is derived from the Slavonic 'huraj' (to paradise); hence the whole expression would signify "Jerusalem is lost to the infidel, while we are on the road to paradise." But there is more of fancy than fact in this ingenious attempt at etymology. A rather reliable though not perfectly authentic explanation would associate this expression with the great monk Peter the Hermit, who stirred all Christendom to the First Crusade against the Saracens by raising the shout "Hierosolyma est perdita", subsequently contracted, as mentioned above, into 'Hep, Hep', to which the crowds at his heels enthusiastically responded with "Hurrah". The words have now completely lost their religious fervour and have sunk into the common and perhaps formal expression of joy or applause.

The word stipulation is derived from the Latin *stipula*, a straw, and that introduces us to an old custom according to which when two Romans entered into a contract they broke a straw between them. Test is from the Latin *testum*, a crucible used by alchemists to examine their things. The Romans used to prepare tablets covered with wax on which they wrote with a fine-pointed instrument called *stylus*, which has given us our word style. Paper comes from *papyrus*, the Egyptian plant from which thin flexible sheets of paper were prepared in olden days. In the West the polished bark of trees and in the East their broad leaves were extensively used for writing purposes. This is evident from the derivations of the words—book, library, Bible and schedule—all of which can be traced through different languages to one and the same meaning, signifying the bark of trees. Our expression—'leaves' of a book—is further corroborative of the fact that in early times writing was intimately associated with trees and their products. The word mausoleum is neither Persian nor Arabic, but refers to the great sepulchral monument, regarded as one of the seven wonders of the world, raised in Halicarnassus to the memory of the Carian King Mausolus (whence the name) by his queen Artemisia. The word mithridate, which means an electuary, serving either as a remedy or a preservative against venom, comes from Mithridates, King of Pontus, who could swallow and digest the most virulent poison. The word frank can be traced to the Franks supposed to be a brave and straightforward people, while the word slave is derived from the Slavs, for the earliest people to be enslaved by the Teutons were the Slavonic tribes. Lumber has a peculiar derivation coming as it does from the Lombards who were the first pawn-brokers, lumber-room being in fact Lombard-room where the

pawn-broker stored his pledges. Thus while engaged in conversation, we through the use of our words unconsciously indulge in metaphor, soar in poetry and talk history without knowing it like the ever-memorable M. Jourdain.

Literature is a series of echoes, and writers cannot do without conscious or unconscious borrowing from other races, as merchants are unable to transact business without importing or exporting goods. The same rule applies to foreign words which are being freely admitted and absorbed into the language as soon as they are found to be too current or congenial to the spirit of the mother-tongue. The British sway the destinies of a vast empire: this presents an unparalleled opportunity to the English language to develop by foreign admixture, and one great reason of the richness in synonyms and the facility in the expression of even the subtlest ideas lies in the composite character of the English language, in which, as Prof. Weekley says in his *Romance of Words*, for most ideas we have two and sometimes three terms from English, Latin and Greek. Thus we may use either kindred or family, either lucky or fortunate, either fellow-feeling, compassion or sympathy. Again ideas and inventions in philosophy, science and art are multiplying and disseminating so rapidly that they remain not the monopoly of one but the universal heritage of all nations.

There are, however, those who uphold the purity of a language and set their face against all indiscriminate borrowing. They are generally nationalists like the modern Germans, but what they gain in purity will be lost in power, vitality and richness of their language. Besides when different nations come together through conquest or commerce, it becomes impossible to check the flow of words from one language into another. The English language, which contains thirty per cent. Latin words, gained considerably by two national calamities—the Danish invasion and the Norman conquest, which naturally flooded Anglo-Saxon with Danish and French words. The French nearly threatened to swamp the native English, till it was redeemed by Langland, Wycliffe and especially by Chaucer. As observed by Archbishop R. C. Trench, the first great English writer to think of semantics, the Normans being the rulers, words of warfare, government, law, court-etiquette, etc., were all of French origin, e.g., homage, duke, prince, sovereign, sceptre, jury, larceny, lease, embezzle, etc., but commonplace words of everyday life and social relations, e.g., house, roof, father, mother, hearth, home, ox, cow, etc., are Anglo-Saxon. Words of ornament, luxury and the chase are again Norman. Philosophical and scientific terms will be found to be of either Greek or Latin origin, for Greece was the "university of Europe," while

Rome excelled in law and administration. Instead of citing instances we may say that there is hardly a single term of science or philosophy in the dictionary the origin of which is not to be traced to Greek or Latin sources, except when such terms are named after their inventors or the places of their birth. Christianity was responsible for the introduction into English of a host of words, largely through Latin, e.g., temple, apostle, hymn, altar, stole, martyr, candle, cowl, etc.

But the real teachers of Europe, who carried the torch of learning and enlightenment during the darkness of the Mediaeval Ages were the Arabs, who revived in the West a love of Aristotle and the other Greek classics. Their colleges at Cordova, Toledo, Seville, etc., were the rendezvous of scholars from all Europe, and it is, therefore, not astonishing to find several scientific terms in the English language, popularized during the Crusades and traceable to Arab origins. According to Mr. R. C. Dutt in his *History of Civilization in Ancient India* the Arabs learnt algebra from the Hindus but carried the science in their tide of conquest into Europe. The full Arabic title of algebra is "ilm al jabr wa al muqābala" or the science of reuniting and equalizing, 'jabr' in that language meaning to bind together. The interest evinced by the Arabs in mathematics has left us another word, zero or cypher, both derived from their word 'sifr'. The Arabs carried on experiments with the philosopher's stone with a view to discover the secret science of converting base metals into gold. They failed, but their labours ended in the discovery of chemistry which is derived from the Arabic 'al kimyā', while their endeavours after alchemy has left us one interesting word—elixir (*al-aksir*). Their attempts to distil liquids in their laboratories have given us the familiar word alembic (*al ambiq*). Their experiments with highly rectified spirits have yielded us another very common word, alcohol, derived from the Arabic *al-kuhl* or antimony reduced to a fine powder, that is, anything brought to extreme tenuity. Their chemical pursuits in minerals are responsible for another English word talc derived from the Arabic *talq*. Their interest in light and colour may be judged from at least two words derived from Arabic—azure or lapis-lazuli (*lājward*) and scarlet (*saqlāt*). The Arabs were also skilled in calligraphy and the fine arts, and the very word arabesque is significant of their interest in this direction. The word damascene, derived from Damishq or Damascus, the capital of Syria, refers to the art of decorating with rich and novel designs in a way peculiar to the Arabs of the place. We also owe the names of two of our musical instruments to the Arabs—lute (*al-'ud*) and rebeck (*rubāb*).

The Arabs were the boldest sailors of the Middle Ages till their maritime supremacy passed over into the hands of the Christian powers towards the end of the fifteenth century. It was the Arabs who gave to Europe the mariner's compass the use of which they had learnt from China. They discovered the Azores, and as Saiyyad Amir 'Ali observes in his *Short History of the Saracens*, they went nearly as far as America. The Arabian charts proved useful to European navigators when they in their turn, inspired by Arab example, began to transform the map of the world. There are many English words pertaining to navigation which are traceable to Arab sources; we may mention only three. Admiral is from *amir al-bahr*, lord of the sea; arsenal is from *dār us sanā'at*, home of industry; magazine is from *makhzan*, treasure-house. The Arabs could not have been great navigators without being at the same time expert geographers, and their proficiency in geography is reflected in the derivations of the following words:—azimuth (*as-samt* or the path), zenith (*samt ar-rās* or direction of the head), nadir (*nazir as-samt* or point opposite the zenith), monsoon (*mausim*, a season.). Navigation and trade usually go hand in hand, and Arabian industry in commerce is evident from the following words:—saffron (*z'afarān*), camphor (*kāfur*), amber (*anbar*), cotton (*qutn*), candy (*qand*), tamarind (*thamar e Hind* or fruit of India), tariff (*t'arif*). But there is one commodity grown and collected in Arabia itself. Few people indulging in their morning cup of coffee realize that the fragrant seed and consequently the word for it come from an Arabian source *qahwak* or decoction of berries. The Arabian conquest of Spain and the magnificent Moorish civilization to which it gave birth prove that these people were great organizers and administrators. Their judicial and military institutions in Spain have left us several words:—alcalde (*al-qādī*, a magistrate), alcaid (*al-qā'id*, a commander of a castle), alguazil (*al-wazir*, a minister).

A few more miscellaneous words derived from Arabic may be mentioned:—alcove (*al-qubbak*, a dome, a relic of the renowned Saracenic architecture), jupon (*jubbak*), chemise (probably from *qamis*), sofa (*suffah*, a bench), mattress (*matrah*, a place where anything is thrown, what is thrown under something), baudekin (from Baghdād where it was 'made), tabby (from 'Attābiyeh, the name of a quarter in Baghdād where the silk was made), macabre (probably from *qabr*, the grave), ream (from *razmat*, a bundle of clothes), giraffe (*zarrāf*) and talisman (*tilism*). But in spite of the unquestioned greatness of Arabian civilization during their unparalleled march of conquest and conversion, the word Arab itself remains in the English lexicon as meaning a homeless

vagabond of the streets—a regrettable but truthful testimony to the nomadic life still led by the majority of these wonderful people.

There are several words which owe their parentage to Persian sources. Lemon is *limoon*, orange is *nâranj*, sugar is *shakar*. Sash is from *shast*, a sacred girdle worn by Zarathushtrians and Hindus. Taffeta is from *tâfleh* meaning twisted; dragoman originates from *tarjuman* a translator; barbican is derived from *bâb khâneh* a gate-house; hazard hails from *hazâr*, a term employed in the game of backgammon in which the moves of the pieces are determined by throws of the dice; tabour is from *tanboor* a drum or lute. The game of chess was introduced from India into the Court of the great Persian King Naushirwân, where it was considerably developed. Hence chess is derived from the Persian word *shâh* a king, the principal figure in the game, while checkmate is from the Persian *shâhmât* which means 'the king is conquered.' Rook is also derived from the Persian *ruk* meaning castle, a piece placed on the corner squares of the chess-board. Turban is from the Persian *dooband*, and, strange to say, the tulip flower is also derived from the same word from its fancied resemblance to this sort of headgear. We may close this list with a venerable word, paradise, which is derived from the Greek *paradeisos*, a park, and is philologically allied to the Persian word *firâus* meaning a garden. But the tap-root lies deeper still and may be traced to the Avestan *pairidaeza*, *pai* meaning around and *dis* to throw up. According to Luke XXIII, 43, Jesus on the Cross replied to one of the malefactors near him :—"Verily I say unto thee, to-day shalt thou be with me in paradise." Dr. L. H. Mills in his *Zoroaster and the Bible* is, therefore, justified in his remark that one of the last words uttered by Christ on the Cross was in the Persian tongue.

Travellers and explorers have not only added to our stock of knowledge but have actually drawn the far-flung countries of the world into intimate cultural contact. Numerous words have been introduced into English from German by T. Carlyle, from the Icelandic by W. Morris, from Arabic by Sir Richard Burton, from Spanish by G. Borrow, and from the African dialects by David Livingstone. The Bible has inspired missionaries to carry the gospel of love and peace to the remotest corners of the world. The love of money has lured the merchant to brave the mighty deep, and he returns home burdened not only with the gold he coveted but with a few remarkable words he was unable to forget. Even the ferocious, unlettered pirates have rendered an unconscious service as agents in the popularization of words between countries. It was the famous explorer Captain Cook who familiarized us with the Tahitian word

tattoo, the Australian animal kangaroo, and the Polynesian term *tabu*, so commonly met with in works on the origin of religion. Columbus introduced the word cannibal, which means a Carib, the Caribbees being anthropophagous in their habits. Thus chocolate, cocoa and tomato are Mexican, bamboo and cockatoo are Malayan, while potato and tobacco are Haytian terms (tobacco being named after the island of Tobago in the West Indies).

There is a long list of objects stamped more or less clearly with the names of the countries whence they are derived. Thus indigo comes from India; silk from Seres, the Greek name for the Chinese; copper from Cyprus; calico from Calicut in India; lawn from Laon, a town near Rheims; damask from Damascus; magnet from Magnesia, a town in Asia Minor, now known as Manissa; cordwain from Cordova; gauze from the Philistine city of Gaza of Samsonian fame; fustian from Fustât, a suburb of Cairo; muslin from Mosul in Turkey; bayonet from Bayonne in France; ermine probably from Armenia. Cashmir, worsted and arras reveal at a glance the place of their manufacture. Worshippers of Bacchus would be interested to know that port comes from Oporto in Portugal, and sherry from Xeres in Spain where they are prepared; while terms like madeira and burgundy present no difficulties since they are identical with the names of places where they are distilled.

There are several words which preserve the distinguishing characteristics of certain nations, though some of them are uncomplimentary and may be due to sheer revenge or hostility. Gasconading is derived from Gascony, a province of France, the inhabitants of which are said to be tongue-doughty. Laconic is derived from Laconia, a division of Peloponnesus, conquered and inhabited by the Spartans, who were people of very reticent habits as distinguished from the lively Athenians. Solecism is derived from Soli, a town in Asia Minor, the inhabitants of which having been transplanted from Attica had lost the natural purity of their language and used a mixed dialect. Sardonic is from Sardis in Asia Minor, where a herb is supposed to grow, so exceedingly bitter to the taste that the face becomes tortured, as if presenting a sarcastic grin. It is surely unfair to refer to a Bohemian in the dictionary sense of the term as a person of unconventional, care-free, fast life. But the word is derived from the French *Bohémien*, meaning an idle stroller or gipsy, these people having migrated into France from their native country of Bohemia. Tartar is another unsavoury dish this time served by Europe to an Asiatic nation. The word was originally Tatar, but so overwhelmingly destructive were the irruptions of their barbarian hordes into the Western countries in the thirteenth century, that the

Christians were reminded of the opening of the "bottomless pit" referred to in the 9th chapter of the Revelation. They, therefore, knew their persecutors ever since not as Tatars but as Tartars, as if they had proceeded from Tartarus or hell to work havoc on mankind.

There are some words that, magnet-wise, attract and incorporate to themselves the last letter of the article by which they are preceded : thus from the Arabic "*al-anbiq*" we have "limbec" ; from "an ewt" we have "a newt". But sometimes the article itself plays the magnet and attracts to it the initial letter of the word that follows : e.g., from "a nadder" we have "an adder" ; from "a napron" we have "an apron" ; from "a nâranj" (Persian word) we have "an orange". Changes in the form of words are easy to account for, but it is difficult to ascertain the gradual variation in the significance of words, and after some centuries it is hard to make out how a certain word comes to acquire the meaning it has. Some words change continually like Proteus ; some suffer revolutionary transformations ; while most of them gently slide over from one meaning to another only a shade different. Every great author is responsible for the meaning he reads into some of his words ; sometimes he uses a word in the derivative sense ; sometimes he attributes to it a grave, satirical, slang or perfectly modern interpretation. Words are like coins and semantics would remind us of numismatics ; many words like old, discarded coins have fallen out of use and new ones are minted in their place : others have only an antiquarian or poetic interest attached to them. A rare word like a rare coin helps the historian to determine a certain incident or ascertain the features of a particular custom or shed light on the exploits of some king or hero.

Many words in course of time undergo a change for the worse, while a few are on the contrary elevated in their significance. Let us take a few of the most important among the degraded words. Heathen and pagan originally meant a person living on a heath or in a village, though the present meaning of the words is a worshipper of false gods. Gossip at one time meant one related in the service of God—a godfather or godmother, but it now means idle tattle, perhaps too common among such people ! Wit was once used for knowledge, not as at present for the capacity to say bright and amusing things. Imp originally meant a scion ; it now stands for a mischievous brat or even for a malignant spirit. Courtesan in the derivative sense meant a courtier or a woman connected with the court : its modern significance scarcely reflects credit on courts and women associated therewith. Bombast, which now signifies high-sounding, pompous language, originally meant cotton-padding. That very convenient word interesting came into existence in the eighteenth

century and then meant important ; now the word is made to cover a multitude of senses and is almost indispensable in the language. Rolypoly has rolled through such a variety of meanings that it is difficult to say whether it is degraded or elevated ; it once signified a rascal, then a game played with a ball, then a dance, a pudding pasted in cylindrical shape, and lastly a plump, chubby child. Legend meant at first the annual commemoration of saints tested in their tribulation, but, as usually happens, the eulogy was magnified out of all proportion by well-meaning but uncritical devotees, so that legend has now come to mean an unauthentic fable. Scavenger was originally scavager, the term for an officer of customs ; but this unlucky word fell on evil days and now signifies a sweeper of streets.

Among elevated words we may mention admiration, once used in its derivative sense of wonder. Worship was formerly used in the sense of honour, as in the expression "your worship", still addressed to magistrates. Babe once meant a doll, but the word became endowed with life and sound in the course of centuries. Bonfire was once bonefire, referring to the custom of burning the dead after a victory ; it now means a large fire lighted in the open air to express public exultation. Talent once meant a precious coin as in the parable of the talents in Matthew XXV ; now it means skill, which though unfortunately not always successful in acquiring coin must certainly be regarded as superior to it. Intoxicate is derived from Latin *toxicum* poison, from the Greek *toxa*, arrows, the latter being frequently dipped in poison. The change from poison to wine, however, does not quite amount to a substantial elevation. Gazette is probably derived from an Italian word meaning a magpie, the Italian *gazettare* signifying chattering like a magpie or writing tittle-tattle ; the word has undergone a radical change in significance and now means an official journal containing state notifications.

There are certain words that have greatly changed in meaning, or are relics of interesting customs of the past. Coxcomb is cock's comb or crest ; it was once worn by ancient licensed jesters in their caps. The expression now means a vain person, while crestfallen, applied at present to humiliated kings and defeated generals, is a term which comes from cock-fighting, the crest of the beaten bird appearing to droop while that of its victorious rival is firm and rigid. Coward has a thoroughly significant derivation from the Latin *cauda* a tail, and conveys the notion of an animal with the tail between its hind legs. The word palace has a whole history behind it. It comes from the Latin *palatium*, a building on Mons Palatinus, one of the seven hills of Rome. This building was used by the Roman empe-

rors, and hence palace became a generic term for the mansion of a ruler. Palatinus itself comes from Pales, the Roman goddess of flocks, and is connected with *pater* a father, or nourisher. Enthusiasm comes from the Greek *en*, into, and *theos*, God : it is believed that the animal sacrificed or the food dedicated to God becomes infused with the divine spirit, which is transferred to the devotee who partakes of it and who is thus possessed of the divinity and becomes 'enthusiastic'. Dramas of all countries have almost invariably a religious origin. In ancient Greece tragedy arose from the serious choral song sung at the worship of Dionysus, in whose honour a goat, called in Greek *tragos*, was sacrificed. The earliest meaning of tragedy was thus a '*tragodia*' or goat-song. During autumn, however, the Greeks in a frolicsome mood thanked the gods for their bounty and indulged in an orgy of sarcastic remarks or lewd buffoonery, thus giving rise to satire and comedy, the latter being derived from the Greek *komos* a revel. It is impossible to study Greek tragedy or comedy without bearing in mind the serious origin of the one and the frivolous nature of the other, and the sources of both these forms of literature appear to be significantly enshrined in their very names.

Sincere is said on doubtful evidence to have been derived from the Latin *sine*, without, and *cera*, wax, and alludes to the Roman practice of concealing flaws in their statues or pottery with wax. Hence sincere would mean unadulterated or genuine. Supercilious is derived from the Latin *super*, above, and *cilium*, an eyebrow, and refers to the attitude of a haughty person who raises and purses his eyebrows. Nepotism is appropriately derived from the Latin *nepos* a nephew, near relations of a person in authority being often found to be the objects of his favour. Alphabet is also significant, being a combination of *alpha* and *beta* the first and second Greek letters. Urchin is derived from the Greek *cher* a hedgehog, since the word once meant a mischievous elf supposed to take the form of that animal : it has now come to mean a troublesome, roguish child, who is probably as hard to handle as the hedgehog is. Quintessence is a philosophic term meaning the fifth essence, the four others being fire, air, water, earth. The fifth essence is ether which is more subtle than the others. Hence quintessence means the most subtle extract of a body or the innermost essence of a subject. Temper derivatively means to mix and refers to the combination of the four humours, on the relative proportions of which the health was supposed to depend. It was once believed that barbarian came from the Latin *barba* a beard : this however is entirely false, the word only signifying a babbler, for all languages except one's own often sound meaningless and repulsive.

The word news is supposed to have been formed from the initial letters of North, East, West, South, as bringing information from all the four corners of the world; but the real derivation is from the French *nouvelles* meaning news. Harlot is a word of obscure origin, but one version damns to everlasting fame Harlotta, the mother of William the Conqueror.

Pedantic women are called blue-stockings from a society of ladies and gentlemen formed at Venice about 1400 and distinguished by the colour of their stockings. The society made its appearance in France and towards the close of the eighteenth century in England also with the same distinctive feature. Draughts was called the game of dames or in French "jeu des dames," and strangely enough even in our Indian vernaculars we still know it as "dām." Disaster comes from Greek *astron* a star, and points to the belief that the movements of heavenly bodies have something to do with the lucky or unlucky happenings in human life. S. Baring-Gould in his *Curious Myths of the Middle Ages* traces the origin of the forget-me-not to the blue Luck-flower, which, as German superstition would have it, can tear rocks and rip up hidden treasures before our gaze. If while coming out of the mountain-cave we omit to take the flower, the rocks close upon us and we are buried alive. Hence the flower is appropriately named 'forget-me-not.' Thus we find that there is often as much romance and poetry in a word as Wordsworth saw in an object of Nature.

There are a few Biblical words, now used as generic terms without any reference to the occasion that brought them into existence. Jubilee is a Hebrew word and the year of jubilee was every fiftieth year of rejoicing, when, as described in the Leviticus, all debts were cancelled, land which had changed hands reverted under certain conditions to the family to which it had belonged at the original settlement, and all slaves of Israelitish birth were discharged. The word is derived from *jubil* a ram's horn, because the year was announced by trumpet-blasts of ram's horns. The term scapegoat draws our attention to a peculiar Jewish custom, also narrated in the Leviticus, according to which two goats were set apart, one for the Lord and the other for Azazel or "the spirit which dwelt in the wilderness". The one meant for the Lord was sacrificed, but the other was burdened by the high priest with the sins of the people and was let off into the desert. The word is now used, sometimes humorously, for a person who is made to bear the blame of others. Armageddon is the hill of Megiddo and the scene of the defeat of the anti-Christian powers as referred to in the 16th chapter of the Revelation of St.

John. Now the word applies to a particularly bloody and disastrous battle.

There is a whole host of words derived from the names of persons, but we can only afford to pick out the most noteworthy. The Homeric poems have exerted unparalleled influence over the literatures of Greece and of Europe in general, and the names of many of the characters are freely used to signify their distinguishing qualities, as Nestor stands for a venerable person, Siren for a bewitching woman, Ulysses for an ingenious but crafty man and Cassandra for a true prophetess who would never be believed. The word stentorian comes from Stentor, who, according to Homer, was the loudest-voiced man in the Greek army that went to besiege Troy. The word hector is surely degraded since it means a bully—something entirely different from the brave and noble Trojan prince we read about in Homer's pages. Another Homeric character is Pandarus, familiar also to readers of Chaucer and Shakespeare, who tried to bring about the union between Troilus and Cressida. The word has been thoroughly debased in its modern significance. The sincerely repentant and tearful Mary Magdalene of the New Testament has strangely bequeathed us the word maudlin, in which sincerity is replaced by sickly sentimentalism. Hurly-burly seems to be an onomatopœic word derived from Latin *ululare* to yell, while burly is a riming addition; but Prof. Weekley in his *Romance of Words* observes that the word was so called because two neighbouring families named Hurleigh and Burleigh always filled the country with their brawls. Chesterfield is a kind of overcoat or couch, so called from an Earl of that name belonging to the nineteenth century. Sandwiches were invented in the eighteenth century by the Earl of Sandwich, an inveterate gambler, so that his lordship may have his dinner in a handy form without interrupting his play. Two other peers to leave their memory in the language are Lord Brougham and Earl Spencer, whose names are associated with a one-horse close carriage and an outer coat without skirts respectively. Wellington and Blucher exist in the realm of words only as meaning particular kind of boots, while their great adversary Napoleon's memory survives in the form of a gold coin.

Guy is a term of contempt for a person of queer looks or dress, supposed to resemble the grotesque effigy of Guy Fawkes, annually burnt in England on November 5th. Gerrymander is a modern word meaning to distribute to private advantage, and is derived from Elbridge Gerry, Governor of Massachusetts, who arranged electoral districts for the benefit of his own political party: the suffix 'mander' comes from salamander, from the alleged resemblance noticed

by Yankee humorists to that creature of one of the districts in Massachusetts, formed when Gerry was Governor. Lynch is after a Virginian planter Charles Lynch of the eighteenth century who made short work of his enemies by taking the law in his own hands without waiting for the slow judicial procedure. To burke is to murder by placing a gag on the mouth of the victim to prevent his giving alarm. It perpetuates the evil memory of an Irish scoundrel, William Burke, hanged in 1829, for suffocating his men with the sole purpose of selling their corpses to surgeons for dissection. The word is also used now in the sense of doing away with a thing secretly and quietly. Bobby is a very common term for a policeman and is derived from Sir Robert Peel who reorganized the police force first in Ireland and then in England in 1829. The policeman is also known as Peeler from the same statesman, though, ironically enough, the same word was used for a robber in the sixteenth century, both words being of course of quite distinct origin. Draconian is as old as Draco, the proverbially severe Athenian lawgiver who flourished about B.C. 620, and whose laws are said to have been written in blood. Boycott is a word familiar to Indian ears, but it is worth knowing that it is derived from Captain C. C. Boycott, the tyrannical and highly unpopular land-agent of the Earl of Erne, with whom all social intercourse was cut off in 1880 by order of Mr. C. S. Parnell's famous "Land League," which kept Ireland under a brief but memorable reign of terror. Boycott is, however, a form of social ostracism practised occasionally in all parts of the world.

Chauvinism is aggressive and insular patriotism and is derived from Chauvin, a character represented as a blindly enthusiastic idolater of the great Napoleon. Martinet means a severe disciplinarian and the word comes from the Marquis of Martinet, a general of the times of Louis XIV. noted for his strictness. It was one Dr. Guillotin who during the French Revolution invented and gave his name to the instrument for beheading persons at one stroke. So too the Scavenger's Daughter was an instrument of torture which received its name from Sir William Skivington, Lieutenant of the Tower in the reign of Henry VIII. Derrick was the name of a London hangman of the seventeenth century, but after him the word was applied first to the gallows and subsequently to a contrivance resembling it for hoisting heavy weights. Shrapnel was invented by a general of that name. Ladies will be interested to learn that georgette owes its name and its existence to Madame Georgette, a French modiste. Dahlia is named after Dahl, a Swedish botanist, who introduced the flower into Europe. Nicotine is baptised after Nicot, who introduced tobacco into France in 1560. Zeppelin, mackintosh and hansom are

also named after their makers. Macadamize owes its origin to J. L. McAdam, who introduced a very efficient system of road-making, and the centenary of whose death will be celebrated by the engineering world in November of the current year. There can be no end to the enumeration of sciences formed after their inventors, e.g., Mesmerism, Mandelism, Galvanism, Voltaism, and the various other -isms whose name is legion.

Coming nearer home, we find that the British conquest of India has added a long list of words to the English language, and so vast is the stock of material which is continually growing, that this Anglo-Indian "argot" is known to us by the special name of "Hobson-Jobson." The Britishers in dealing with the natives had often to use the vernaculars, and it was perfectly natural that such Indian words as could be easily pronounced with English intonations or harmonized with the genius of the English tongue should gradually insinuate themselves and finally be absorbed into the language. Such words as particularly appealed to the British for one reason or the other are, e.g., bundobast (arrangement), khatpat (intrigue), bungalow, verandah, etc. We need not trouble ourselves about the origins of these words. The British "nabobs" who returned to their country began freely to use Indian terms which were also popularized by English writers of fiction, like Kipling, who was born in Bombay and who located many of the scenes in his stories in India. Meadows Taylor in his Indian novels made such a liberal use of Anglo-Indian terms as to necessitate the inclusion of a glossary in his works. The Christian missionaries by their devoted endeavours towards the dissemination of their religion and their frequent intercourse with the natives also helped to swell the Hobson-Jobson lexicon. This strange Anglicized word "Hobson-Jobson" has been formed from the cries of the Muslims—"Yâ Husain, Yâ Husain" on the 10th day of the month of Muharram, as they lead the "tâboots" in procession to the riverside for immersion.

Some Indian words, thoroughly popularized by the Anglo-Indians in the English language, are :—curry, pillau, toddy, cheroot, loot, teapoy, raja, rani, nabob, diwan, pandit, bazar, qazi, hamal, sepoy, cooly, cowrie, chowry, batta, pukka, baboo, mahout, howdah, nautch, shawl, brinjal, kincob and very many more. There are several Indian words that entered English through a Portuguese medium, e.g., gram, caste, peon, padre, ayah, cobra, pomfret, mango, mosquito, copra, benzoin, palanquin, etc. Several Malayan words have also crept into English, sometimes through the Portuguese : e.g., amuck, bamboo, paddy, godown, junk, etc. There are a few words taken up in English from China and Japan, but they may not have arrived

through the Indian vernaculars but through direct intercourse between England and those countries. For instance *jirikisha* and *harikiri* are Japanese, while *chow-chow*, *kow-tow*, *tea*, *chop* and *mandarin* are Chinese. Typhoon means a violent storm occurring on the Chinese seas like the *simmoom* in Arabian deserts, but the word is sometimes derived from the Greek *tuphon*, a whirlwind caused by Typhon, a giant struck with lightning by Jupiter and buried under Mount *Ætna*. Pagoda, which means a Buddhist shrine in China or Burma, seems to be derived from the Persian '*butkadeh*,' an idol-temple, though the late Prof. A. X. Soares in the Bombay University Journal, Vol. I, Part III, traces the word to the Sanskrit '*Bhagavati*' meaning the Hindu goddess *Kālī*. But though foreign words may be welcomed to a certain extent, the English language must be guided by that very sensible Latin maxim—*ne quid nimis*—not too much of anything; and the purity of the language must be guarded against reckless, extravagant and indiscriminate admissions of Indian words. Instead of yielding free access to such terms as *puckro* (catch), *dumcow* (threaten), *samjao* (persuade), etc., into the King's English, it has naturally been considered more advisable to establish the separate Anglo-Indian Hobson-Jobson dialect for the convenience of only those Britishers who settle in India during their tenure of office.

Many words are almost unconsciously added by conversation: if they catch the hearers' ears, they go on circulating till they are absorbed into the language. Most words thus owe their parentage to slang sources, though learned and ink-horn terms must come through books alone. Great authors from Chaucer downwards have rendered remarkable services to the language by preserving words from oblivion, popularizing words hitherto not generally used, or boldly coining words to suit their own necessities. Shakespeare, who by a happy coincidence flourished when language was still in an experimental stage, took the most presumptuous liberties with grammar and philology, and is said to have enriched the language with more new words than all the English poets put together. He gave us peculiar forms of common words: e.g., *fathered* (having a father), *husbanded* (having a husband): he contributed numerous words to the English language, which only then began to be conscious of its literary greatness. Some of his words are:—*foison*, *exsufficate*, *multitudinous*, *incarnadine* (the last two in one line), *incorpsed*, *implo-rator*, etc. Milton gave us *Satanic*, *pandemonium*, *imparadise*. Some Latinised pedantic terms come appropriately enough from Sir T. Browne and Dr. S. Johnson. We are indebted to Lord Chesterfield for *picnic*, *persiflage*, and *etiquette*, and to Byron for *bored* and

blasé. We owe centrifugal and centripetal to Sir I. Newton, biography to Dryden, and agnostic to Huxley. Scott gave us raid and foray, Bentham was the first to use international, Macaulay to think of constituency, while Burke is responsible for diplomacy, municipality, electioneering and colonial. Keats bestowed on us 'lavendered' and 'deep-damasked' while Carlyle, the boldest coiner of words, the forger of tongue-twisting compounds and perpetrator of contemptuous nicknames, fired off terms like : gignanity, Benthamite, amusee, dandiacal, Bedlamism, etc. It will be noticed that many of these terms are peculiarly appropriate to the character or life-work of their inventors.

But there is a striking instance of a word, invented in sheer fun, but which had the adhesive property of sticking on to the English language like a bur. It is recorded by Dr. E. C. Brewer that Mr. Daly, manager of the Dublin Theatre, once laid a wager that he would add a word within twenty-four hours to the language. He then arranged to get a meaningless word, named quiz, inscribed during one night on the walls of houses and all prominent places in the city. Next day every Dubliner was intrigued at the mysterious and ubiquitous appearance of the word, and inquired of all and sundry as to what it meant. In short the people were "quizzed", the wager was won, and this strange word remains current in the language as the modest contribution not of a scholar but of a wag.

Words are like shells that strew the sands of time, meaningless to the indifferent passer-by who scarcely bestows a glance upon them ; but he who, inspired by a love of knowledge, is willing to soil his hands in the mud and mire of centuries, will one day find his labours rewarded when some little trifle of a shell will yield him a pearl of purest ray serene, that would be valued highly in the intellectual marts of the world. We have now seen how language is the index of a nation's culture, flourishing or declining according to the rise or fall in her material prosperity, teeming with words of religion during some spiritual movement and with political terms during some national upheaval. We have traced the effect of mythology, philosophy and science on words, and realized how some terms originate from places and others from persons. It has been discussed how words enshrine some interesting customs or occurrences and are therefore incidentally helpful to the historian and antiquarian. From language we immediately come to know in which department of life or in which branch of culture a certain nation is most prominent. Languages may preserve their own peculiar genius and individuality and yet open their doors to healthy foreign influences, which are

bound to pour in when countries come into intimate contact either through war or through peace.

Languages continually interchange their goods : this promotes friendship and unity between nations, which are also secured by the more powerful mediums of literature and art. Languages have many vocabularies though semantics can boast of only one. Men arose from a common stock, speaking a common language, though they are so curst with short memories that they miss the universal in the particular and are blind to the goal of unity owing to the complex and individualistic nature of modern civilization. We may say—God proposes but man disposes. God intends to bring the world close through various scientific devices which well-nigh annihilate space and time : but selfish man in the intoxication and delusion of his vanity ever tends to drift apart. If he only realizes the value of the various cultural forces aiming to restore universal peace, even against his own will, he will notice among them a force of modest pretensions—the study and interpretation of words—which may well be calculated in its own way to promote fellow-feeling and friendly relationship between nations, and bring them within measurable distance of the goal of world-brotherhood, to which the whole creation with all too faltering steps endeavours to move.



FIROZE C. DAVAR.

THE DOCTRINAIRE DRAMA¹

(*Nāṭyaśāstra of Bharata.*)

(A) THE TEXT

From the early days to the *Mṛcchakaṭṭika* of Śūdraka we have traversed a long way and as we look back we find in astonishment how such a simple, commonplace, semi-religious function like RECITATION evolved ultimately into an artistic method of representation. The changes in the process must, naturally enough, have been so slow and so gradual as to be imperceptible for a long time. But a time does come in all such processes of evolution when an inquisitive mind takes the first chance of detecting and recording those changes. It need not be added that success alone stimulates and forms the subject-matter of such a study. With Bhāsa, Kālidāsa and Śūdraka drama grew in success and popularity. Naturally men turned to understand, analytically if possible, this new art which was recognised as art quite newly. Thus we find about the fifth or sixth century A. D. an attempt, for the first time, to systematise and codify the results of this study. It is not that drama was not studied earlier but those earlier studies could not be expected to be systematic for two reasons : (1) drama as such took late to develop into a distinctively recognised literary art, and (2) no standard plays of an artistic type could be expected till later still to justify such a study. Kālidāsa and Śūdraka mainly contributed in removing both these difficulties and soon after we have the first treatise on dramaturgy, the *Nāṭyaśāstra* known as that of Bharata.

At the very outset a grave objection might be raised. How could it be shown that Bharata's book belongs to the 5th or 6th century A. D.? It has not been and it could not be shown. Besides, the *Nāṭyaśāstra* attributed to Bharata and traditionally handed down in 36 chapters (containing about 5556 verses) may not be the work of Bharata. In that case, the date of Bharata does not affect the date of *Nāṭyaśāstra*. Secondly, some original treatise on the art of recitation or on *rasa* as composed by a Bharata might have been amplified

1 The following is a chapter from the author's book (in preparation) entitled 'Drama in Sanskrit Literature'. The references to *Nāṭyaśāstra* can be found in the edition of that book in the Kāśhī Sanskrit Series No. 60. Roman figures refer to the chapters and the Arabic ones to verses.

with reference to later developments. Or, lastly, original short studies on various topics concerned with recitation, representation, voice-cultivation, physical culture, etc., might have been edited in an encyclopædic form. Surmises like these are proposed not with the intention of going round a difficulty to avoid it but on the actual, textual evidence. The *nāṭyaśāstra* in its available form is bewildering by its construction and chaos. To first observation its construction seems so compact and so comprehensive; at the same time there is so much that seems senseless and superfluous—as the following analysis would show.

Chapter I is in the usual vein, singing the glories of the book. It proves its divine origin and establishes the sanction of antiquity by declaring that Nāṭya is (i) the creation of God Brahmā and (ii) the fifth veda open to all castes. This fifth veda was created from out of the four vedas (verse 17). "Here", said Brahmā to the Gods, "here have I produced an *itihāsa*" (19). But the Gods were unable to perform it, so sage Bharata was approached. Bharata had an enviable advantage in his hundred sons (26-39). However, he found out that in the fifth Veda sons alone had not the monopoly, as in other four Vedas, of taking their father to Svarga and success and salvation. So he had to request Brahmā to create Apsaras damsels to play female rôles. With these initial preparations a *nāṇḍī* and an *anukṛti* [probably a (panto-) mimic show] of the fight between Gods and demons were represented (59) on the festive occasion of Indra's victory (56, *Mahendra-vijayotsava*). The demons naturally resented this public display of their defeat and raided the performance. A *nāṭyagrha* (play-house) had thus to be created as a protective measure. In the meanwhile Brahmā pacifies the demons by singing a lyrical panegyric of nāṭya (which is shown to have too noble an aim to vilify or libel the demons). The play-house is constructed and on Brahmā's order Bharata performs the *raṅga-pūjā* (worshipping the stage)¹.

Chapter II describes in great details the various ways of building play-houses as well as the various models of play-houses. The whole description is introduced edgewise. At the end of the last chapter Bharata was asked to perform the *raṅga-pūjā* and immediately after is described not the *raṅga-pūjā* but the construction of the *nāṭyagrha* (which has been constructed already in I 80-83). Even at that Bharata does not describe the house that has been actually built but

1 The word *raṅga* V *rañj*—might mean 'red colour' or 'paint': *raṅga*—as a noun meaning 'the painted place' where originally we can imagine one painted curtain as the background.

engages in a lengthy and general description of three kinds of play-houses—the *vikṛṣṭa* (II. 34-6, the *caturasra* (89 ff) and the *tryasra* (102). The *vikṛṣṭa* seems, as its root-meaning (viz. : 'long drawn out') suggests, to have been an oblong hall with the audience facing the stage at one end. The *caturasra* was different since the audience here could be seated on four sides of the stage—either in a circle or perpendicular to the stage—in the centre. The *tryasra* is a sort of modification of the last mentioned—the audience being on three sides (right, left and front) of the stage. The stage itself was a kind of platform raised on wooden pillars. The place below the platform was the *nepathya-grha*—the entrance to the platform being by a passage on the side away from the audience. The raised part (the platform) was known as the *raṅga-śiṣṭa*. Certain characters had to effect an entrance not on the platform but in-between the audience and the platform. This space was known as the *raṅga-pīṭha*. Such an entrance was made by removing the piece of cloth hanging on the front side of the platform to screen the green-room below. Probably the *raṅga-pūjā* was performed in the green-room beneath the platform.

Chapter III continues the description of the *raṅgapūjā* mentioned in Chapter I—thus showing the contextual irrelevance of chapter II. In IV the *raṅgapūjā* is over and a 'samavakāra' (by name Amṛta-Manthana) is represented. This representation must have been a sort of pantomimic show since it is said (IV-4) that the audience was pleased with the *Karmabhāva-anudarsana* as contrasted with the *Karma-bhāvānukirtana* (IV-11) of a 'dīma' later performed in the presence of God Śiva. *Anukīrtana* probably refers to recitation and *anudarśana* to mere (i.e. mute) REPRESENTATION. Bharata is then advised by Śiva to introduce dancing in the *pūva-raṅga* (overture) and Tāṇḍu was deputed (18) to teach the tāṇḍava dance (258a). The sages to whom Bharata is supposed to narrate his śāstra ask him (258b-260a) why dancing which is connected neither with the music of the *pūva-raṅga* nor with the sense of the play proper should be included in the show. Bharata replies, to the dismay of some modern critics (or better, fanatics), that dancing, though not essential to, or in, a play, adds to the beauty of the show and the amusement of the audience. Verses 19-25 describe the various gestures (*karaya*), postures (*aṅgahāra*) and "Movements" (*recaka*) of dancing. For the present we are inclined to suspect these verses since they so violently separate the name of Tāṇḍu (18) from his derivative 'tāṇḍava' (258a). Chapter V describes anew the *pūvarāṅga* modified in the light of Śiva's instructions.

Chapters VI and VII deal with the *rasa*-s and the *bhāva*-s. This subject is not introduced as in any way arising naturally cut

of the previous discussion. After the *pūrvavaṅga* one fails to see the necessity of explaining in great details the various *rasa*-s etc. What does it matter if the sages choose to ask (not one but) five irrelevant questions : (i) what is a *rasa*? (ii) what is a *bhāva*? what is meant by (iii) a *saṅgraha*, (iv) a *kārikā* and (v) *nirukta*? (VI 1-3). Apart from the too inquisitive sages, the variety of both matter and style in the body of the text itself raises difficulties. In the first place, besides the usual śloka-s there are verses in *āryā* metre side by side with prose passages. This prose is written in the style usual to a commentator employing the first person plural (for the author) while Bharata, from the very beginning, as consistently refers to himself in the first person singular. Secondly the *rasa*-s are mentioned now as four, now as eight and again as four original and four derived. Thirdly, the 'original' four viz., the *śṛṅgāra*, the *raudra*, the *vīra* and the *bībhātṣa* are explained mostly in śloka-s while the other four are explained either in *āryā* metre or in prose. Similarly chapter VII opens with an explanatory passage in prose and throughout the chapter we find materials of probably three different texts, as (a) śloka-s, (b) śloka-s quoted under the heading *bhāvati cātra ślokaḥ* ('to this effect runs a śloka')¹ and (c) *āryā*-s all of which are quoted as *bhāvati cātra āryā* etc. This is not the place to suggest any clear-cut theory about the book but one reasonable explanation seems to be that Bharata, traditionally or truly reputed to be the author of a work on drama, must have also written a short treatise on the theory of *Rasa* and that some scholar later on became responsible for handing down the two together. It is further interesting to note that the topics in chapter VIII are directly connected with the general discussion in the first five chapters and are in direct continuation of chapter V. In the latter, the remodelled *pūrvavaṅga* has been described. After that should come the play itself. As said in I. 104-118 and XXI. 123-5 a play "is an imitational representation, so to say, of the various modes and moods and movements of the people in the matter-of-fact world." This representation, says Bharata, is called *abhinaya* (VIII-7) and thus opens chapter VIII describing the four different ways, i.e. *abhinaya*-s of reproduction and representation. Those four ways are

- (i) *āṅgika*, gesture-acting (VII-XIV)
- (ii) *vācika*, speech-delivery (XV-XXII)
- (iii) *dhārya*, make-up etc. (XXIII)

1 Cf. VII, 6-15, 26, 28, 54, etc.

and (iv) *sātvika*¹, emotion-display (XXIV)

(i) GESTURE-ACTING

Under this heading are described the various gestures : (a) of head, eyes, brows, lips, and neck (VIII) ; (b) of hands (IX) ; (c) of chest, waist and hips (X) ; (d) of feet (XI and XII) ; (e) of silent acting called *gatī* (XIII) ; and (f) of movements on the stage like exit, entrance etc. (XIV).

(ii) VĀCIKĀBHINAYA, speech-delivery (XV-XXII)

Under this heading are described

Phonetics (XV 10-33)

Various metres (XV 41-119 and the whole of XVI)

Figures of speech and Poetics (XVII 44-118)

Sanskrit and Prākṛt dialects with their distribution (XVIII and XIX)

Ten kinds of dramatic representation (XX)

Treatment of dramatic incidents, *utpatti* (XXI)

and, The form of literary and artistic development *vṛtti* (XXII).

No amount of patience or patriotism, much less of reason, would induce any one to believe that all these passages have a legitimate place in a book on drama. To question their genuineness in the context is not to question their intrinsic value. Besides, the text itself is here so clumsy of arrangement. If we want a continuity of thought we shall have to arrange the text as follows. XV 1-9 and 34-40 ; XVIII 23, 29-35, 44a and 48b ; XIX 37 ff, etc. Thus it will be seen that in addition to a number of verses two entire chapters XVI and XVII could be safely omitted. As a matter of fact the last verse of XVI shows that that chapter concerns a Kāvya-bandha, poetical work more than nāṭya literature.

In the passages as reconstructed above we have the description and the explanation of *vācīkābhinaya* after which we are led to the ten varieties of drama. It is strange however to find that the matter in XX-XXII is INCLUDED in *vācīkābhinaya* (since the opening verse of XXIII says that now *āhārya bhinaya* is to be described etc.). The information in these three chapters is more for the dramatist than for the actor and yet it is called 'abhinaya'. It was for this reason that we interpreted the word 'abhi-naya' as 'way or

1 Note that in VIII-10 the author says that *sātvika* is already described in VII. It is a mistake. The *sātvika* in VII is described as a *bhāva* and not as 'abhinaya'. Besides, the *sātvika* referred to as an *abhinaya* is actually described in XXIV-1. 'Satve kāryaḥ prayatnas tu,' one should attempt to show feelings and emotions.

method.' Thus the three chapters describing the different methods of the dramatists seem to form the earliest nucleus of a treatise on dramaturgy. The various definitions and metrical explanations in these chapters are repeated almost word to word in the *Dasārūpaka* of Dhanañjaya and the *Sāhitya-Darpaṇa* of Viśwanātha (both works on dramaturgy). Bharata first enumerates ALL THE DETAILS (*saṅgraha*), defines ALL OF THEM one by one (*kārikā*) and then explains them in the same order (*nirukta*). This *saṅgraha-kārikā-nirukta* style of Bharata makes the book difficult to follow in comparison to the style of Dhanañjaya who mentions, defines and explains *one detail* before he goes to the next. In an introductory passage to his work the latter says as much :

Vyākīrṇe munda-buddhīnām jāyate mati-vibhramah

TASYA-arthas TATPADAIR eva samkṣīpya kṛipatē'ñjasā.

"As the text is diffused the ignorant are liable to be confused ; so I am abridging THE ORIGINAL IN THE VERY WORDS of the original " (D.R.I. 5). It is clear that the text referred to here is some *nāṭyā-śāstra* which, however, has been identified with a *rasa-śāstra* by the commentator who says : *vyākīrṇe vikṣipte vistīrṇe ca rasa-śāstre munda-buddhīnām punśām matimoko bhavati, tena tasya nāṭya-vedasya arthas tatpadair eva samkṣīpya ṛjuvṛtṭyā kṛīte iti.* 'As the treatise ON RASA is scattered, ill-arranged and exhaustive the ignorant are likely to be confused ; therefore the information of the *nāṭya-veda* is presented here, abridged in the original words and arranged systematically." From the use of the words '*nāṭya-veda*' and '*rasa-śāstra*' it is clear that Bharata's *nāṭyā-śāstra*, as available to-day, is being referred to. It is equally clear that neither Dhanañjaya nor his commentator Dhanika likes the introduction of *Rasa-s* in a book on dramaturgy.

(iii) ĀHĀRYĀBHINAYA (XXIII)

and (iv) SĀTVIKA or SĀMĀNYĀBHINAYA (XXIV)

In XXIII the *āhāryābhinaya* is described. That phrase seems to include the "make-up" of the characters as well as the stage-setting (XXIII-1). In the next chapter the last i.e., the *sātvika abhinaya* is described. The following three chapters—XXV, XXVI and XXVII—describe miscellaneous things like the characteristics of the various characters, the *citrābhinaya* (a more or less insipid repetition of and minor additions to the chapters on *āṅgikābhinaya*) and sundry details like directions to or description of the audience etc. In the next six chapters the various musical instruments, tunes, etc. are described. The only thing to be noted here is the opening of XXVIII in the style of a commentator and in prose, as :—

śloḍyavidhīm idānīm vyākhyāsyāmaḥ tad yathā

'now we shall explain the rules on musical instruments' etc. Once again the different characters (types or standardised ones) with their various functions are described in XXXIV and XXXV. In the last chapter XXXVI—the names of the sages who are asking questions to Bharata are enumerated (a bold and brilliant afterthought!). The *pūrvaraṅga* is once again described and finally the glory of drama, of Bharata and his sons and descendants and heirs and successors is sung. The curtain drops, as if wearily, after a verse in the longest-*śraddhakarā*-metre and in the fashion of later Bharata-vākya. In writing such a long and dragging work perhaps Bharata had improved his poetic capacity enough to write a single verse in the longest metre!

(B) CRITICISM OF THE INFORMATION IN THE N. S.

From the summary above one thing is clear that the present *nāṭyaśāstra*, far from being an earliest, is quite a later composition. The accurate analysis, the copious information and the critical vein (though concealed) presume the earlier existence of numerous plays and numerous attempts to understand them. It is evident that at the time the *nāṭyaśāstra* assumed its present form Drama had established itself as a popular and a regular feature in social life. What does it matter whether Bharata wrote it or was merely responsible for it as long as the book holds up Drama to the admiration of the readers and as the only entertainment common to all, irrespective of caste and culture? No wonder then that regular and well-constructed play-houses existed at this time. The book reveals a historical sense in describing the different types of play-houses. In the early days, such shows might have taken place in the open. But, says Bharata, the demons took it into their heads to create disturbances. So it was considered advisable to construct well-guarded places (I. 55-79, II. 1-27). On certain occasions, if the Manager or the Patron so decided, plays were represented in the open (XIV-64). The time of the day, too, was prescribed for performances. Generally speaking, midnight, noon time, twilight and meal-times were prohibited (which shows that Bharata had an eye on the business side of Drama). The actual times were fixed as under: ¹

(1) A play which is pleasant to the ears and based on tradition ² is to be represented during the earlier part of the day (*pūrvāṅga*);

¹ XXVII 89-93.

² Cf. *itihāsa mayā sṛṣṭaḥ sa sureṣu nityajyatām* (I-19).

The very first production is called *itihāsa* (=tradition),

(ii) A play wherein the *Satva* quality (in acting and in representation) predominates and where there is plenty of instrumental music—is to be staged in the latter part of the day (*aparāhṇa*) ;

(iii) A play in the *Kaiśiki* style dealing with *Śṛṅgāra* rasa and with plenty of music and singing is to be staged early at night, (i.e., immediately after sunset) ; and

(iv) A play of high sentiments, treating mostly the *Karuṇa* rasa is to be staged in the morning.

Attempts have been made to show that this time-allotment is more or less based on scientific and hygienic and psychological considerations. In spite of their ingenuity, these attempts presume too much to convince. As a matter of fact, it appears that the four-fold division above relates to the four different types or styles or *vṛtti*-s of drama. The play referred to in (i) is obviously the *bhāratī* type ; that in (ii) is *Sātvatī*, more or less ; the third is certainly *Kaiśikī* ; and the last, if not *ārabhaṭī*, is one that is different from the first three. We have shown in an earlier place that the traditional and continuous stages in the evolution of Sanskrit drama were *bhāratī*, *sātvatī*, *kaiśikī* and *ārabhaṭī*. Further we are told in I. 17 what each of the four Vedas contributed to the making up of Drama. Let us place all this information side by side :

	MODE	FORM OF PRESENTATION	SOURCE	FORM OF PRESENTATION	TIME
1	<i>Bhāratī</i>	Recitation	Rgveda	<i>Pāṭhja</i>	<i>Pūrvāhṇa</i>
2	<i>Sātvatī</i>	Recitation with gestures	Sāmaveda	Chanting	<i>Aparāhṇa</i>
3	<i>Kaiśikī</i>	Impersonation	Yajurveda	<i>Abhinaya</i>	Early night
4	<i>Ārabhaṭī</i>	Representation	Ātharvaṇaveda	<i>Rasa</i>	Early morning

It will be seen from the above that style has more to do with the time of performance. Where there is mere recitation, the earlier part of the day is more suitable both from the reciter's as well as the listener's point of view. Early morning, fresh and energetic, is as suited for emotional acting. Where gestures play an important part the light of the advanced day (*aparāhṇa*) is more convenient. Similarly, for impersonation to be successful (especially with the conveniences of those days) night-time is the best. Bharata, however, prescribes only early night for two reasons : (i) ladies take part in plays of *Kaiśikī* style and, (ii) the type of the play-house was not suited for night performances. Nowhere in the text do we read of a roofed play-house. Under these circumstances night-performances

were not possible—unless a play was staged for the élite within the four walls of a well-lit palace or mansion. Bharata, however, mentions with a touch of humour (conscious or unconscious) that he is opposed to night-representations on principle! Drama, he says, would be the destroyer of sleep (*nāṭyam nidrā-vināśanam*, XXVII-92). Let us only hope that the sage is too sincere to insinuate.

Open or closed, the problems of the play-house did not seriously affect the staging. A dramatic representation was as desirable as any other ritual and as much, if not more, entertaining. Not only was the drama a divine inspiration drawing from the four holy Vedas but the incidents (*vyūha*) and the treatment (*vyūhi*) in it were equally divine in origin and conception. The very first production, viz., the *samavakāra* called "the churning of nectar" dealt with the doings of the gods (IV-4). The second show—a *śima* variety—dealt with the burning of the Three Walls by God Śiva (IV. 11). Further, in the very early stages Śiva himself undertook the task of introducing music and dance in the performance. Similarly the various *vyūhi*s, i.e., the modes of treatment originated from the fight of Divine Lord Acyuta with the demons Madhu and Kaiṭabha (XXII. 2 ff). It is no wonder that drama, under such auspices, should soon develop into ten varieties, though it is a wonder that no new varieties were introduced by the dramatists or recognised by the critics ever since. Perhaps the later dramatists were less original or the later critics less observant or the sanctity attached to Bharata's name was too solemn to allow any departures. As for Bharata himself, he enumerates and classifies and defines and explains the ten varieties. Incidentally he has pointed out some general features (XXI). Thus any play, in general, has five main ways of knitting (*samāhāri*) its incidents. To open with, the story of the play is narrated in outlines (*mukha*); the particular incident or incidents that give rise to a dramatic situation should then be introduced (*prati-mukha*); afterwards should be described the situation that heightens the dramatic sense by coming in conflict with or contrast to the preceding incident (*garbhā*); a dramatic way should be suggested to steer through this conflict (*avimarśa* or *vimarśa*); and finally the desired end should develop (*nirvāṇa*). We do admire Bharata for his power of observation and understanding. It will appear, however, that here Bharata has done nothing great except coining some technical words. The five stages of development mentioned above are just the five members of a syllogism in Indian Logic. In a logical syllogism there is first the *pratijñā*, a statement or a sort of enunciation of the thing to be proved. A

heṭu or a logical reason is then stated. Thirdly, there is a *dṛṣṭānta* or analogy which is applied (*nigama*) in the fourth statement to the thing to be proved with the result that the thing is proved (*siddhānta*). Likewise, according to Bharata, the dramatist first summarises the developments in his play (*mukha*), then cites an incident which would bear out such a development (*pratimukha*), gives examples similar or dis-similar (*garbhā*); equates the example to the problem in hand (*avimarśa*) and thus arrives at the promised development (*nirvāṇa*). This logically strict analysis, as will be shown later, was responsible for a series of stereotyped plays. Perhaps Bharata did not realise that art was not logic but magic, that it was not fixed but fresh in form and power.

(C) PRE-BHARATA DRAMAS.

It cannot be supposed that Bharata produced this analysis without any models before him; nor should it be held that from the very beginning plays were written in Sanskrit with such an artistic treatment. We have already suggested the probable stages of the development of early Sanskrit Drama. A closer study of Bharata's ten varieties of representations supports that suggestion of ours to a great extent. Of the ten varieties four are of the simplest type; not that they are mere short sketches but the mode of treatment in these four—the *aṅka*, the *prahasana*, the *bhāṇa* and the *vithi*—is elementary. Each of these four has only two of the five *samdhis* or ways of development viz., the first and the last. That means that none of these is in any way different from mere recitation. Bharata himself adds explicitly that the *aṅka* should have the *bhāraṇī* or the recitational style (XX-100). The other three also are probably in the *bhāraṇī* style.¹ As an artistic improvement on these four we have the *vyāyoga* and the *īdāmya*. These have no *garbhā* and *avimarśa* *samdhis*. A story is told, an incident represented and the play ends. The *īdāmya* deals with heavenly men and women (XX-82) and the *vyāyoga* with a well-known hero and a few female characters (XX-94). Battles are to be represented in both (and probably these battles are described in songs). The *samavakāra* and the *śima* are a further improvement. They lack only one *samadhi*, viz., the *avimarśa*. We have already seen that Bharata mentions these two (IV-4, 11) as the "first" dramatic representations. By "first" it is not meant that they are the earliest of the ten varieties. Before these, there was no "impersonation"—and so probably Bharata does not include them among representa-

1 Cf. D. R. III-50.

tional performances. Lastly, we have the *nāṭaka* and the *Prakaraṇa*. These two have all the five *samdhī*-s. A true-to-life representation (i.e., an attempt for it) might be believed in at this stage. Let us, now, arrange the ten varieties as under :—

SOURCE	MODE	VARIETIES	STAGE
R. V.	<i>Bhāratī</i>	<i>aṅka, bhāṇa, sithi, prahasana</i>	1
S. V.	<i>Sītātī</i>	<i>vyāyoga, thāmṛga</i>	2
Y. V.	<i>Katiki</i>	<i>samavahāra, ālma</i>	3
A. V.	<i>Ārabhaṭī</i>	<i>nāṭaka, prakaraṇa</i>	4

How does the above arrangement help us to find out the dramatist predecessors of Bharata? The answer to this question will, under the present circumstances, be more a reasonable guess than a dogmatic decision. With later works on dramaturgy like the D. R. and the S. D. no difficulty arises since their authors or commentators explain their observations with reference to particular plays. No such satisfaction can be had in the N.S. Nevertheless there are situations which are provoking or tempting in this respect. For example, in XIII are described the various gestures to represent certain movements. In XIII-88 we are told how a chariot-rider and a charioteer are to be represented as moving on their ride. In XIII-90 the author tells us how a ride in the sky or atmosphere is to be shown by bodily gestures. In Sanskrit plays we are not certain that a chariot passes through the atmosphere anywhere except in Act VII of Kālidāsa's *Abhijñāna-Sākuntalam*. Similarly in XIX Bharata is giving suggestions for the names of certain characters in plays. With reference to the name of a courtesan he suggests,

dattā mītrā ca senā iti vetyānāmāni kārayet.

"The name of a courtesan (should end) in *-dattā*, *-mītrā* or *-senā*". (XIX-33).

Though the first two types of names are common in Sanskrit plays both for courtesans as well as Court-ladies, the last occurs only in the *Mṛcchakaṭika* of Śūdraka where the courtesan-heroine is named Vasant-SENĀ*. Again if Bharata says that

* In the play *Cārudatta* ascribed to Bhāsa this character is called simply 'nāyikā' (heroine).

death should not be represented on the stage there is stronger reason to believe that he must have known, and felt what it is to see, death on the stage in a play like the *Urubhaṅga* ascribed to Bhāsa. Whatever that be, we hasten to repeat that this is not strong evidence (perhaps no evidence) to arrive at a conclusion. At the same time, it is undeniable that Bharata did have some 'standard' plays before formulating his rules. We know of no other earlier 'standard' plays than those of Bhāsa, Kālidāsa and Śūdraka. If, however, the author of the N.S. is deliberately concealing such references that his book be claimed (and acclaimed) most antiquarian we refuse to be critical and to spoil the humour of the situation. We will bear in our mind, but we shall not mention it aloud, that the author of the available version of the N.S. does know the plays of Bhāsa, of Kālidāsa and of Śūdraka.

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The following abbreviations are used in this article :—

N. S.—Nāṭyaśāstra
D. R.—Daśarūpaka
S. D.—Sāhityadarpaṇa
R. V.—Rigveda

S. V.—Sāmaveda
Y. V.—Yajurveda
A. V.—Ātharvaveda

VIMUTTIMAGGA
AND
THE SCHOOL OF ABHAYAGIRIVIHĀRA
IN CEYLON

Bunyii Nanjio's Catalogue of the Chinese Translation of the Buddhist Tripiṭaka mentions under No. 1293 a Hīnyānist work on Buddhist philosophy of the Abhidhamma. It is called 'Cie-t'o -tao-lun' which he renders in Sanskrit as 'Vimokṣamārgaśāstra.' Prof. Nagai renders it into Pali 'Vimuttimagga' (See J. P. T. S. 1917-19, pp. 69-80) and draws attention of all Buddhist scholars to the similarity of the book with the Visuddhimagga of Buddhaghosa who went to Ceylon early in the fifth century A. D. The writer of the present paper has also written on this subject and has expressed his own views on the problem of the inter-relation of the Vimuttimagga and the Visuddhimagga¹. Here the writer proposes to refer to another aspect of the problem suggested by the comparative study of both the works.

It is well-known that Buddhaghosa often refers, in his Visuddhimagga, to the views of other philosophical systems or schools within or without the pale of Buddhism, though he may not mention them by name. He often uses words like 'eke, ekacce, keci, aññe, apare,' or 'yo vā pana evaṃ āha' etc., leaving it to the readers to find out to whom the *cap* fits. Dhammapāla, the Commentator on Buddhaghosa's Visuddhimagga, often comes to our rescue and tells us whose views Buddhaghosa refers to. Sometimes, however, when he is not sure, he also cannot give us any more information than saying that the reference is to the views of some teachers (*aññe ācariyā*). In several places, he does tell us the names of several theorists, such as Kapāda, Vasudhamma, etc.; or the names of Buddhist followers in some country, such as 'Tambapaṇḍipavāsīnaṃ abhīlāpo' (such is the statement of the people who live in Ceylon); or the adherents of certain schools such as Abhayagiri-vāsī, etc.; or sometimes to a specific work of some specific teacher such as 'Upatissattheraṃ sandhāya āha; tena hi Vimuttimagga tathā

1. My article in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, XLIII, 1932, pp. 168-76. For other problems, see also *Indian Culture*, vol. 13 (pp. 455-69), *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Poona, Vol. XV (1934), Parts. iii-iv.

vuttam'. In the *Visuddhimagga* there are several passages where there are views expressed of other theorists, which Dhammapāla ascribes to the adherents of Abhayagiri school. Of such passages, I could discover not less than four in the Chinese translation of the *Vimuttimagga*, made by a Buddhist monk named Seng-ciē-po-lo early in the sixth century A. D. As the original *Vimuttimagga* is irretrievably lost, we have no other text to rely upon except this Chinese translation and a fragment in Tibetan of one of the chapters of the *Vimuttimagga*.¹ Abhayagirivihāra was, it appears, a very leading school of Buddhism in Ceylon and to understand the importance of the reference, by Buddhaghosa, to the views of the Abhayagiri school, we should rather go over the history of the Abhayagirivihāra.

On the spot where the Abhayagiri monastery stood there was in very early times a *Tittihārāma*, a place of residence for holy men who belonged to other religions.² The Abhayagiri monastery was established in Ceylon 218 years after the foundation of the older Mahāvihāra monastery (to which Buddhaghosa belonged). This was so called because it was established (about 88 B.C.) by King Abhaya (*Vatthagāmaṇi*) and in a place where a *Nigantha* by name Giri was living. It was given over to Mahātissa, who subsequently was expelled from the Sangha of the Mahāvihāra on a charge of having too much of worldly contact. One of his disciples, being enraged at the expulsion of his teacher left the Mahāvihāra and established a new sect which subsequently came to be called by the name of the Abhayagirivādins. These people branched off from the Theravāda of the Mahāvihāra. A second split later on took place when the Abhayagirivādins broke the community of monks at Dakkhināvihāra.

This Abhayagiri school which owed its origin purely to a disciplinary measure against an individual generally came to be a centre of Buddhist monks who did not agree with the community at the Mahāvihāra on doctrinal points. Many monks from Pallar (? 1)-ārāma in India came to Ceylon. They belonged to the *Vajjiputtanikāya*, descended from those who refused to recognise Moggaliputtatissa's Council. Their teacher was Ācariya Dhammaruci. He, finding no favour with the Mahāvihāra community, joined the Abhayagiri fraternity, which came to be thence-forward known as the *Dhammarucīnikāya*. This school continued to disturb the peace of Ceylon for nearly twelve centuries and the monks belonging to this sect no

1 See my article in the *Proceedings* Vol. (pp. 131-36) of the Seventh Session of the All-India Oriental Conference held at Baroda (1933).

2 The whole of this account is based on the *Mahāvamsa* and *Mala-lasekhara's Pālī Literature of Ceylon*.

doubt produced literary works¹ setting forth their own points of view. Unfortunately, however, religious intolerance led to the persecution of the monks of the Abhayagiri sect and many of their books were burnt.

The Abhayagirivādins also were on the ascent or descent as the central political power in Ceylon supported them or persecuted them. The History of Ceylon tells us that King Gothābhaya banished (about 254 A. D.) sixty monks from the Abhayagiri, who were called Vetulavādins and who were supposed to be great 'thorns' (kaṇṭaka) in the religion of the Buddha. At another time we read that during the reign of King Mahāsena (275-302 A. D.), Mahāvihāra was left by monks as they were being persecuted by the King. Ruins of Lohapāsāda were taken to Abhayagiri and Abhayagiri prospered.

At the time when Buddhaghosa came to Ceylon, King Mahānāma (about 410-432 A. D.) was ruling. Mahānāma, before he became the king, was a member of the order. He became infatuated with the wife of his brother Upatissa, who was subsequently killed by her. Mahānāma left the Order, seized the throne, and married his brother's wife. The Mahāvihāra community did not look with favour at the treachery of Mahānāma. So Mahānāma and his wife were supporting the Abhayagiri school.

We have another testimony to prove that the Abhayagiri sect was in a prosperous condition when Buddhaghosa visited Ceylon. Fa-hien, the Great Chinese traveller, visited Ceylon, stayed there for two years and returned from Ceylon about the year 413 A. D. He tells us that at his time there were five thousand monks in the Abhayagiri-vihāra. He describes the great ceremony of Tooth-worship and speaks of the Tooth being taken to the Abhayagiri. He further tells us that there were only three thousand monks in the Mahāvihāra establishment. ['The Travels of Fa-hien' translated by Legge, pp. 102, 105, 106.]

Thus it will be seen that Abhayagiri was prosperous when Buddhaghosa came to Ceylon. Abhayagirivihāra being a very important and leading school could not be lost sight of by Buddhaghosa. As a rival school, he thought it necessary to mention the views of that school and combat them. He often refutes them and maintains his own point-of-view.

Now let us see the passages which refer to the views that are ascribed to the Abhayagirivādins.

(i) In the second chapter of the Visuddhimagga (towards the

1 Malalasekhara (p. 43) tells us that even now some works of this sect exist; also see pp. 128-29 of his book referred to in note No. 2 on page 37.

end) Buddhaghosa refers to a view of some who hold that there is an 'akusala dhutanga,' a demeritorious practice of purifying oneself. He also refers to others who think that the dhutanga is 'kusalattika-vinimuttarā, i.e., it cannot be called kusala, akusala or abyākata. Now in the Vimuttimagga¹ (2.8. 9-10), we find a statement which exactly corresponds to this view. Dhammapāla, while commenting on this passage which begins with 'Yesarā' says that by this word, Buddhaghosa refers to those who lived in the Abhayagiri (monastery), 'Abhayagirivāsike sandhāya āha; te hi dhutangarā paññatti ti vadanti'.

(ii) In the Visuddhimagga, fourth chapter, Buddhaghosa says in one place: "*Paṭipadā-visuddhi nāma sasambhāriko upacāro, upekkhānubhūṭhanā nāma appanā, sampakaṃsanā nāma pacca-vekkhaṇā ti evameke vaṇṇayanti*". "There are some who interpret the purity of the course as the neighbourhood-trance together with its accompanying things, the cultivation of equanimity as the raptured state of trance, and gladdening as reflection." Buddhaghosa rejects this interpretation on the authority of a passage from the Paṭisambhidā and gives his own interpretation. Now it is interesting to find that this very interpretation which is rejected by Buddhaghosa is accepted by Upatissa (4.17.10 4.17a. 1) and the whole passage as given by him is identical in words with the passage quoted above from Buddhaghosa. Here again Dhammapāla gives us the valuable information when he comments upon 'eke' as 'Abhayagirivāsino', 'those who lived in Abhayagiri'.

(iii) In the detailed enumeration of rūpas, Buddhaghosa gives in the XIVth chapter, twenty-eight rūpas. He mentions several other rūpas which some others would like to include, but he rejects them all giving his own reasons. Among these rūpas, he mentions jātirūpa and middharūpa. Regarding the last he says 'Ekaccānarā matena middharūparā'. Dhammapāla commenting upon 'ekaccānarā' says 'Abhayagirivāsinarā'. Now Upatissa also does mention these two rūpas and thus according to him there are thirty rūpas, which Buddhaghosa is at great pains to refute.

(iv) In the twenty-third chapter of the Visuddhimagga, Buddhaghosa refers to the views of those who believed that the Sotāpanna, starting penetrative insight with the intention of the attainment of the Fruit (phalasamāpatti), becomes Sakadāgāmi, the Sakadāgāmi becomes Anāgāmi. Upatissa's position is exactly the

1 References are given to the book, page and column of the handy and popular edition of this vol. printed and published at Bi-ling in the province of Kiang-su in 1918.

same (12.7.5). Here again Dhammapāla is helpful to us in supplying the information that the statement of Buddhaghosa is made with reference to the 'Abhayagirivādins.'

Thus it will be seen that when we consider the passages in the *Vimuttimaggā* setting forth exactly the views referred to by Buddhaghosa and ascribed by Dhammapāla to Abhayagirivādins, we are forced to the conclusion that the *Vimuttimaggā* must have been accepted by the Abhayagiri school as a work representing its views. We have already seen above that there was an influx of a large number of mendicants coming from India and it seems to be very likely that it was brought from India,¹ by some of these monks, to Abhayagiri.

The fact that Buddhaghosa does not mention the name of the Abhayagirivādins may be explained in this way. It is because of his supreme contempt for his opponents, or because they were at that time in great favour of the political power in Ceylon, and so he dared not mention them.

P. V. BAPAT.



¹ For the Indian origin of the book, see my article referred to in footnotes on pp. 36, 37 *supra*.

APABHRAHŒA METRES II

[N.B.—The first article on this subject appeared in the B. U. J. Arts and Law, November, 1933. AM refers to this article. For a summary of the important topics discussed in this and the last articles, see the last two paragraphs of this article. The paras. are numbered in continuation of the last article.]

34. In my last article, I described 55 Apabhraṃśa metres of common occurrence, depending principally upon the Prākṛta-paiṅgala and the Chandaḥkośa. In the course of explaining the strophic metres, I also defined two more popular metres, i.e. the Mātrā and the Madanāvātāra (AM. 28). The former was probably used only in the strophe called Raḍḍā, and though this strophe, like other strophes, was usually used for the sake of variety, there are examples where it is used for a continued narrative as in Haribhadra's Sanatkumāra-carita, edited by H. Jacobi, Munchen, 1921.

35. There are, however, many more Apabhraṃśa metres, defined and illustrated by Hemacandra in his Chandonuśāsana and Svayambhū in his Svayambhū-chandas. The latter is older than the former as is shown by me in the introduction to Svayambhū-chandas I-III, published in the JBBRAS. 1935, yet the former does not seem to have based his treatment upon the latter. There existed some other treatises similar to the Svayambhū-chandas, which seem to have been followed by Hemacandra in defining and naming the various Apabhraṃśa metres. The existence of such works cannot be doubted, though Hemacandra does not mention any by name. He indeed quotes several stanzas, introducing them in general terms with words like 'yadāha' (cf. 35b|1, 46a|18, 38a|7,) or 'Atra Kecit' (37a|4, 43a|19.), Vṛddhaiḥ, (36a|3.), Eke (37a|11.), Anye (37b|2; 37a|4; 37b|7; 42b|3), but he does not mention any one except Svayambhū. We, however, already know about half a dozen writers on Prakṛit Metre. Thus Manoratha and the author of the Chandaḥkandali are quoted in the commentary on the Kavidarpaṇa; cf. Annals BORI. 1935, pp. 44-45; Govinda and Caturmukha are quoted by Svayambhū; cf. JBBRAS. 1935, pp. 26-27; Arjuna and Gosala are quoted by Ratnaśekhara in his Chandaḥkośa; cf. AM. 30.

36. In the following paragraphs, I propose to discuss the remaining Apabhraṃśa metres depending upon (1) Hemacandra's Chandonuśāsana (= H.) published by Devakaran Mulchand, Bombay, 1912; (2) Kavidarpaṇa with commentary, (= KD.) pub-

lished by me in the *Annals*, BORI., 1935; (3) *Vṛttajāṭisamuccaya*, (=VJS.) edited by me in the *JBBRAS.*, 1929, 1932; and (4) *Svayambhū-chandas*, Chs. IV-VIII, (=SB.) published as an appendix to the present article. We shall begin with the *Dvipadis* or the metres with two lines in a stanza. The shortest of these is (1) *Vijayā*, which has only 4 *Mātrās* in a line. *Revakā* (2) and *Gaṇadvipadī* (3) with 5 and 6 *Mātrās* respectively, in their lines are the next two. The lines of both the *Svaradvipadī* (4) and *Apsarā* (5) contain 7 *Mātrās* each, but they are divided into groups of 4 and 3 in the former and of 5 and 2 in the latter (cf. H. 46a|8-9; SB. VII. 6-7). The lines of the next five *Dvipadis* contain 8 *Mātrās* each, but they are divided into different groups in each case. Thus *Vasudvipadī* (6) may have its eight *Mātrās* grouped in any way; cf. H. 46a|10; *Karimakarabhujā* (7) has them divided into two *Caturmātras* of any type; cf. H. 46a|10; SB. VII. 9. The line of *Candralekḥā* (8) is similarly formed but the last *Caturmātra* is always of the *Payodhara* or of the *Vipra* type, i.e. either ISI or IIII; cf. H. 46a|11. *Madanavilasitā*, also called *Māṅgalāvati* (9) has a *Pañcamātra* and a *Trimātra* in its line; cf. H. 46a|12, SB. VII. 8; while the line of a *Malayavikasitā* (10) has a *Ṣaṣmātra* and a *Dvīmātra* in it; cf. SB. VII. 10. The next two *Dvipadis* namely *Jambhedikā* (11) and *Lavalī* (12) contain 9 *Mātrās* in their lines, made up by a *Pañcamātra* and a *Caturmātra*, but *Jambhedikā* has the *Caturmātra* *Gaṇa* in the beginning, while the other has it at the end; cf. H. 46a|13, SB. VII. 11. *Amarapurāsundarī* (13), *Kāñcanalekhā* (14), and *Cāru* or *Lalataka* (15) have 10 *Mātrās* in their lines, divided respectively into groups of 7, 2, 1; 6, 4; and 5, 5 *Mātrās*; cf. H. 46a|14-16, SB. VII. 12. The last among these *shorter* *Dvipadis* is *Puṣpamālā*, (16) whose lines contain 12 *Mātrās* divided into groups of 3, 6 and 3 *Mātrās*.

37. Both *Hemacandra* (cf. H. 46a|18) and *Svayambhū* (cf. VII. 2) mention that there are also other *Dvipadis* of this type, containing upto 30 *Mātrās* in their lines, but they were not so well known as these and hence they do not describe them. It would thus appear that some authorities considered that a line of a *Dvipadi* must not contain more than 30 *Mātrās* in its line. There were others, however, whom *Hemacandra* and *Svayambhū* followed, and who describe longer *Dvipadis* which may contain upto 40 or even 42 *Mātrās* in their lines. It is indeed doubtful whether the longer *Dvipadis* should really be considered as *Dvipadis* or *Catūspadis* or *Ṣaṭpadis*. Opinions often differ in this respect, cf. AM. 24; but after all, the criterion of the *Yati* and the *Yamaka* is, I believe, quite safe and whenever a further division of a longer line into shorter ones is clearly indicated by their position, it should be followed and the metre be

named accordingly, as a *Catuṣpadi* or a *Ṣaṭpadi*. A similar vacillation is also observed in the case of the *Gāthā* and the *Dōhā*; but see below for a fuller discussion of the point, para. 54.

38. Among the *Dvipadis* of intermediate length, i.e. those that contain from 13 to 30 *Mātrās* in their lines, the *Kuṅkuma* (17) and the *Karpūra* (18) are the most important. They respectively contain 27 and 28 *Mātrās* in their lines. They are technically known as the *Ullālas* and were held in great favour by the bards of Magadha. I have discussed them in full at AM. 11-12. But VJS. has described three more *Dvipadis* which are shorter than the *Ullālas*. They are *Vicchitti* (19), with its 22 *Mātrās* in a line formed by a *Dvimātra* at the beginning and five *Caturmātras* of any kind except those of the *Narendra* type, i.e. ISI; *Uṭṭullaka* (20) with its line of 24 *Mātrās* formed by five *Caturmātras* of any kind, followed by two long letters at the end; and the *Dvipathaka* (21) with its line of 26 *Mātrās* formed by five *Caturmātras* and three long letters, one coming after the 3rd *Caturmātra* and two standing at the end of the line; cf. VJS. IV. 91, IV. 63, and II. 5, IV. 27. Of these three, *Vicchitti* corresponds to the modern *Ārti* metre, so called from its connection with the *Ārtikya* ceremony in the worship of the deity, while the last two are but the two variations of the *Dōhā*, which name by the bye, seems to be derived from the *Dvipathaka* of the VJS. Both the *Vicchitti* and the *Uṭṭullaka* are *Tāla Vṛttas* and are sung in the *Tāla* of 8 *Mātrās*. Other *Dvipadis* of intermediate length are *Laya* (22), *Bhramarapada* (23), and *Upabhramarapada* (24), all containing 28 *Mātrās* in their lines; cf. H. 43b| 2-6, SB. VI. 163-165. The line of the first is made with 7 *Caturmātras* not marked by any *Yati*; that of the second is similarly formed, but is marked by a *Yati* after the 10th *Mātrā*; while the line of the third is made up by employing a *Ṣaṇmātra*, followed by 5 *Caturmātras* and a *Dvimātra* at the end. All the three are *Tāla Vṛttas* and are sung in the *Tāla* of 8 *Mātrās*, with this difference that the beat of the *Tāla* occurs on the 1st *Mātrā* in the first, while it occurs on the 3rd in the other two; cf. AM. 20. The *Garuḍapada* and the *Upagaruḍapada* *Dvipadis* (25-26) contain 29 *Mātrās* in their lines; in the former, there are 6 *Caturmātras* and 1 *Pañcamātra* at the end, while in the latter, there are 1 *Ṣaṇmātra*, 5 *Caturmātras* and 1 *Trimātra* at the end; cf. H. 43b|8-10; SB. VI. 166-167. Even here, the beat of the *Tāla* occurs on the 1st *Mātrā* in the former and on the 3rd *Mātrā* in the latter. The gap at the end of both is filled up by means of a rest of 3 *Mātrās*; see AM. 18. Finally, *Haripīkula* (27), *Gītisama* (28), *Bhramaradruta* (29), and *Haripīpada* (30) all contain 30 *Mātrās* in their lines. In the 1st and 2nd, the line is formed with 7 *Caturmātras* and a *Dvi-*

mātra at the end, the Yati being on the 12th and 20th Mātrās in the former, and on the 10th and the 18th in the latter ; cf. H. 43b|11-12 ; SB. VI. 168-169. The line of the 3rd contains 5 Ṣaṣmātras, with the Yati on the 10th and the 18th Mātrās, while that of the 4th is made with 1 Ṣaṣātra followed by 6 Caturmātras, with the usual Yati after the 8th Mātrā, though this is not expressly mentioned ; cf. H. 43b|14-16 ; SB. VI. 170. The 4th is mentioned only by Hemacandra and the 1st is called Hariṇapada by Svayambhū. This brings us to the end of the Dvipadis of intermediate length.

39. We shall now take up the Dvipadis whose lines contain more than 30 Mātrās each, and in whose case, the position of the Yati and the Yamaka very often suggests that they are better considered as Ṣaṣpadis than Dvipadis. Thus Kamākara (31), Kuṅkumatilakāvali (32), Ratnakāṇṭhikā (33), Śikhā (34), and Chaḍḍanikā (35), all contain 31 Mātrās in each of their two lines. The line of Kamākara contains 4 Ṣaṣmātras, followed by 1 Caturmātra and 1 Trimātra at the end ; that of Kuṅkumatilakāvali contains 7 Caturmātras and 1 Trimātra ; that of Ratnakāṇṭhikā contains 1 Ṣaṣmātra, 5 Caturmātras and 1 Pañcamātra, with the Yati on the 12th and the 20th Mātrās (this acc. to SB. ; in the opinion of Hemacandra, Ratnakāṇṭhikā differs from the first two only in point of Yati) ; the Ratnakāṇṭhikā of SB. is exactly the same as the Śikhā of Hemacandra, while the line of a Chaḍḍanikā of Hemacandra is formed like that of the Kuṅkumatilakāvali, i.e., with 7 Caturmātras and 1 Trimātra, but it has the Yati after the 10th and the 18th Mātrās. SB. on the other hand, considers Chaḍḍanikā as a Ṣaṣpadi metre ; cf. H. 43b|17-20, 44a|3-5 ; SB. VI. 172-173, VIII. 20. The Śikhā of Svayambhū again, is an Ardhasama Catuspadi ; cf. II. 25. The next three Dvipadis, namely Skandhakasama (36), Mauktikadārṇa (37), and Navakadalīpatra (38), all contain 32 Mātrās in their lines, divided into 8 Caturmātras. They differ from each other only in point of Yati, which is on the 10th and the 18th in the first, on the 12th and the 20th in the second, and on the 14th and the 22nd in the last ; cf. H. 44a|6-10 SB. VI. 174-176 ; KD. II, 3. These three metres get feminine names i.e., Skandhakasamā &c., if their lines are formed with 1 Ṣaṣmātra, 6 Caturmātras, and 1 Dvīmātra, instead of the usual 8 Caturmātras ; cf. H. 44a|12 ; SB. VI. 177. The line of the next Dvipadi namely the Āyāmaka (39) contains 33 Mātrās made up by 7 Caturmātras and 1 Pañcamātra at the end. The Yati in this is not mentioned and this means that it is the usual one coming after the 8th Mātrā, the initial beat of the Tāla being on the 1st Mātrā ; cf. H. 44a|15 ; SB. VI. 178. When on the other hand, the initial beat is shifted from the first

to the 3rd, 5th and 7th Mātrās, and consequently the initial Yati is shifted from the 8th to the 10th, 12th and the 14th Mātrās, the same Āyāmaka is called respectively, Kāñcīdāma (40), Raśanādāma (41), and Cuḍāmaṇi (42); cf. H. 44a|17-20; SB. VI. 179-181. The preposition UPA is prefixed to the names of these four metres, if their lines are formed with 1 Ṣaṁmātra, 6 Caturmātras, and 1 Trimātra, instead of the usual 7 Caturmātras and 1 Pañcamātra; cf. H. 44b|1-3; SB. VI. 182. The following Dvipadi is Svapnaka (43), whose lines contain 34 Mātrās formed by 8 Caturmātras and 1 Dvimātra at the end. No special Yati is prescribed, which means that it is after the 8th Mātrā, or that it is the usual one. When this Yati is shifted from the 8th to the 10th, the 12th, the 14th and the 16th Mātrās, the same Svapnaka gets the names of Apsaraḥ-kusuma (44), Bhujaṅgavijrmbhita (45), Tārādhruvaka (46), and Navaraṅgaka (47), respectively; cf. H. 44b|6-10; SB. VI. 184-187. Apsaraḥkusuma is known only to Svayambhū. The Dvipadi called Sthavirāśanaka (48), has also 34 Mātrās in its lines like the Svapnaka, but they are made up with 3 Ṣaṁmātras followed by 4 Caturmātras and the Yati is after the 16th and the 24th Mātrās. The 34 Mātrās of the next Dvipadi i.e., Subhagā (49) are made up by 7 Caturmātras followed by 1 Ṣaṁmātra, the Yati being the same as in the last case; cf. H. 44b|11 to 13. These two metres are not mentioned by Svayambhū. Similarly, when the 34 Mātrās in the line of a Dvipadi are made up by 1 Ṣaṁmātra, 2 Caturmātras, 1 Ṣaṁmātra, 3 Caturmātras and 1 Dvimātra, it is called Kumuda (50); its Yati is after the 10th and the 18th Mātrās. If on the other hand, the Yati of the Kumuda is shifted from the 10th to the 12th Mātrā, it gets the name of Bhārākrānta (51); cf. H. 44b|17-19. These two Dvipadis also are not mentioned by Svayambhū. There is one more Dvipadi having 34 Mātrās in its lines. It is Pavanadhruvaka (52). The line of this Dvipadi is formed by 1 Ṣaṁmātra, 4 Caturmātras, 1 Ṣaṁmātra, 1 Caturmātra, and a Dvimātra at the end, the Yati being on the 14th and the 22nd Mātrās; cf. H. 44b|15; SB. VI. 186. The Tārādhruvaka of Svayambhū is the same as Kumuda (No. 50) mentioned above, but with the Yati on the 14th and the 22nd Mātrās instead of the 10th and the 18th; cf. SB. VI. 186.

40. The next six Dvipadis contain 35 Mātrās in their lines. Thus Tirthānana of SB., which is the same as Kandoṭṭa of H., (53), has 8 Caturmātras and 1 Trimātra at the end in its line. No special Yati is mentioned; cf. H. 45a|1, SB. VI. 188 (the Kandoṭṭa of SB. VI. 189, however has the Yati on the 14th and 22nd Mātrās). Bhramaradruta (54) has in its line 2 Ṣaṁmātras, 5 Caturmātras, and 1 Trimātra at the end, and is marked by the Yati after the

10th and the 18th Mātrās; cf. H. 45a|2-3, SB. VI. 190. When the Yati of the Bhramaradruta is shifted to the 12th and the 20th, the 14th and the 22nd, and the 16th and the 24th, it is respectively called Surakṛīḍita (55), Sirihavikrānta (56), and Kuṇḍikumakesara (57); cf. H. 45|4-8, SB. VI. 191. The last two varieties of the Bhramaradruta are not mentioned by Svayambhū. VJS. IV. 92 also mentions a Dvipadi of 35 Mātrās called Prasṛtā (58), whose lines contain in order 1 Dvimātra, 1 Trimātra, 1 Pañcamātra, 5 Caturmātras, and 1 Pañcamātra. Of the 5 Caturmātras, the 2nd and the 4th must be of the Narendra (i.e., ISI) type. The Dvipadis that contain 36 Mātrās in their lines are Bālabhujamgamalalita (59), Upagandharva (60), Saṅgita (61), and Upagita or Upasaṅgita (62). The first contains 9 Caturmātras in its line and no special Yati is laid down for it. The lines of the second are formed with 3 Ṣaṣmātras, 4 Caturmātras, and 1 Dvimātra at the end, and are marked with the Yati after the 12th and the 20th Mātrās. When the Yati of the second i.e., the Upagandharva is shifted to the 14th and the 22nd, and the 16th and the 24th Mātrās respectively, it gets the names of the third and the fourth i.e., Saṅgita and Upasaṅgita; cf. H. 45a|10-17, SB. VI. 192-193. SB. does not mention the first two of these. The lines of Gondala (63), Rathyāvarṇaka (64) Carcarī (65), Abhinava (66), and Capala (67), contain 37 Mātrās in them. The line of the Gondala is formed with 8 Caturmātras followed by 1 Pañcamātra, and no special Yati is laid down for it; that of the Rathyāvarṇaka contains 1 Ṣaṣmātra, 7 Caturmātras, and 1 Trimātra at the end, with the Yati after the 12th and the 20th Mātrās. Rathyāvarṇaka itself is called Carcarī, when its Yati is shifted to the 14th and the 22nd, and it is called Abhinava when the same is shifted to the 16th and the 24th Mātrās. If the initial Ṣaṣmātra of the Rathyāvarṇaka is placed between the 6th and the 7th Caturmātras, and if the Yati occurs after the 16th and the 24th Mātrās, it is called Capala. Cf. H. 45a|18, 45b|1-6; SB. VI. 194-196. The Dvipadis called Amṛta (68), Sirihapada (69), Dīrghaka, or Ratiramaṇapriya (70), Kalakapthiruta (71), and Śatapatra (72) all have 38 Mātrās in their lines. They are made up with 8 Caturmātras and 1 Ṣaṣmātra placed between the 6th and the 7th Caturmātras, in the case of Amṛta, which has the Yati after the 16th and the 24th Mātrās, while the lines of the Sirihapada have 9 Caturmātras and 1 Dvimātra and have the same Yati as the Amṛta. A Sirihapada with the Yati after the 14th and the 22nd Mātrās is called Dīrghaka by Hemacandra and Ratiramaṇapriya by Svayambhū. In the lines of the Kalakapthiruta, 1 Ṣaṣmātra is followed by 8 Caturmātras, the Yati being the same as in the Dīrghaka. The same Yati again, is

found in the Śatapatha, whose line contains 2 Ṣaṣmātras, followed by 6 Caturmātras and 1 Dvīmātra at the end. Cf. H. 45b|8-15; SB. VI. 197-199. The next two Dvīpadis namely, Atidīrghaka (73), and Mattamātāṅgaka or Mattamātāṅgavijrmbhita (74), have 39 Mātrās in their lines, which are made up with 9 Caturmātras followed by a Trimātra in the first case, and with 2 Ṣaṣmātras, 6 Caturmātras, and 1 Trimātra at the end, in the second. The Yati in both is after the 14th and the 22nd Mātrās. Cf. H. 45b|17-20; SB. VI. 200-201. Any Dvīpadi which is longer than these and contains 40 or more Mātrās in its line is called Mālādhruvaka (75), according to both Hemacandra and Svayambhū; cf. H. 46a|2-5; SB. VI. 202. In the opinion of VJS. IV. 90 however, the Dvīpadi which contains 44 Mātrās in each of its two lines is called Viśālā (76). In this Dvīpadi, the Caturmātras in the odd places must not consist of two long letters, while those in the even places must have 1 short letter at either end. No special Yati is mentioned for it. This brings us to the end of the Dvīpadi.

41. Svayambhū, Virahāṅka and Hemacandra have together defined 76 Dvīpadis in all, in this manner. Among these, 16 are shorter, 14 are intermediate and 46 are longer ones. All admit that there can be many more like these and that these 76 are merely illustrative. A careful examination of them reveals the following few facts regarding the nature of the composition of a Dvīpadi:—(1) Their lines are made up with Caturmātras as a rule, but Dvīmātras and Ṣaṣmātras are also employed for the sake of variety. (2) Trimātras and Pañcamātras are introduced only in the case of those Dvīpadis, whose lines contain an odd number of Mātrās, and then too, they are usually placed at the end of a line. (3) The second Yati of the line occurs after the first at the interval of 8 Mātrās, without an exception. (4) The initial Yati of the line oscillates between the 10th, the 12th, the 14th, and the 16th Mātrās. (5) When no special Yati is mentioned, it is generally to be understood after the 8th and the 16th Mātrās. (6) The Dvīpadis change their names either (a) by a change of the position of the initial and the second Yatis, or (b) by the mere substitution of the Dvīmātras and the Ṣaṣmātras for the usual Caturmātras. All these facts prove beyond doubt, that most of the Dvīpadis were composed as song metres, intended to be sung to the accompaniment of an instrument like the hand-drum for keeping the time, and that the distance (in Mātrās) between the 1st and the 2nd Yatis of the line represents the length of the Tālagāṇa of the Tāla, i.e., the Dhumālī, in which they were sung. No restriction as regards the quantity of the letters applies to their composition, except that a long letter must not

appear at the junction of two Mātrā or Tāla Gaṇas. This restriction is intended for maintaining a separateness between the Mātrā and the Tāla Gaṇas as shown at AM. 13, 18. As regards the use of the Dvipadī, we find that the intermediate and the longer Dvipadīs are generally employed as the Dhruvās at the beginning and the end of the Kaṭavakas. The use of the shorter Dvipadīs however, is not very clear; they were perhaps used for stray proverbial sayings or for the purposes of lyric songs. Anyhow, they fell into disuse with the growth of narrative poetry, and by the time when Apabhraṃśa Poetry claimed the attention of the learned both by its merits and volume, they had already become obsolete as is evident from the scrappy treatment which they receive at the hands of Svayambhū and Hemacandra. Kavidarpaṇa does not even mention them.

42. There can be no doubt that the Yati that is mentioned in the case of the Dvipadīs is of a musical nature. It cannot be a mere narrative pause, which is always a short one and is introduced in the middle of a line for the convenience of the narration to allow some breathing time. This latter seems to have been fixed on the considerations of convenience and convention. It has practically nothing to do with the musical side of the metre and does not expect any similarity of sound produced by the Yamaka at its place, for that reason. Such proper narrative Yatis are observed everywhere in the middle of the lines of the Varṇa Vṛttas, and it is regarding this *narrative Yati* alone that there existed a difference of opinion among writers on Metre, as is pointed out by Svayambhū, I. 144. Among the Mātrā Vṛttas, the narrative Yati is observed in the case of the Gāthā and the two Ullāṣas in particular. It is for this reason that no bard has ever introduced the Yamaka at the place of this Yati, even though some have actually regarded the Gāthā as a metre of 4 lines. The Yati in these metres is not a musical one, that is, it does not coincide with the beat of the drum, and hence the Yamaka which belongs to music as it produces consonance, is never thought of in this case. The Dvipadīs on the other hand, appear to have been song metres sung in the Dhumālī Tāla of 8 Mātrās from the very beginning. Their Yati is a musical one and coincides with the end of the Tāla Gaṇa and the beat of the drum. This being so, many bards are tempted to introduce a Yamaka at this place in order to heighten the sound-effect. As a matter of fact, this musical Yati must occur at the interval of every 8 Mātrās, and it is really curious that writers like Svayambhū and Hemacandra mention the 1st and the 2nd Yatis only. The existence of the 3rd and even the 4th Yati is however not to be doubted.

The examples of metres like the Tribhaṅgī, where the 3rd and the 4th Yamakas are seen within the line leave no doubt that the 3rd and the 4th Yatis were actually existing in practice; cf. AM. 26. Besides, it is owing to this 3rd Yati and the Yamaka, that the Marathi Metres *Ovī* and *Abhaṅga* have originated. See para. 55 (end) below. It is again to be noted that the so-called 1st Yati is not always really the 1st one. The initial beat of the drum may according to the practice of the singer, occur on the 1st, the 3rd, the 5th, or even the 7th Mātrā and this means that the Yati may come after the 2nd, the 4th or the 6th Mātrās. But this Yati which accompanies the first beat of the drum is naturally neglected as it comes too early to be treated as a musical pause. I am aware that what is said above is not applicable to some metres like the *Ghattānanda* (PP. I. 102, AM. 24), where the 1st and the 2nd Yatis are said to occur after the 11th and the 18th Mātrās. The same may be said of the 8 kinds of the *Satpada-jātis* and the 8 kinds of the *Avajātis*, whose 2nd Pādas respectively consist of 7 and 9 Mātrās; cf. below, para. 51. In none of these metres, does the 2nd Yati come after the 1st, after the interval of 8 Mātrās, as the musical Yati really must. It is possible to say, that the Yati of all these metres is merely a narrative pause and not a musical one; but this would not be convincing. In all these cases the Yati is always accompanied by the Yamaka, and this is an unmistakable proof that the Yati is a musical pause; cf. PP. I. 102-104, H. 38b/9-10, KD. II. 31 com., SB. V. 3-11. At present, I can offer only the following explanation:—In all these metres, the 2nd Yati is said to occur after the 1st at an interval of 7 or 9 Mātrās; but this was merely in theory. When the metres were actually sung, the 2nd Yati did come after the 1st at the usual interval of 8 Mātrās, and this became possible by the introduction of a pause of 1 Mātrā in one case and by a *Hrasva* pronunciation of the last letter in the other. In the latter case, the required number of the Mātrās, i.e., 9 is to be obtained by the *Dirgha* pronunciation of the last letter. A comparison of the illustrations given at SB. V. 9, and H. 38b/17-18 will show the correctness of this explanation, which I think, must be accepted to obviate the disturbance of the *Tāla*, which is sure to take place otherwise.

43. One more curious thing about the name *Dvipadī* is that from very old times, it is applied to metres which admittedly contain more than two lines in them. Thus VJS. II. 1 (see note on the passage) defines a *Dvipadī* as a strophe made with 4 *Vastukas* of 4 lines each and 4 *Gītis* of the *Bhadrīkā* type coming at the end of each one of the four *Vastukas*. This is very unusual, though

this is the meaning of the text even according to the commentator. At II. 9-16, Virahāṅka enumerates 57 Dvipadis and in the whole of the IIIrd chapter, he defines them. Out of these, 37 are Mātrāgaṇasama, 7 are Gaṇasama, 8 are Ardhasama and 5 are Viṣama Dvipadis. The last five are considered negligible as they do not possess any definite characteristics, cf. VJS. II. 16. All these, however, have 4 Pādas each, and they are treated as such by Virahāṅka in his definitions. The Mātrāgaṇasamas contain from 11 to 31 Mātrās in each of their four lines, while the lines of the Ardhasamas contain from 9 to 16 Mātrās in every line. Hemacandra obviously knows all these even by their names (cf. p. 32|18), but considers them unimportant and remarks that they are somehow to be included in the Catuspadis enumerated and defined by him. Svayambhū and Kavidarpaṇa do not mention them at all, though the commentator of the latter mentions 2 varieties of the quadruped Dvipadi after the manner of Hemacandra, p. 32b|2-4. The usual Dvipadi of 4 lines generally adopted by the Apabhraṃśa poets is the one which contains 28 Mātrās in a line, divided into the groups of 6, 4, 4, 4, 4, 6 Mātrās. This is defined by CK. 35, PP.I. 152, KD. II. 24, SB. VIII. 37, Hemacandra, p. 32a|15ff, and Nanditāḍhya, Gāthālakṣaṇa, V. 80. Virahāṅka alone does not seem to know this particular sort of Dvipadi. Among his 37 Mātrāgaṇasama Dvipadis, there is indeed one with 28 Mātrās in a line but the Mātrās are made up with entirely different groups. This latter is called Racitā, but it is much different from Hemacandra's Racitā (p. 32a|19), which is the same as the above-mentioned standard Dvipadi, but with this difference that it has 4 compulsory short letters at the beginning and has the Yati after the 7th Mātrā. It appears that in course of time the different Dvipadis with 4 lines went out of vogue leaving a single representative behind them, and it is perhaps in this manner that the *common* name Dvipadi was turned into a *proper* name. It is again not impossible that this standard Dvipadi was developed out of Virahāṅka's Racitā, the Mātrāgaṇas being changed owing to the necessity of the Tāla. But the question why these metres with 4 lines were at all called Dvipadis still remains unanswered. The assumption that they were at one time treated as metres of two lines is not warranted by Virahāṅka's and Hemacandra's treatment of them. Nevertheless, the following explanation may be offered for the name. Musically speaking each of the two halves of a Prakrit Ṣaṭpadi forms a unit by itself and whenever a pause or rest has to be introduced for the purpose of the Tāla it is generally introduced at the end of each half. Thus from a musical point of view, a Ṣaṭpadi is treated as a

Dvipadi and the same was probably true of a Catuspadi to a great extent. It is well known that in Sanskrit Varṇa Vṛttas of 4 lines, the two halves each containing 2 lines, form independent syntactical and metrical units. The practice is indeed as old as the vedic stanzas of 3 and 4 lines, where the halves of the stanza form a metrical and accentual unit.

44. Even from very old days, there exists a difference of opinion as to whether the Gāthā should be considered as a Dvipadi or a Catuspadi. There are however a few points which help to decide in favour of its being considered a Dvipadi. The chief among them is the last quarter of the metre. Had the Gāthā been conceived as a Catuspadi of the Ardhasama type, the last quarter would have been always equal to the second, as the third is equal to the first. Nor can it be regarded as a Viṣama Catuspadi, as the 1st and the 3rd quarters are similar. It is therefore evident that the Gāthā was conceived as a Dvipadi of the Viṣama type like the Śikhā and the Mālā (AM. p. 14). Besides, the variety of the Gāthā called Vipulā—where a word does not end with the first quarter, but runs up into the second—shows that the pause after the 12th Mātrā was originally a narrative pause and did not amount to a metrical pause occurring at the end of a Pāda. The division into quarters and the strange combination of the Dohā and Gāthā lines seen in Verālu and Cūḍāmaṇi metres (cf. AM. 22) on the other hand, seem to favour the view that it is a Catuspadi. The Gāthā is probably the oldest of the Prakrit meters. It is also the first Mātrā Vṛtta which came to be very generally employed by the Sanskrit Pandits for the purposes of their scientific compositions and became their favourite owing to the great freedom and facility which it affords to the writer, in comparison with the epic Anuṣṭubh. As regards the origin of this metre, it seems very probable that it was developed out of the epic Anuṣṭubh. It is interesting to note in this connection that according to a tradition of the older metricians followed also by Hemacandra, p. 46a|19, any metre which does not follow the laws governing the regular metres and hence cannot be included in any one of them, is to be called 'Gāthā'. The example given by Hemacandra is that of a three-lined Anuṣṭubh stanza. The term 'Gāthā' is again used in Vedic Literature for any irregular metre; cf. the 'Gāthās' in the Hariścandra episode in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa. When the popular poets employed the Sanskrit Varṇa Vṛttas, whether Vedic or Epic, they often put one or two letters more or less, since they were more careful about the contents than about the form of their composition. It is clear that most of these Vedic Gāthās are more or less popular sayings or the compositions of a

lower class of poets like the Sūtas and Māgadhas or Cāraṇas. They came to be called 'Gāthās', as they were popularly *sung*, in spite of the fact that different Varṇa Vṛttas irregularly composed could be traced in each of them. If we remember this strange phenomenon about the Vedic Gāthās, it is easy to understand how the popular bards whether of the Hindu fold or of the Buddhistic and Jainistic ones, when trying to compose an Epic Anuṣṭubh, actually brought forth—owing to the additions made here and there—what was very dissimilar to it. This irregular Anuṣṭubh-Gāthā must have continued to exist for a long time, until some one of the older poets fortunately hit upon the Gāthā in its present form. It appears however, that the Gāthā assumed its final form in the hands of the Sanskrit poet-philosophers, who as said above, abundantly used it for their scientific compositions. The invention of the theoretical unit called the Mātrā seems again to be the work of the Sanskrit metricians. The older Prakrit metricians like Virahāṅka defined their metres without any reference to this unit, stating only where and how short and long letters ought to occur in a line. The prakrit bards on the other hand, were equally regardless of it when they *sang* their compositions, for they never cared to see that their poems observed the principle of the Mātrā, i.e., a long letter ought to yield 2 and a short one only 1 Mātrā in the course of singing. They merely looked to the substance of their lines, the singing of which was wholly controlled by the time-keeping instrument. They were thus utterly regardless of the shortness or length of individual letters and often pronounced a long letter as a short one and vice versa; sometimes even 2 or 3 letters were very quickly pronounced so as to take only so much time as is generally taken by one letter. We should remember here the rule laid down by Prakṛta Pañgalam, I. 5 namely, 'vaṇṇāvi tūriapathidā do tiṇṇi vi ekku jāṇehu.' It is thus that neither the Prakrit metricians nor the Prakrit bards could have formulated the theory of the Mātrā. And yet the Mātrā has clearly a reference to the Tāla Saṅgīta, i.e., music in which time is kept, as opposed to the Svara Saṅgīta of the Vedas where no time is kept. Popular music is the Tāla Saṅgīta and popular metres are the Tāla metres; in these latter, individual letters are recklessly pronounced whether short or long, and it is not very necessary to weigh exactly short and long letters and to lay down how much time each takes or should take in the pronunciation. The difficulty, however, arose when the popular Tāla metres were adopted by the Sanskrit poets and metricians. For them an irregular pronunciation of short and long letters was out of the question; each must be pronounced *correctly*. On the other hand the time which must elapse between

the two strokes of the Tāla was defined, and not so the number of the letters. Thus in order to reconcile the *correct pronunciation* of letters short and long, with the *time* that must elapse between the two strokes of the Tāla, they had to give up the letter-unit and had to devise a new one, i.e., the Mātrā-unit. The correct pronunciation of a short letter must occupy one metrical moment as against the two of a long letter,—so they argued—and any number of short and long letters may be used anywhere, provided they yield the required number of the metrical moments, i.e., the Mātrās that must elapse between the two strokes of the Tāla. Thus in short, it is the correct pronunciation of short and long letters that supplied an urge for the invention of a new metrical unit—though only a theoretical one—and hence it is possible to say that this Mātrā unit was first invented by the Sanskrit metricians and bards who stuck to their correct pronunciation of the letters and yet adopted the popular metres in which it was totally disregarded. That the Gāthā was a song metre is evident from the song of the Naṭi in the introduction to the Śākuntalam. Yet it was never popular with the Apabhrāmśa bards and the reason for this is not far to seek. Being extensively used in the religious literatures of the Bauddhas and the Jainas, it came to have a sort of halo of purity and learning about it which must have scared away the popular bards from handling it. Gīti, which is one of the metres derived from the Gāthā, is nevertheless employed by them in their strophes. We shall now proceed to describe briefly the Gāthā with its varieties and also the metres which are derived from it.

45. There are three main kinds of a Gāthā, i.e., Pathyā, Vipulā and Capalā. In a Pathyā, the end of a word must coincide with the Yati after the 12th Mātrā in both the halves, while in the Vipulā it does not so coincide in one of the two halves or in both. Vipulā is accordingly Mukhavipulā or Jaghanavipulā or Sarvavipulā according as the characteristic appears in the first or second or both the halves. The Capalā has the 2nd and the 4th Caturmātrās in either or both the halves preceded and followed by a long letter, and is accordingly Mukhacapalā, or Jaghanacapalā or Sarvacapalā. On the other hand, we get 26 varieties of a Gāthā if we base our division upon the number of short letters which they contain. The smallest number of short letters which a Gāthā may contain is 3 and such a Gāthā is called Kamalā; the largest number of short letters which it might contain is 55 and then it is called Gaurī. Among the metres derived from the Gāthā, Gīti, Upagīti and Udgīti are most important. Gīti is made with two *first* halves of a Gāthā, Upagīti with two *second* halves of it and Udgīti is nothing but an inverted or a *reversed*

Gāthā. When a Pañcamātra is substituted for the Caturmātra which stands in the 7th place (i.e., for Mātrās 25-28) in each half of a Gīti, it is called Ripucchandās; when it is substituted for the Caturmātra in the 3rd place (i.e., for Mātrās 9-12) in each half, it is called Lalitā; and when it is substituted for both, the Gīti is called Bhadrīkā. If in a Gīti, Pañcamātras were substituted for any of the Caturmātras without any restriction, it gets the name Vicitrā, and if a Caturmātra is substituted for the last long letter in each half, the Gīti is called Skandhaka. An Upaskandhaka is made with 2 second halves of a Gāthā where however, a Caturmātra is substituted for the last long letter. An Utskandhaka is a reversed Gāthā or Udgīti with a Caturmātra substituted for the last long letter in each half. An Avaskandhaka is a Gāthā proper, with a Caturmātrā similarly substituted for the last long letter in each half. A Saṅkīrṇa Skandhaka is formed with one half of Gīti and another of Skandhaka. By adding 1, 2, 4, 6, 8, 10, 12, and 14 Caturmātras *before* the last long letter in the *first* half of a Gāthā, we respectively get a Jātiphala, Gātha, Udgātha, Vigātha, Avagātha, Saṅgātha, Upagātha and Gāthinī. If more than 14 Caturmātras are so added, the metre is called Mālāgātha. In a similar manner, we get Dāma, Uddāma, Vidāma, Avadāma, Saṅdāma, Upadāma and Mālādāma by the addition of 2, 4, 6, 8, 10, 12 and 13 or more Caturmātras respectively, before the last long letter in the *first* half of a *Jātiphala*; cf. H. pp. 27-29. Among these various derivatives of the Gāthā, Virahāṅka knows only Gīti, Upagīti and Skandhaka (IV. 9-14). The Gātha which he mentions at IV. 57 is a Sarvasāma Catuṣpadi with 13 Mātrās in each line and has nothing in common with the Gātha mentioned above. Nanditāḍhya (Gāthālakṣaṇa, vv. 63-65) mentions a few of these varieties but under different names. Thus our Gīti, Upagīti and Udgīti are respectively called by him Udgātha, Gātha and Vigātha. Our Saṅkīrṇa Skandhaka is his Gāthinī. Nanditāḍhya's names are perhaps the older ones and are also adopted by Piṅgala at I. 48, 49, 60-63. Ratnaśekhara in his Chandahkośa, vv. 67-70, mentions only Vigātha (= Udgīti), Gīti, Upagīti and Gāthinī (= Saṅkīrṇa Skandhaka). He thus adopts 2 old and 2 new names. Kavīdarpaṇa, II. 10-13, mentions almost all these varieties and his commentator supplements him when he does not actually mention some of them like the Jātiphala and the different Dāmas. Strangely enough, Svayambhū does not mention the Gāthā metre at all.

46. At AM. 16, I have shown how we ought to distinguish between the pure and the mixed Mātrā Vṛttas. In the former, there do not exist any significant restrictions regarding the nature of the letters to be employed, while in the latter such restrictions do exist.

In the following treatment of the Catuspadis, I do not propose to treat these two kinds of the metre separately, as it is easily possible to distinguish between the two, at this stage. I shall take them up in the ascending order of the Mātrās which their lines contain, defining first the Sarvasamās and then a few of the Ardhasama Catuspadis. Thus the line of a Dhruvaka contains 9 Mātrās in it (divided into the groups of 5 and 4 Mātrās—H. p. 42b|18); that of Śaṣivandanā has 10 (4, 4, and 2—H. p. 42b|19; SB. VI. 153); that of Mārakṣi has 11 (4, 5, 2—H. p. 42b|20; SB. VI. 154); that of Mahānubhāvā contains 12 (4, 4, 4; or 6 and 6; or 6, 4, and 2—H. p. 43a|2; SB. VI. 156); that of Apsaravilasita has 13 (6, 4, 3, or, 4, 4, 5, or, 5, 5, and 3—H. p. 43a|3; SB. VI. 157); that of the Gandhōdakadhārā, also called Zambāṭaka in songs, has 14 (4, 4, 4, 2, or 6, 4, 4—H. p. 43a|5; SB. VI. 158); finally, the line of the Parapaka has 15 (4, 4, 4, 3 or 6, 4, 5—H. p. 43a|7; SB. VI. 159) Mātrās in it. The very popular Catuspadī commonly employed by the Apabhraṁśa bards however, is the one whose lines contain 16 Mātrās in them. 5 of these are described at AM. 17 and one at AM. 15. The others are:—(1) Mātrāsamaka, whose 9th Mātrā must be represented by a short letter and whose last letter must always be a long one: cf. H. p. 25a|15, KD. II. 19; (2) Viśloka with the 5th and the 8th Mātrās represented by short letters: cf. H. p. 25b|4; KD. II. 19; (3) Citrā with its 5th, 8th and the 9th Mātrās represented by short letters: cf. H. p. 25b|8, KD. II. 20; (4) Vānavāsikā where a short letter must stand for the 9th and the 12th Mātrās: cf. H. p. 25b|11, KD. II. 20; (5) Upacitrā whose 9th and 10th Mātrās together are represented by a long letter: cf. H. p. 25b|1, KD. II. 20; (6) Mukṭāvalikā, whose lines contain 4 Trimātras and 1 Caturmātra: cf. H. p. 31b|3; KD. II. 21; (7) Vadana, whose line has 1 Ṣaṣmātra, 2 Caturmātras and 1 Dvimātra in order: cf. H. p. 37a|15, KD. II. 21; (8) and the Rāsa with a line having 3 Caturmātras and 2 long letters at the end: cf. VJS. IV. 85. For a few more varieties of this Catuspadī, i.e., the one with 16 Mātrās in a line see below, para. 48. The large number of varieties of this metre shows that it was a great favourite of the Apabhraṁśa bards. The reason for this great popularity of this metre is probably to be sought in its suitability from the point of view of the Tāla. Some of the varieties mentioned above are of course considered by Hemacandra as Sanskrit Mātrā Vṛttas, but since all Mātrā Vṛttas are originally Prakrit metres as suggested by me at AM. paras. 2, 3, Hemacandra is probably not right in doing so.

47. Coming next to the Catuspadis which contains 17 Mātrās

in each of their four lines, we may mention the four namely, (1) Upavadanaka, (2) Ragaḍā Dēruvaka, (3) Utthakka, (4) and Kusuma. The third is also known as Avasthitaka. The 17 Mātrās are divided into groups of 6, 4, 4, 3; or 4, 3, 2, 5, 3; or 5, 5, 5, 2 Mātrās in the first; of 4, 4, 4, 5, Mātrās in the second; of 5, 5, 5, 2 Mātrās in the third; and of 4, 5, 4, 4, Mātrās in the fourth, where however, the third Caturmātra must be of the JAGAṆA type (ISI) and the fourth must consist of 2 long letters; cf. H. p. 37a|17, SB. VI. 161; H. p. 43c|11; H. p. 37b|2, SB. VIII. 1; and H. p. 35e|4 respectively. The only Catuṣpadi with 18 Mātrās in its line is the Vibhrama; it is really a Varṇa Vṛtta (TA, RA, YA, IS), but according to Hemacandra, p. 35b|18, it was used vastly in the Apabhraṃśa language. Dardura (H.p. 35b|14), Āmoda (H.p. 35b|16). Rāsāvalaya (H. p. 37a|9, KD. II. 25) also called Catuṣpadi or Vastuka, and Rāsaka I (H.p. 35a|19, SB. VIII. 50) contain 21 Mātrās in each of their four lines. They are divided into groups of 4, 5, 5, 4, 3 (IS) Mātrās in the first case, of 4, 5 (SIS), 4 (ISI), 6 (SSS), 2 (S) Mātrās in the second, of 5, 4, 6, 5, Mātrās in the third case and of 18, 3(III) Mātrās with the Yaṭi after the 14th Mātrā in the last case. Avataṃsaka (H. p. 35b|4) and Kunda (H. p. 35b|6) both have lines of 22 Mātrās, but in the former they are made up with 1 Caturmātra, 1 Pañcamātra, 2 Caturmātras of the Jagapa (ISI) type and one Pañcamātra of the Yagaṇa (ISS) type; while in the latter, we have 1 Caturmātra, 2 Pañcamātras followed by a Caturmātra of the Jagapa type and 2 long letters at the end. Both Hemacandra, p. 35b|2, and Kavidarpaṇa, II. 23, mention a 2nd variety of the Rāsaka which contains 23 Mātrās in its line, formed by 5 Caturmātras followed by a short and a long letter at the end. In fact, Rāsaka is a common name for all kinds of the Mātrā Vṛttas (Jātis), like the names Galitaka (cf. H. p. 31b|8) and Khañjaka (cf. H. p. 31b|10); see H. p. 35b|1ff. Vastuka and Catuṣpadi seem to be similar common names applied to the Catuṣpadi in general; cf. H. p. 37a|4, 11; 38b|19; VJS. II. 1, etc. The next four metres called Utsāha (H. p. 35a|16-17; KD. II. 26), Vastuvadana (H. p. 37a|1; KD. II. 25), Karabhaka (H. p. 35b|8) and Indragopa (H. p. 35a|10) contain 24 Mātrās in their lines. Out of the 6 Caturmātras with which the lines Utsāha are formed, 3rd and 5th must be either Jagapaṇas or formed with all short letters, while the others must *not* be of the Jagapa type. The line of a Vastuvadana is formed with a Ṣaṇmātra at either end and 3 Caturmātras in the middle. The middle one of these three Caturmātras must be either a Jagapa or one formed with all short letters. The other two must *not* be Jagapaṇas. This Vastuvadana is almost the same as the

Kāvya described at AM. para 17. The line of a Karabhaka is formed with 2 Pañcamātras, 2 Caturmātras, 1 Jagāṇa and a long letter, while that of the Indragopa is formed with 1 Caturmātra, 2 Pañcamātras, 1 Jagāṇa and a long letter at the end. Vastuka II (H. p. 36b|19) and Kokila (H. p. 35b|12) have 25 Mātrās in their lines. In the former, they are divided into groups of 4, 4, 3, 3, 4, 4, 3 Mātrās, where the two Trimātras in the middle must have a short letter at their end, i.e., 10th and 11th as also 13th and 14th Mātrās must never be combined into a long letter. In the latter (i.e., in Kokila), they are divided into groups of 4, 5, 5, 4, 3 (IS) Mātrās. Lastly Vidruma (H. p. 35b|18) and Megha (H. p. 35b|20) contain 28 and 29 Mātrās respectively in each of their four lines. The line of the former is made up with 1 Śaṣmātra (SSS), 1 Pañcamātrā (SIS), 1 Trimātrā (IS), 2 Pañcamātras of any type and 1 Caturmātra (IIS) at the end. Megha on the other hand, is a pure Varṇa Vṛtta having in its line 1 Ra, followed by 4 Ma Gaṇas. Like the Vibhrama it is generally employed by the Apabhraṁśa poets as Hemacandra tells us.

48. The following Catuspadi metres are treated by Hemacandra and Virahāṅka as the Prakrit ones, but they are extremely similar to those that have been described above and hence I define them here. Thus the Avalambaka, different from the three Avalambakas mentioned by H. p. 31b|20, contains 9 Mātrās in each of its four lines (4, 5; VJS. IV. 68). Raktā, also called Kheṭaka, (SIS, ISI, S : VJS. III. 7, and IV. 76) and Manovati (4, 5, S : VJS. III. 4) contain 11 Mātrās in their lines. Pragītā (4, 4, SS : VJS. III. 6) and Nārācaka (IS, IS, IS, IS : VJS. IV. 58) contain 12. Khaṇḍa (4, 4, 5 H. p. 31b|16), Saṁgalitā (4, 4, 5 : H. p. 30b|1), Padagalitā (4, 4, 5; VJS. IV. 102), Sundarā Galitā (5, 5, 3; H. p. 30b|20), Jyotsnā (5, 5, IS; VJS. III. 3), Upakhaṇḍa (6, 4, 3 : H. p. 31b|8) and Uddohaka (KD. II. 17) all contain 13 Mātrās in their lines and are but other names of the Apsarovilasita mentioned above in para 46. Haṁsinī (SIS, ISS, IS : VJS. IV. 72), Māninī (SIS, ISI, SS : VJS. III. 8) and Gāthā (SIS, IIS, SS; VJS. IV. 57) are really Varṇa Vṛttas, though they are defined as the Mātrā Vṛttas with 13 Mātrās in their lines. Khaṇḍitā (6, 4, 4; H. p. 31b|19) is identical with the Gandhodakadhārā defined above in para 46. The other Catuspadis containing 14 Mātrās in a line are—Nirdhyāyikā I (5, 3, 3, 3; H. 33a|2), Kaumudī (5, 5, IIS; VJS. III. 5), Tārā (4, 4, ISI, S; VJS. III. 2), and Sumanā (4, 4, SII or ISI or III. S; VJS. III. 1). Ānanditā (4, 4, 4, IS; VJS. IV. 20) with 15 Mātrās is almost identical with the Pārāpaka mentioned above, though Padminī (4, 4, 5, S; VJS. III. 10) is slightly different from

it. The following 9 metres contain 16 Mātrās in their lines, but they are mostly different from those mentioned above:—Apsarā (5, 5, ISI, S; VJS. III.9), Candrikā (5, 5, 4, S; VJS. III. 17), Nandini (IIS, IIS, IIS, IIS; VJS. III. 20) also called Chittaka at VJS. IV. 54, Bhittaka (SII, SII, SII, SII; VJS. IV. 55), Vilāsini (5, 5, ISI, S; the 2 Pañcamātrās being always Gurvanta; VJS. IV. 15), Vilāsini II (3, 3, 4, 3, 3; H. p. 32a|7), Parinandita (SIS, II, ISI, ISS; VJS. IV. 19), Bhuṣaṇā (5, 5, 3, 3; H. p. 31a|2) and Vibhūṣaṇā (2, ISI, SS, ISI, S; VJS. IV. 94). Among these, the Nandini or the Chittaka and Bhittaka are Varṇa Vṛttas known respectively as Toḍaka and Dodhaka. The next group of 7 Catuspadis contains 17 Mātrās in their lines:—Vidyut (4, 5, 4, 4 or 4, 4, 4, 5; VJS. III. 11), Sarasvatī (4, 5, 5, IS; VJS. III. 13), Vibhūti (4, ISI, 4, 5; VJS. III. 15), Candrakrāntā (4, 5, 4, IIS; VJS. ; III. 22), Nirvāpitā (4, 4, ISI or IIII, 5; VJS. IV. 16), Nirdhyāyikā II (4, 4, 3, 3, 3; H. p. 33a|2) and Tilaka (4, 5, ISI, SS; VJS. IV. 71). Manoramā also called Vijayā (4, 4, 4, ISI, S; VJS. III. 18, IV. 82), Sumaṅgalā (4, 4, 4, 4, S; VJS. III. 16; H. p. 31b|15) and Nirdhyāyikā III (5, 4, 3, 3, 3; H. p. 33a|7) have all of them 18 Mātrās in their lines, while Rativalabha (5, 5, 5, 4; H. p. 31b|5), Nirdhyāyikā IV (5, 5, 3, 3, 3; H. p. 33a|2), Prabhāvatī (ISI, 4, ISI, 4 IS; VJS. III. 19) and Vithī (4, 4, 4, SIS, S; VJS. IV. 67) have 19. Those that contain 20 Mātrās are Pathyā (4, 4, 4, 5, IS; VJS. III. 24) also called Śālabhañjikā (VJS. IV. 79), Kṛiḍanaka I (4, 4, 4, SIS or IIIS, IS; VJS. ; IV. 21), Kṛiḍanaka II (4, 4, 4, 5, 3, with Yati after the 8th; H. p. 32b|8), Śubhā (2, 4, ISI, 4, ISI, 2; VJS. IV. 97), Kumudaka (4, 5, 5, SII, S; VJS. IV. 62), Bāṇāsikā (4, 4, ISI or IIII, IIS, SS; VJS. IV. 17), Harṣī (4, 5, 4, 5, S; VJS. III. 23), Suprabhā (4, 5, 4, 4, IS; VJS. III. 14), Bhramarāvalī, also called Śrī (IIS, IIS, IIS, IIS; VJS. III. 21, IV. 61), Taraṅgaka (SII, SII, SII, SII, SS; VJS. IV. 22), Śubhagalitaka (6, 3, 3, 3, 3, S; H. p. 30b|3), Hirāvalī (5, 5, 4, 6; H. p. 31b|6), Aravindaka (6, 5, 4, 3, 2; H. p. 32b|10), Āvalī (6, ISI or IIII, 4, ISI or IIII, 2; H. p. 32a|3) and Madanāvatāra (5, 5, 5, 5; H. p. 33b|2, cf. also AM. 28). The next group of 7 metres, i.e., Saumyā, also called Ramanīyaka or Sarpiṇḍitā Galitā and which is almost identical with the Galitaka of KD. II. 23 and H. p. 30a|11 (5, 5, 4, 4, IS; VJS. III. 27, IV. 26, IV. 89), Upagalitaka (2, ISI or IIII, 4, 4, 4, 3; H. p. 30a|14), Antarā Galitaka (which is a Galitaka with the 1st or 2nd and the 4th Padas rhymed; H. p. 30a|16-17), Mañjarī (3, 3, 4, 4, 4, 3; H. p. 32a|9) and the 3 varieties of the second Taraṅgaka obtained by substituting a 3 for the last 4, in Sama-

narkuṭaka, Narkuṭaka and Māgadhanarkuṭi, for which see below (H. p. 32a|18)) contain 21 Mātrās in a line. The following 14 metres contain 22 Mātrās in their lines:—Aśvākrāntā (SII, SII, SII, SII, SII, S; VJS. III. 32-33), Vanarāji (4, 5, 5, ISI, SS; VJS. III. 37), Ratnamālā (4, 5, 5, 4, IIS; VJS. III. 39), Lalitā (4, 4, 4, 4, 4, S; VJS. IV. 60), Kumudini (4, 4, 4, ISI, 4, S; VJS. IV. 98), Antullaka (4, ISI, 4, 4, 4, S; VJS. IV. 83), Lambitā of two kinds (2, 4, ISI, 4, ISI, 4; VJS. IV. 96 and 2, 4, 4, 4, 4, 4, where the 3rd and the 5th Caturmātras must not be of the ISI type—this is just the opposite of VJS.—H. p. 31a|15), Narkuṭaka of two kinds (4, 5, 5, 4, SS; VJS. IV. 25, where the 2nd and the 3rd Pañcamātras must always have a long letter at the end, and 6, ISI or IIII, 4, 2, S, IIS; H. p. 32b|14), Samanarkuṭaka (6, ISI, IIS, IIS, IIS; H. p. 32b|15), Māgadhanarkuṭi (6, ISI, or IIII, 4, 2, SSS; H. p. 32b|11), Helā also called Vilambitā when possessed of a Yamaka, (6, 4, 4, 4, 4, where the 2nd and the 4th Caturmātras must either be ISI or IIII; H. p. 31a|7, 32a|1). The Catuspadis which contain 23 Mātrās in their lines are Vigalitā (5, 5, 4, 4, 5; H. p. 30a|19) also called Śyāmā when its last Pañcamātra is of the ISS type (VJS. III. 28), Mahātopaka (5, 4, 5, 4, 5; H. p. 31b|13), Khañjaka (3, 3, 4, 4, 4, 3, S; KD. II. 23; H. p. 31b|11) and the 3 Pavanoddhutas obtained by adding a long letter at the end of the 3 Taraṅgakas with 21 Mātrās in their lines mentioned above (H. p. 32b|20). The next five, i.e., Lalitā (4, 4, 5, 4, 5, 2; H. p. 31a|10 or 4, 4, SIS, 4, SIS, S; VJS. IV. 93), Drutā (4, 4, ISI, 4, ISI, 4; VJS. III. 36), Lakṣmī (4, 5, 5, 5, ISS; VJS. III. 30), Candralekhā (6, 4, 4, 4, 4, 2; KD. II. 24, H. p. 32b|6), and Śālabhañjikā II (3, 3, 4, 4, 4, 3, 3; H. p. 32a|11) contain 24 Mātrās in their lines, while Sarhgalitaka (4, 5, 5, 4, 4, 3; H. p. 30b|5) almost the same as Nalinī (4, 5, 5, ISI, 4, IS; VJS. IV. 99), Vicchitti (5, 4, 5, 4, 5, 2; H. p. 30b|16, different from the Dvipadī of that name in para 38), Kusumitā (4, 3, 3, 4, 4, 4, 3; H. p. 32a|13), Madhukarī (5, 5, 5, 5, 5; H. p. 33b|2), Medhā (4, 4, 4, 4, 4, 5, VJS. III. 31), and Adhikākṣarā (4, 4, 4, 4, 4, 5, where the 2nd and the 4th Caturmātras must not be ISI; H. p. 33a|8 and the 3rd must be ISI or IIII, with the Yati after the 12th Mātrā; VJS. IV. 24) have all of them lines of 25 Mātrās. Mugdhikā and Citralekhā have lines of 26 Mātrās; in the former they are made with groups of 4, 4, 4, 5, 4, 5, where the 2nd group must not be ISI (H. p. 33a|11); in the latter, with groups of 5, 4, 4, 4, 4, 5, where the 2nd and the 4th groups must not be ISI (H. p. 33a|13). These two metres are but the varieties of the Adhikākṣarā, obtained by the substitution of a Pañcamātra for a Caturmātra in the 4th and the 1st places respec-

tively. The 3 Catuspadis with 27 Mātrās in their lines are Kāmālekḥā (6, 4, 4, 4, 4, 3, S; H. p. 32b|4), Mallikā (5, 5, 4, 4, 4, 5, where the 4th Caturmātra must not be ISI; H. p. 33a|15) and Mālatī (4, 4, 4, 4, 4, 5, S; VSJ. III. 35); while those that contain 28 Mātrās are Racitā (4, 5, 5, 4, 4, ISI or IIII, S; VJS. III. 25), Racitā II (6, IIII, 4, 4, 4, 4, S, with the Yati after the 7th Mātrā; H. p. 32a|19), Koddumbhaka (SS or SII, SIS, 5, IIS, IIS, ISI, S; VJS. IV. 53), Dīpikā (5, 5, 4, 5, 4, 5; H. p. 33a|17) and Dvīpadī (6, 4, 4, 4, 4, 4, S, where the 1st and the last Caturmātras must be either ISI or IIII according to KD. II. 24 and H. p. 32a|15; this condition however is not laid down by CK. 35 or PP. I. 152, see AM. para 15). No Catuspadī with 29 Mātrās in a line is known. The following contain 30 Mātrās in their lines:—Sāmudgaka (4, 5, 5, ISI, 4, ISI, SS; VJS. IV. 56), also known as the Udgatā Galitaka when possessed of a Yamaka (VJS. IV. 52, 95), Saṅgatā (7 SII, S; VJS. III. 34), Varṣasthā (4, 5, 5, IIS, 4, 4, IIS; VJS. III. 38), Navakokila (with 6 Pañcamātras; H. p. 33b|6), Aranāla (which is but a Dvīpadī with a long letter added at the end of each line; H. p. 32b|2) and Ugra Galitaka (6, 4, 4, 4, 4, 4, S, where the Caturmātras in the even places must either be ISI or IIII and those in the odd places must not be ISI; H. p. 30b|18). The lines of a Mālā Galitaka have 33 Mātrās divided into groups of 4, 5, 4, 4, 5, 4, 4, IS (H. p. 31a|4); while those of a Khaṇḍogata (4, 5, 4, 4, 4, 4, 4, 5; the 1st Caturmātra being either IIS or SS; H. p. 31a|9) have 34. Prasṛtā (4, 5, 5, 4, 4, 4, 4, 5; H. p. 31a|12) and Kāmāllā (made with 7 Pañcamātras in a line; H. p. 33b|8) have lines of 35 Mātrās. Mugdhagalitā (6, plus 8 Pañcamātras, each of which must have a long letter at the end; H. p. 30b|14), Sūtārā (made with 8 Pañcamātras in a line; H. p. 33b|9), Vasantotsava (containing 9 Pañcamātras in a line; H. p. 33b|12) and Mālāgalitaka (6, plus 10 Caturmātras of which those in the even places must either be ISI or IIII, while those in the odd ones must never be ISI; H. p. 30b|10) have respectively lines of 38, 40, 45, and 46 Mātrās in them.

49. The Ardhasama Catuspadis or the Antarasama Catuspadis as they are properly called by Svayambhū and Hemacandra also play an important rôle in Apabhraṁśa poetry. They are however generally employed for Lyrics and Dhrupadas. The peculiarity of these Catuspadis is that, though the 1st and the 3rd pādas are equal and similar, yet they are not rhymed and on that account, they have often the look of a Dvīpadī. It is probably for this reason, that the Apabhraṁśa metricians do not usually mention the Dvīpadis of medium length; see above para 37. They define on the one hand, the shorter Dvīpadis containing from 4 to 12 Mātrās in their lines, and then on the other, the longer ones having from 27 to 44 Mātrās in a line.

They indeed theoretically admit the possibility of the Dvipadis of intermediate length, but the actual practice of the bards seems to treat such ones as Antarasama Catuspadis. Thus for example, a Dvipadi containing 24 Mātrās in its line, may actually be considered as an Antarasama Catuspadi, having 7 & 17 or 8 & 16, or 9 & 15, or 10 & 14, or 11 & 13, (or the reverse of this)—Mātrās in its odd and even lines respectively. It is evident that for avoiding a possible confusion between a Dvipadi and a Catuspadi, the respective lengths of each have been restricted in practice; it is laid down by Hemacandra p. 38a| 9ff, that the odd lines of the Antarasama Catuspadis must contain from 7 to 16 Mātrās in them, while the even ones must have from 8 to 17 only. See also KD. II 29. com. (p. 40) and SB. VI. 1ff. This means that the two lines of each half of the Antarasama Catuspadis may contain from 15 to 33 Mātrās in them together. Even this leaves some possibility of a confusion between a Dvipadi with 27 Mātrās in a line and a Catuspadi whose halves contain as many Mātrās in them. The same also applies to Dvipadis with 28 to 33 Mātrās; for we have seen above that such Dvipadis were quite common and in vogue along with the Antarasama Catuspadis whose halves contained from 28 to 33 Mātrās. This, however, seems to have been somehow avoided by indicating that the pause at a particular place did or did not amount to the end of a Pāda. Thus e. g. a sentence or a word is either completed at the pause or is made to run after it into the next portion of the line, so also a rhyme is or is not introduced at that place, according as a separate line is or is not intended. The fact is well illustrated by the metre called Ghāṭṭā containing 31 lines in each of its two halves. It is regarded as a Dvipadi by Piṅgala, I. 99, a Catuspadi by Ratnaśekhara, Chandaḥkośa, v. 43 and a Ṣaṭpadi by the author of the Kavidarpaṇa, II. 29-31. See also AM. para 24 and Hemacandra, p. 43a|14ff.

50. The Antarasama Catuspadis are said to be 110 in number, according as they contain from 7 to 16 Mātrās in their odd lines and from 8 to 17 Mātrās in the even ones or vice versa. No special Mātrā Gaṇas are prescribed for their formation and every one of these is given a separate name. That these names are based on a pretty old tradition is evident from the fact that though H. and SB. at times differ from each other, they normally give the same names. Both Hemacandra and Svayambhū must have borrowed them from the older metricians, whose existence cannot be doubted; see AM. 30 and Svayambhūchandas, JBBRAS. 1935, p. 27. The existence of so many Dvipadis, Catuspadis and Ṣaṭpadis is of course quite in keeping with the characteristic freedom enjoyed by the Apabhraṃśa bards, but it does not necessarily mean that all of them were actually used

by them. They must have used only a few ; but they postulated the existence of the rest partly to exalt into a regular metre what they composed through negligence or inattention, and partly to complete and systematise the theory. The kind of Gīti called Vicitrā (cf. above para 45) is a most eloquent illustration of what is said above. The commentator of the Kavidarpaṇa does indeed say on KD. II. 31, that only a few of the Dvīpadis and the Catuṣpadis are actually employed by the poets in their compositions. The Kavidarpaṇa being intended to be a practical guide to the poet, mentions only 3 Dvīpadis, namely the 2 Ullāṣas and the Mauktikādhama. Similarly he mentions only 9 Antarasama Catuṣpadis including the Dohaka and its five derivatives. At AM. para 23, we have noticed the Dohā and four of its derivatives namely the Cūlikā, the Upacūlikā, the Udgāthaka or Saṁdohaka, and the Soratṭha. The others are :—(1) Avadhaka, which is merely an inverted Dohā with the 2nd and the 4th lines rhymed. This distinguishes it from the Soratṭha where we have also the 1st and the 3rd lines rhymed ; (2) Upadhaka with 12 and 11 Mātrās in the odd and even lines respectively ; (3-4) Uddhaka and Cūḍāladhaka, which have 13 and 13, and 13 and 16 Mātrās in their odd and even lines respectively. The Uddhaka is of course a Sarvasama Catuṣpadī, similar to the Apsaravilasita (see para 46 above), but its lines are formed without any reference to the Mātrā Gāṇas. KD. II. 15 mentions a convention in connection with the Dohaka alone (and not its varieties) that the end of its even lines is always formed by a long letter followed by a short one. The other Catuṣpadis mentioned by KD. are Rāsa with 7 and 13, Pañcānanalalitā with 10 and 12, and Malayamāruta with 9 and 10 Mātrās in their odd and even lines respectively. In addition to the 110 Catuṣpadis, Hemacandra mentions a few more :—They are Mukhagālitā with 7 and 25 (p. 30b|8), Rāsa with 7 and 13 (p. 36a|7), Guṇadhavalā with 14 and 16, (p. 37b|16), Bhramaradhavalā with 13 and 10 (p. 37b|18), and Amaradhavalā with 13 and 14 Mātrās in their odd and even lines respectively (p. 37b|20). Virahāṅka in the Vṛttajātisamuccaya mentions 16 Antarasama Catuṣpadis, of which the following 7 contain 14 and 16 Mātrās respectively, in their odd and even lines :—(1) Vaitāliya (VJS. IV. 48), in which the last 8 Mātrās of every line must be represented by SISIS ; (2) Māgadhiḥkā (VJS. IV. 28) which is the same as the Vaitāliya but only composed in the Māgadhi language ; (3) Ācālita where the last 8 Mātrās are represented by SIISS (VJS. IV. 50) ; (4) Bindutilaka (VJS. IV. 66), whose odd lines are formed by 3 Caturmātras of any kind, followed by a long letter, while the even ones are made with 2 Caturmātras, 1 Pañcamātra and a short and long letter, i.e., IS at the

end ; (5) Viṣamagalitā (VJS. IV. 104), whose odd lines are formed with 3 Caturmātras of which the middle one must be ISI, and a long letter at the end and the even ones with 1 Caturmātra, 1 Pañcamātra and ISSS at the end ; (6) Sārasikā (VJS. IV. 50), whose odd lines contain 3 Saganas (IIS) and a long letter, while the even ones have 3 Bhaganas (SII) followed by 2 long letters ; (7) Prasannā (VJS. III. 52) where 3 Bhaganas (SII) and one long letter are employed in the odd lines, and 4 Saganas (ISS) in the even ones. The remaining 9 Antarasamas mentioned by Virahāṅka are (1) Aupacchandasika (VJS. IV. 49) which is nothing but the Vaitāliya with a long letter added at the end of each Pāda ; (2) Khañjaka (VJS. IV. 18) with 9 and 11 ; (3) Candroyotaka (VJS. IV. 84) with 12 and 14 ; (4) Vipulā (VJS. III. 47) with 9 (IISISS) and 13 (4, IIS, ISS) ; (5) Sumukhi (VJS. III. 49) with 10 (4,4,S) and 13 (4,4, ISS) ; (6) Bhāmini (VJS. III. 51) with 12 (IIS, IIS, IIS) and 14 (SII, SII, SII, S) ; (7) Nandā (VJS. III. 53) with 13 (4, 5, 4) and 15 (4, 4, ISI, IS) ; (8) Śvetā (VJS. III. 54) with 12 (4, 5, IS) and 14 (4, 4, ISI, S) ; (9) Dhavalā (VJS. III. 48) with 10 (4, ISI, S) and 12 (4, 5, IS) Mātrās in the odd and even lines. One more metre namely the Udgītaka (VJS. IV. 80) perhaps deserves to be mentioned here ; it is a Sarvasama Catuspadi in respect of the Mātrās, but an Antarasama in point of the Mātrāṅgas. Thus the 21 Mātrās in its odd lines are made up by 4 Caturmātras and 1 Pañcamātra of the Ragana (SIS) type at the end, while the 21 Mātrās in the even lines are made up by 4, 5, 5, IIS, IS. The five Chaddnikās of the Antarasama type mentioned by Svayambhū, VIII, 8-14, have nothing peculiar about them and can be safely included among the corresponding metres in the midst of the 110 Antarasamas mentioned by him.

51. The only metre with 5 lines namely the Mātrā is fully discussed at AM. para 28. Among the metres with six lines—none of which, by the bye, are Sarvasama—Ghattā treated at AM. para 24 is the most important one. Next to it is the Kīrtidhavalā (H. p. 37b|13, KD. II. 32). Its halves contain 3 lines each, made respectively with 14 (6, 6, 2), 8 (4, 4), and 16 or 17 (6, 6, 4 or 5) Mātrās. The other metres with six lines are the 8 Ṣaṭpada-jātis, 8 Upa-jātis, and the 8 Ava-jātis (H. p. 38b|11-18 ; SB. V. 2-10 ; KD. Com. on II. 31). The 3rd and the 6th lines of all these are equal and contain from 10 to 17 Mātrās in them. The remaining lines of the Ṣaṭpada-jātis have all of them 7 Mātrās in them ; those of the Upa-jātis have 8 and those of the Ava-jātis have 9 only. Śrīdhavalā (H. p. 37b|6 ; KD. II. 34) and Yaśodhavalā (H. p. 37b|8) are the only two metres which contain 8 lines in them. These are divided into two equal halves. The odd lines in the Śrīdhavalā contain 10 (4, 4, 2) Mātrās,

while the even ones have only 8 (4, 4). On the other hand, the 1st and the 3rd lines in the Yaśodhavalā contain 14 Mātrās; the 2nd and the 4th have 12; the 5th and the 7th contain only 11, while the 6th and the 8th have 10.

52. As a rule, Apabhraṃśa poetry does not know Sarva-*viśama* metres. The solitary *Catuṣpāda* mentioned by Virahāṅka, (VJS. IV. 69) should however be noted. In the first line of this metre we get 2 Ragas (SIS), followed by 2 long letters; in the 2nd, 8 short letters followed by a long one; in the 3rd and the 4th, 1 Pañcamātra and a Ragana (SIS). Under this head, we might perhaps also discuss the 7 very freely handled *Dvipadis* of 4 lines each, defined by Virahāṅka at VJS. III. 40-46. Virahāṅka calls them Gaṇasma *Dvipadis*. The lines of these contain the same number of the Mātrāgaṇas, but these may either be the *Caturmātras* or the *Pañcamātras*. These 7 are:—*Citrā* with 25 or 26 Mātrās (2, 4, ISI or IIII, 4 or 5, 4, 5, S); *Siddhi* with 15 to 18 (4 or 5, 4 or 5, 4 or 5, IS); *Bhadrā* with 26 or 27 (4 or 5, 4, 5, 4, 4, 5—the 2nd and the 4th *Caturmātras* being ISI); *Gāndhārī* with 17 to 19 (4 or 5, 4 or 5, ISI or IIII, 5); *Mālinī* with 30 to 37 (seven 4 or 5, S); *Kadrū* with 13 or 14 (4 or 5, 4, 5); and *Lalitā* with 24 or 25 Mātrās (4 or 5, 4, 5, 4, 5, S) in each of their lines.

53. We have noticed 7 strophic metres at AM. para 29. These have received distinct individual names for themselves from the Apabhraṃśa poets. A few more of the same type are described by the Kavidarpaṇa. Thus a strophe formed with a Mātrā and an *Ullāla* is called a *Fulla* (KD. II. 33), and the one formed with a *Dohā* and a *Sarīdohaka* is called a *Tarala* (KD. II. 34). Both these appear to be peculiarly Apabhraṃśa Strophes as the component metres show. *Dvipadikhaṇḍa* formed with 2 *Khaṇḍas* or *Avalambakas* (cf. H. p. 31b|16-20) and a *Gīti* (H. p. 33b|15-16; KD. II. 36) is clearly an old Prakrit strophe as the illustration from Śrīharṣa's *Ratnāvalī* shows. Kavidarpaṇa mentions 4 more strophes formed with two stanzas, which however have not received any specific names for themselves. They are described as *Dvibhaṅgīs* merely and are said to be formed with a *Dvipadī* and a *Gīti*, or a *Dohā* and a *Ghāṭā*, or two *Ghāṭās*, or a *Vastuvadana* and a *Dohā* (KD. II. 35-37). Kavidarpaṇa also mentions 2 more *Tribhaṅgīs* in addition to the *Dvipadikhaṇḍa*. They are formed with a Mātrā, a *Dohā*, and an *Ullāla*, or with a *Dvipadī*, a *Khaṇḍa* and a *Gīti* (KD. II. 36-37). Virahāṅka mentions 7 *Dvibhaṅgīs* and 2 *Tribhaṅgīs*. All except the *Raḍḍā* (VJS. IV. 31) contain either a *Gāthā* or a *Gīti* in them. This would show that the older Prakrit poets were rather fond of a *Gāthā* as the Apabhraṃśa poets are of the *Dohā* in particular. The

Gīti is popular with both. Thus a Mālāsīrṣaka (VJS. IV. 39-40) is made with a Catuspadi containing 45 Mātrās in a line and a Gīti; Adhikākṣarāśīrṣaka (VJS. IV. 43-45) with an Adhikākṣarā and a Gīti; Trikalaka (VJS. IV. 43-45) with an Adhikākṣarā, a Nirvāpitā and a Gīti; Saṅgataka (VJS. IV. 64-65) with a Catuspadi whose lines are made with Bha, Bha, Ma, Sa & Sa Gaṇas and a Gāthā; Khaḍgahadaka with a Bhramarāvalī and a Gāthā (VJS. IV. 74-75); Tala with a Gāthā and a Trikalaka (VJS. IV. 80); Tālavṛnta (VJS. IV. 80) with a Gāthā, a Trikalaka and a Gāthā; and Sopānaka (VJS. IV. 77-78) with an Aśvākrāntā and a Gāthā. Raddā is already discussed at AM. para 29. Hemacandra puts all such strophes under the general heading Śīrṣaka, and mentions a few such combinations as those of a Dvipadī and a Gīti, a Vastuvadana and an Ullāḥa, a Rāsāvalaya and an Ullāḥa, a Varāna and an Ullāḥa and says at the end, that these are all called Ṣaṭpada or Sārdhacchandas by the bards of Magadha (H. p. 33b[15 to 34b[9]). Among the Tribhaṅgis, he mentions and illustrates a strophe made with a Dvipadī, an Avalambaka and a Gīti and yet another which is made with 2 Avalambakas and a Gīti. The latter is the Dvipadīkhaṇḍa mentioned above. Svayambhū does not discuss any strophes whatsoever. This is really very strange.

54. We have now seen that the field of the Mātrāvṛttas is very unrestricted and the Apabhrāmśa poets enjoyed perfect freedom in the matter of their choice and employment. The three main divisions of them are not maintained mutually very exclusive. The only thing that can help in this connection is the Yati and the Yamaka. The difficulty to decide whether it is a Dvipadi or a Catuspadi or a Ṣaṭpada is particularly great in the case of metres having lines containing 24 Mātrās or more. Thus for example, a line of 30 Mātrās is actually divisible into two containing 16 and 14 Mātrās or even into three containing 7, 7, 16 or 8, 8, 14 or 9, 9, 12 Mātrās respectively. The practice of the Apabhrāmśa metricians is unfortunately not a safe guide in this respect. They do not often divide a line into two in spite of the existence of a definite and regular Yati accompanied by the Yamaka in the middle of it. This does not seem to be right especially in the case of longer lines. See AM. para 26, where I have discussed a few metres which I have called Dvādaśapedis. I may have perhaps gone too far, but the principle of dividing a line into two or more, whenever such a division is indicated by the presence of a definite and regular Yati, accompanied or not accompanied by the Yamaka, is certainly a sound one, and cannot be objected to. Roughly, I would distinguish between the Dvipadis, Catuspadis and Ṣaṭpadis in the following way :—(1) A line containing from 4 to 14 Mātrās should generally be considered as one indivisible unit whe-

ther of a Dvipadi, or of a Catuspadi. (2) A line containing from 15 to 23 Mātrās in the case of metres of two lines should be split into two unequal ones, if the Yati is noticeable anywhere after the 7th Mātrā; but it should not be so split up if the Yati is not regular or when the same Yati is not observed in both the lines. The only exception to this rule is the Vicchitti (VJS. IV. 91), whose lines should have been split up according to this scheme. (3) A line containing from 24 to 33 Mātrās should be split up (a) into two when the Yati is definitely marked after any odd Mātrā between the 7th and the 17th; for we know that the Dvipadis do not as a rule, have their initial Yati after an odd Mātrā; the exception to this being the two Ullāhas where the Yati occurs after the 15th Mātrā in a line of 28 Mātrās; (b) it should be split up into three lines when the Yati is observed twice after every 7th, 8th or 9th Mātrā, and whether it is accompanied by the Yamaka or not. (4) A line containing more than 34 Mātrās (a) should be split up into three small ones if the Yati is observed twice and is also accompanied by the Yamaka; (b) but it should not be split up when the Yati is not very pronounced, or if only a single Yati is observed, or if it is not accompanied by the Yamaka. These rules cannot indeed be regarded as absolute; they are merely deduced from the general practice of the Apabhraṃśa poets and metricians.

55. The following two peculiarities of the Apabhraṃśa metres deserve to be noted. The first of them is the appendage of the terms Dhavala and Maṅgala to the names of these metres. When a particular metre is employed to praise or favourably describe a hero (Dhavalā) in the popular language i.e. the Apabhraṃśa, it gets the appendage Dhavala attached to it. Thus an Utsāha metre when thus employed will be called Utsāha-dhavala, a Dohā will be Dohā-dhavala and so on. When on the other hand, the same metres are employed in describing some auspicious occasion, they will get the appendage of the name Maṅgala attached to them at the end. Thus we may have an Utsāha-maṅgala, a Dohā-maṅgala and so on. See Hemacandra, p. 38e|2-8 and SB. IV. 41. In this connection, I desire to draw the attention of my reader to the very curious statement made by Hemacandra on p. 37b|5. After defining Dhavala as a metre of 4, 6 or 8 lines, he remarks that the examples of the various kinds of Dhavalas may be found in the 'sayings of Sātavāhana' (Dhavalāni Sātavāhanoktiṣu draṣṭavyāni). This is also what Svayambhū, VIII. 33, says. Now what are these sayings? The Gāthāsaptasatī is surely not intended as the Gāthā is not considered as a Catuspadi by Hemacandra (cf. p. 26b|17). This is also the opinion of the Kavīdarpaṇa and its commentator (Dalagrahaṇāt asyām na pādav-

yavasthā—com. on KD. II. 4). I have already shown at JBBRAS. 1935, p. 26, that in or about the 10th century A.D., a collection of stanzas in various metres attributed to Hāla seems to have been known to Svayambhū. Does Hemacandra refer to this same collection of Hāla's poems? The second important peculiarity of Apabhraṁśa poetry is that when the poets actually compose their Kaḍavakas, they use any one of the above discussed Catuspadi Mātravṛttas—or even any one of the Catuspadi Varnavṛttas, but they do not treat them as Catuspadis. They form their Kaḍavakas with any number of rhyming couplets, and not with the quartets as may be expected, of lines composed in these metres. Thus the Pazzatikā or the Bhujāṅgaprayāta may be a Catuspadi metre in theory, but in actual practice, the poet treats it as merely a Dvipadi, since he uses any number of couplets in these metres for a Kaḍavaka and not necessarily a number which is divisible by 4, as would be the case if they were treated as Catuspadis. This practice of treating halves of Catuspadis as independent metrical units appears to be very common among the Apabhraṁśa poets. It is also equally applied to the Ardhasama Catuspadis and the Ṣaṭpadis. Halves of these are treated as independent metrical units or even as independent metres. The Dhruva Padas or the Stihāyīs of the Padyas in the different vernaculars are undoubtedly to be traced to the similar halves of the Ardhasama Catuspadis in the Apabhraṁśa language. Halves of Ṣaṭpadis have also been regarded as independent units in the Apabhraṁśa Kaḍavakas. In those Ṣaṭpadis again, where the 3rd and the 6th lines are considerably long, there appears to be a growing tendency to split these lines into 2 shorter ones, the first being equal to the earlier lines and also rhyming with them. The second part of the line thus split up of course remains very short and the whole half with the new four short lines assumes the appearance of a stanza with 3 and $\frac{1}{2}$ lines. Four such halves are put together to form a metre called the Tribhaṅgī; cf. PP. I. 194 and AM. para 26. Naturally, such halves of a Ṣaṭpadi which are actually divisible into three or four shorter lines are of various kinds; cf. AM. para 26. But the most popular amongst them seems to be the one which favours its division into four short lines containing respectively 8, 8, 8, and 6 Mātrās. Generally, the 2nd and the 3rd of these shorter lines are rhymed, but sometimes even the 1st contains the same rhyme as the others. Two such halves form what is known as Caubolā (PP. I. 131; AM. para 24) according to Piṅgala, but which is considered as one of the 8 Upajātis only, by Hemacandra, p. 38b[14 and Svayambhū, V. 6. Couplets of such halves again seem to have been largely used for songs composed to accompany the Rāsa or the Garvā dance or even the

devotional dances called the Bhajanas. The famous Marathi Tipari song, i.e., *Ekta tiparisa ghe, dusarisa mār ge, tisari gheunī, chavathī de &c.*, is composed with such halves. It is indeed out of this half that the Marathi metres *Ovī* and *Abhaṅga* have developed as I have shown elsewhere. All these are sung in the *Dhumāli Tāla* of 8 *Mātrās*.

56. We shall now take a brief survey of the facts which we have been able to gather during this rather long discussion of the *Apabhraṃśa* metres. In the first article, we discussed the curious name *Ullāla* with reference to its use and meaning (paras 11-12) and found out how we should distinguish between the pure and mixed *Catুষ্পadis* on metrical grounds. In the pure *Catুষ্পadis*, there do not exist any restrictions regarding the employment of short and long letters at particular places, while in the mixed ones such restrictions, mostly sanctioned by the practice of the bards, do exist. The former are pure *Mātrā Vṛttas* while the latter are not (13-17). We also saw that in the pure *Mātrā Vṛttas*, *Mātrā Gaṇas* are enjoined and that these *Mātrā Gaṇas* have to be kept separate and independent of each other by avoiding the use of a long letter at the junction of any two *Mātrā Gaṇas* (13). More important however, is the discovery that the *Mātrā Vṛttas* in general are also bound by the consideration of the *Tāla* or the regularly kept time, and that there exist with reference to them also the *Tāla Gaṇas* as distinct from the *Mātrā Gaṇas*. These *Tāla Gaṇas* too like the *Mātrā Gaṇas* have to be kept independent and separate (18-20). The very striking mixture of the *Dohā* and the *Gāthā* revealed in the metres called *Verālu* and *Cūdamani* as also the name *Soraṭṭha* given to the inverted *Dohā* are next discussed (22-23). The composition, use and the *Tāla* of the *Ghaṭṭā Śaṭpadi* are given in paras 24 and 25, while the strange features of the 9 metres which I have chosen to describe as the *Dvādaśapadis* are described in para 26. The strophic metres are found to be an important peculiarity of *Apabhraṃśa* poetry (27-29) and it is found that *Mātrā*, *Ullāla* and *Dohā*, which are pure *Apabhraṃśa* metres, play an important rôle in these strophes (28). At the end of the first article, we have discussed in full detail the question of the authorship of *Ratnaśekhara's Chandahkośa* and its close relationship with the *Prākṛta Paingalam*. Our conclusions in this respect are that the *Chandahkośa* consists of two parts, namely vv. 5-50 and vv. 1-4 with 55-74, of which the first chiefly consists of quotations from earlier *Apabhraṃśa* metricians prominent among whom are *Arjuna* and *Gosala*, while the second part was composed by *Ratnaśekhara* himself. *Paingala* too, borrows like *Ratnaśekhara*, but passes off the older stanzas as his own by substituting his own name for the older ones.

57. In the present article, we have discussed the remaining

Apabhraṃśa metres, not leaving also those which are described as the Prakrit metres by Hemacandra. In paras 41-43, we have discussed the facts about the nature of the composition of a Dvipadī and the use of the name Dvipadī. Similarly, in para 44, the origin and development of the Gāthā metre and the invention of the Mātrā unit are discussed at full length, while in para 46 the great popularity of the Catuṣpadī containing 16 Mātrās in a line is assumed on account of a very large number of variations of it that are employed by the Apabhraṃśa poets. In para 47, the names Rāsaka, Galitaka, Khañjaka, Vastuka and Catuṣpadī are shown to have been used commonly for any metre of four lines. In para 49, the relationship between the Antarasama Catuṣpadī and the Dvipadī is explained. A few more strophic metres are defined in para 53 while the general principles underlying the division of metres into Dvipadī, Catuṣpadī and Ṣaṭpadī are deduced in para 54. Lastly in para 55, the two peculiarities of Apabhraṃśa poetry are noticed : they are the use of the terms Dhavala and Maṅgala, and the employment of the halves of the Catuṣpadīs and the Ṣaṭpadīs as independent metrical forms. The most important thing that has come out of this investigation of the Apabhraṃśa metres is however the existence of a large number of Apabhraṃśa poets and metricians and the part which the Apabhraṃśa metres have played in the formation of the pure Vernacular metres. I propose to discuss this latter in a separate article on Apabhraṃśa and the Marathi metres.

H. D. VELANKAR.

APPENDIX

SVAYAMBHÜCCHANDAS, CHAPTERS IV TO VIII.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

1. The first three chapters of this book are published separately at *Journal, JBBRAS.*, 1935, pp. 18-58, with an introduction dealing with Svayambhū and his work.

2. In the meanwhile, Prof. H. L. Jain of the King Edward College, Amraoti, Berar, has published his article on 'Svayambhū and his two poems in Apabhraṃśa' in the *Nagpur University Journal* No. 1, December 1935, pp. 70-84. There he has attempted to ascribe the present work, i.e. the Svayambhūcchandas to his Svayambhū namely the Poet (on p. 75), but I am not still convinced about this. It is impossible to imagine that Tribhuvana Svayambhū, had he known this work of his father, would not have mentioned it. In our

work on the other hand, there is no trace of any of the poems either of the poet Svayambhū himself or of the Apabhraṃśa poets like Bhadra (author of the *Matsyavedha*), Caturmukha (author of the *Gograhaṇakathā*), and an earlier Svayambhū (author of the *Jala-kriḍā*), so respectfully mentioned both by the poet Svayambhū (*Paumacariya*, Sandhi 14, p. 81) and his son Tribhuvana (*Paumacariya*, Introduction, pp. 79, 74). The mere title *Chandaśūdamani* cannot lead us to the conclusion that the poet Svayambhū was also a *metri-cian*. I am equally doubtful about the poet Svayambhū being a Grammarian, as is assumed by Prof. Jain on p. 74. The stanza (no. 5 on p. 79) 'tāvaj jiya sacchando &c.' can only mean that before Svayambhū, the Apabhraṃśa poets had altogether neglected rules of grammar of the Apabhraṃśa language, but Svayambhū had not done so and had set an example for the future poets in this manner. This reminds me of the Marathi poet Moropanta, who employed a grammatically pure language, but before whom even educated poets like Vāmana and Rāmadāsa had neglected grammar of the language. The reference from the *Adipurāṇa* of Jināsena is undoubtedly mythological and not historical, as Prof. Jain himself half recognizes (p. 75). The authorship of a work on *Alaṅkāra* which is ascribed to the poet on p. 75 is similarly based on very unsafe grounds. Even as regards the *Pañcamīcarita* mentioned in 2.5 on p. 80, it seems that it was a poem by Tribhuvana Svayambhū himself and not by his father. I would translate the stanza as follows:—'Tribhuvana Svayambhū has composed the *Pañcamīcaritam*, not very much liking (*acakkhamāpeṇa*) the manner and the story (*attha*) of it as described by Caturmukha and Svayambhūdeva (possibly the earlier one; we do not expect such a disparaging statement about his father by T. S.; or was the earlier Svayambhū called Caturmukha Svayambhū?); this is indeed a great wonder.' That this *Pañcamīcarita* or *Siripancamī(carita)* was recast or rather recomposed is also clear from 2.8 on p. 81. 'Samāreu' is *samāracayatu*, 'rearrange' 'properly arrange' and not merely finish or complete as in the case of the *Paumacariya* and the *Harivaṃśa*; cf. E.g., 2.11 p. 81, 3.83, p. 82, 6.100, p. 83 &c. The mention of the *Suddhayacariya* in 6.99, p. 83 is similarly quite unexpected and rather suspicious. Is it not to be construed as an adjective of 'pommacariyam' along with 'guṇagaṇappaviyam'? I would rather translate:—'Having made the *Pommacariya* endowed with a proper end (*suddhayacariyam*; or does it refer to other incidents which he added?) and respected on account of its merits (read *guṇagaṇagghaviyam* and not *-ppaviyam*), (I now proceed) to remove the defect of incompleteness of the *Harivaṃśa* (*Harivaṃśa-moha-haraṇe* must I think, mean this and nothing else).'

The last line is unintelligible to me. 'Sudhiyadeha' is one who is thoroughly exhausted. Is the *Harivaṁśa* compared with such a one? A long letter between Sarassa and Sudhiyadehavva is obviously missing. The stanza as I understand it, is surely to be ascribed to Tribhuvana Svayambhū and not to the father, and this is very well borne out by its position. It comes after the 99th chapter wherewith the father's work ends and after the usual colophon too.

3. I am thus still inclined to believe that Svayambhū the metrician, is different from Svayambhū the Apabhraṁśa poet. The former was a Jain monk, and probably of the Śvetāmbara sect. This is of course, still a mere inference based upon a few facts which I have mentioned at JBBRAS, 1935, p. 28 and also upon the observation that the Śvetāmbaras generally revere their own metricians and authors and quote from them unless they are compelled to do otherwise. This is true even of the Digambaras.

4. One more point that calls for a remark is regarding the poet Caturmukha as known to the poet Svayambhū and the metrician Svayambhū. The former praises him for his choice of words and for his skill in the employment of various metres. He is also known as the author of a *Gograhaṇakathā* to the poet (pp. 79, 81, 81). The metrician on the other hand, knows a poem of Caturmukha written on a topic connected with the story of the Rāmāyaṇa; cf. IV. 2, VI. 71, 83, 86, 112; and JBBRAS, 1935, p. 27. It is therefore very difficult to say whether the two Caturmukhas are identical or not. It is indeed quite probable that Caturmukha might have written poems on both the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata story, but it is rather strange that the metrician should not have given any instances from the well-known work of the poet Caturmukha. Caturmukha's skill in metres which is alluded to by the poet Svayambhū surely very well agrees with my inference that Caturmukha was a poet-metrician; cf. JBBRAS, 1935, p. 27.

5. Lastly, a very curious thing about the Prakrit stanza of Kālidāsa, quoted by Svayambhū at II. 18, is brought to my notice, by my friend Prof. Srikantaiya of Mysore. This stanza in its Sanskrit garb is found in Bhāsa's *Pañcarātra*, I. 19: Can this throw any light on the problem of Bhāsa? I am unable to say anything at present. Similarly a new light is likely to be thrown on the extent and nature of Hāla's Prakrit poetry from the quotation at I. 97, and from the curious statements of both Svayambhū, VIII. 33 and Hemacandra, p. 275[5]; see para 55 of the introductory article.

6. As regards the text, I am merely reproducing the original Ms. in many places as I am unable to understand the sense of the stanzas. I am adding a few foot-notes here and there.

श्रीस्वयम्भूच्छन्दः IV—VIII.

IV.

ओ पाउअस्स सारो तस्स मए लक्खलक्खणं सिद्धम् ।
 एताहे अवहंसे साहिज्जन्ते विसामेह ॥ १ ॥
 इहिआरा बिन्दुजुआ पआवसाणम्मि जह हुवन्ति लहू ।
 तह कत्थवि छन्दवसा काअव्वा उहुदुआरावि ॥ २ ॥
 उआरो बिन्दुजुओ पआवसाणम्मि लहू चउमुहस्स जहा—
 इउं अज्जु तुमए उरु ।
 हुआरो तस्सेअ—
 को महुं जीअन्तहुं णेइ धणु ।
 हुआरो तस्सेअ—
 गियणामपआसदं । सुइ सआसदं ॥
 बिण्णिवि एओ सुद्धा पआवसाणम्मि जह हुवन्ति लहू ।
 आइमज्जन्ते वा वंअणस्सि ताहजेअ ॥ ३ ॥
 जे ते केवि पुत्तिए देन्ति
 पई तेहिं करेअसु रज्ज ।
 जो सो कोवि छहउ विदेअ
 गाओ तहो सिरे गिवहउ वव ॥ ४ ॥
 छआ उरगा दुवासला तइअपंचमत्ति ।
 कइणो उच्छाहलक्खणं एरिसं भणन्ति ॥ ५ ॥
 उच्छाहो पुत्तस्स—
 समुहे तमहारि वीरसरणम्मिअज्जवज्ज
 पहरन्ति सरोसरहसउच्छलिवं उत्तमज्ज ।
 अत्थलिअमण्डलमपुणहतविग्गवाअ
 जे ते मरणेअचित्तं सुमरन्तं पणुपसाअ ॥ ६ ॥
 ओइअपडमत्तइअ[च]रणे । नारह वीअचउत्थे ॥
 दुवह[अ]लक्खण एत्ताउ । होइ अवहंससत्थे ॥ ७ ॥
 दुवहउ जहा—
 अम्मिअकरहदुसोलअउ । णीरिउ किंवि ण साइ ॥
 कावि मरुथलवेत्तिअ । तेहो कारणे विदाइ ॥ ८ ॥

तह्ण अ माउरदेवस्स—

लद्ध मित्त भण(म)न्तेण । रअणअ[र] वन्देण ॥
जो सिज्जन्ते सिज्जइयि । तह भरद् भरन्तेण ॥ ९ ॥
तेरह पळमत्तइअए । बारह बीअच्चउथे ॥
उच्चुवहअलक्खणमिणं । होइ अवहंससत्थे ॥ १० ॥

उच्चुवहअं वणदेवस्स—

वच्चुरवणसन्तोसिआ । मुहअच्छन्तवलीहिं ॥
दक्खारमुच्चवसाविआ । कहिं पाळिअठ थलीहिं ॥ ११ ॥
बारह विसमे चरणे । चोहह पुण सेसए होन्ति ।
जाणिज्जुह एरिसअं । अच्चुवहस्स लक्खणत्ति ॥ १२ ॥

अच्चुवहअं अज्जदेवस्स—

काई करउं हउं माए । पिउ थ गणइ लग्गी पाए ॥
मण्णु धरन्ते हो जाइ । कडिण उत्तरज भगाइ ॥ १३ ॥
एथ चळणा सव्व मत्ताए । ति चणारा तत्थ समे ।
पवचदा कमेणावसेसए ॥
ण मुहलन्ते समत्तगुरु । वपुरिमाणविसमाण तइअए ॥ १४ ॥

मत्ता ख्खण—

मित्तु मज्झु सत्तु वहवअणु । रव[णाअ]रु दुप्पगसु ।
सोमि बंधु पाहाणखंडहिं ॥
जह रामहो तह णर[हो] । होइ लण्ठि बवसाअवन्तहो ॥ १५ ॥
पाए बीअए अहव चउत्थए । पढमं चिअ पआरणु ।
जीए होइ सा मत्तवालिआ ॥
तइअए तिअलंसगए । शिवडअम्मि विर मत्तमहुअरी ॥ १६ ॥

बीअचळणे मत्तवालिआ गोइन्दस्स—

कमलपुमुअह एक उप्पत्ति । सखि तोवि कुमुआअरह ।
वेइ सोक्ख कमलह दिवाअरह ॥
पाविज्जइ अवस फल्लु । जेण जस्स पासे ठवेइ ॥ १७ ॥

चउत्थचळणे मत्तवालिआ मुद्धसीलस्स—

पहु सक्कइसु णहु सकोअ । महि सरस सलिल सरस ।
सरव मेह दिशि बहल विज्जुल ॥
पह्णिअणमणमोहअरह ॥ सवरि चारु पावहु विअंनिउ ॥ १८ ॥

9: Found also in Gāthālakṣaṇa, v. 85. See Annals, BORI 1933, p. 29.

10: See below VI. 113.

12: See below VI. 115.

14: See H. p. 36a/9 ff.

उअह्वरणे मत्तबालिआ गोइन्दस्स—

पिउपरोक्ताहिं भुजग चमकन्ति । चन्देण उज्जोलभ किउ ।

दिउ पिअत्ततत्थु जेम जाणित ॥

कज्ज पिअच्छिम उअह । कज्जआले लोअहिं मुण्णिज्जइ ॥ १९ ॥

बीअवसणे तइए तिअलंसए मत्तमहुअरी जहा —

रसि सोक्खई वेइ मिहुणाण । जइ एम तो वप्पुआ ।

अइवाउ किमु तहिं विओइउ ॥

पुण्णकिअउ परिणमइ । केवि कस्स देअउ ण लेअउ ॥ २० ॥

उअहचलगमत्तमहुअरी गोइन्दस्स जहा —

ठमठमहिं पाससेत्त । रत्तीहि परिसंठिआ ।

रोमंअणवत्तचल्लिअगण्ढआ ॥

दीसन्ति अल्लज्जला । जोन्हाणिहागाइं गोह्णा ॥ २१ ॥

तइअपंचमचलगपमुहम्मि । जइ दोवि चवारगु ।

तो मत्तबिल्लासिणी इमा ॥

अह तिणि पवारंता । तं भर्गांति किर मत्तकरिणि ॥ २२ ॥

मत्तबिल्लासिणी गोइन्दस्स—

एहु विसमउ सुहु आएसु । पाणन्तिउ माणुसहो ।

दिह्ठीविमु सप्पु कालिअउ ॥

कंभुवि मारेइ धुउ । कहिं गम्मउ काई किज्जउ ॥ २३ ॥

मत्तकरिणी जहा तस्सेअ —

सव्व गोविउ जइवि जोएइ । हरि सुहवि आवरेण ।

वेइ दिह्ठी जहिं कहिंवि राही ॥

को सकइ संवरेवि । उहुणअण णेहं पलोइउ ॥ २४ ॥

जावि मिस्ता सव्वरुएहिं । सा भण्णइ बहुरुआ ।

अन्तअम्मि जइ तीए दुवहओ ॥

मुपसिद्धा णवचलणा । एहु वत्थु रज्जोवि जाणइ ॥ २५ ॥

बहुरुआ तस्सेअ—

वेइ पालो अणह पन्नारें । तोठिम्मिणु णल्लिदिह्ठ ।

हरिविओए सन्तावें तत्ती ॥

फल्ल अण्णहिं पाविउ । करो दइअ जं किपि सण्ठइ ॥ २६ ॥

रहा जहा—

जेम जाएं रिउ ण कम्पन्ति । सुअणा विणन्दन्ति णवि ।

हुजणावि ण मुअन्ति च्चिन्ताए ॥

तें जाएं कमाणु शुणु । वरकुमारिकण्णहल वंचिउ ॥

किं तणएण जेण जाएण । पअपूरणपुरिसेण ॥

जासु ण कंदरिं दरि भिवर । मरि उव्वरिउ असेम ॥ २७ ॥

तहाथ जिणवासस्स—

दुःश्रु शासद् जिण्णं पुद्दा हसद् । वहुद् होद् अठ म मद् ।
कित्तजमल्लच्छिद् दुवद् रवि — ॥
किरण्हिं सन्नासिअठ । तिमिर जेम पाडवि बिणासद् ॥
दुग्गह्णहणे भमन्ता जह्णद् जिण्णं बह्ण(र)ण होन्त जणु ।
अवलम्बणे वज्जिअठ सल्लविणवअं पभन्त दृच्छाद् ॥

मत्ता संमत्ता ॥ २८ ॥

अह वअण्णअरणम् ।

छवरा अद्दाइज्ज ववारा । वअण्णअस्स एरिसआ पाआ ।
तेण चउत्थेण उववअण्णअम् । वअण्णअन्ताजमिआ अ मडिल्ला ॥
मडिल्ल होद् विहिं जमठ पिण्णस्सद् । अहवा चउज्ज वि सो समज्जद् ॥ २९ ॥

उववअण्णअं उदल्लस्स—

जीव तावहिं जाव जल्ल गल्लहिं । वन्दु अगग्ग गेठहहिं अहहिं ॥
पोळा माहहिं वरअतुरज्जद् । दारहिं रमहिं जे सुहुवि वंक्कद् ॥ ३० ॥

मडिल्ला विअण्णस्स—

वि(वि)मद् कट्ठिअद् भट्ठम्भद् । राहिं परिएन्ति अंति भट्ठम्भद् ॥
तं वर पाहुणेहिं पिआउल्ल । एन्तहिं अन्तहिं किठ पिआउल्ल ॥ ३१ ॥

मडिल्ला चउपअजमिआ अडिआ जहा—

अणितलकजालेहिं सादन्तहिं । पाअहिं वेउरेहिं सादन्तहिं ।
काहैव लुआ जणु गअदन्तहिं । सा सेविअद् कद् गअदन्तहिं ॥ ३२ ॥
उच्छाहोत्थिअ अत्थे लग्गा परि पाइमेण वधेण ।
अं अं पवन्ति लोए तं तं अण वअण्णअं सण्वम् ॥ ३३ ॥
उच्छाहाण अ अत्थम्मि । वुवहअल्लसणवम्मि ।
एह पहेली सुन्दरिआ । होद् अवहंसम्मि ॥ ३४ ॥
सुण्णाद् अक्खराद् पाण्णाछन्धेसु जत्थ वज्जन्ति ।
हिअएवि वसद् अत्थो हिआलिआ गण्णए एसा ॥ ३५ ॥
धवल्लमिहेण अ पुरिसो वणिज्जद् जेण तेण सा धवल्ला ॥
धवल्लोवि होद् तिबिहो अट्ठपओ छप्पओ चउप्पाओ ॥ ३६ ॥
आहुहद् तद्दअचलणे । बीवचउत्थे तिणिण ।
वग्गा पंचमसत्तमए । एककलोणा तिणिण ॥
जह्ण बीअवउत्थए । तह लल्लमए पाए ।
ता अद्दाइज्जए । धवल्ले अट्ठवए ॥ ३७ ॥
पडमचउत्थे तिणिण छगारआ । दो छा पधमवीए ॥
होन्ति दोणिण छगारआ तस्सि । अवरे चे पे पवरे ॥
तं सुद्धुह्णवण्णं अं । तं छप्पअस्स लक्खणअम् ॥ ३८ ॥

33-35: Unusual names not met with anywhere else.

36: See H. p. 37b/3 ff.

छत्रता पदुमलक्ष्मण । छत्रवारा भवरे ।
 संभवन्ति लक्ष्मण । भवरे जइ वरुणवर्ण ॥ ३९ ॥
 पदमवीधचलणे छत्रा । वेष्णि चवारा वा पंच ।
 वन ता वा तदभिमि चवर्ण । पाए तं मङ्गलछन्दे जाण मङ्गलस्थे ॥ ४० ॥
 अं उच्छाहणे होइ उच्छाहमङ्गलं तं । 'उच्छाहलक्ष्मणं जहा—
 छत्रा उरदा(गा) वुवांसला तद्वपंचमत्ति । अं हेलाद्विरदं हेलामङ्गलं तं ।
 'छोचलचा समेसु उरवेसु तत्थ हेला' । वज्रमङ्गलमन्ति वज्रणेण ।
 'छत्रा अछावज्ज चवारा । वज्र[अ]त्त एरिसवा पाआ ॥'
 द्वा भवलमङ्गलं ओहिचिअ लक्ष्मणेहिं वज्रन्ति ।
 ताई चिअ गामाई भविमाई छन्दवितोहिं ॥ ४१ ॥
 पंचसत्तारहुए बहुलिस्थे लक्ष्मणकक्षणिमुदे ।
 एत्थ सवमुच्छन्दे उच्छाहाई परिसमता ॥ ४२ ॥

V.

अं निजइ पुत्तदे पुणो पुणो सव्वकल्लवग्गेषु ।
 धुवत्ति तमिह ति विहं छप्पाअचउप्पअ वुवअम् ॥ १ ॥
 गुळओमिअ एक्कल्लु विरामविसअमि विसमसंसाए ।
 जमलल्लु लहुओमिअ समसंसासंठिओ होइ ॥ २ ॥
 पदमे परे । वर पंचमे । सत्तकल्लओ जइ
 दस मे(से)सए । तं छन्दए । छप्पअत्ति वुवद ॥ ३ ॥
 तहअपए । तह छए । एक्कल्लतरिअआ ॥
 सत्तारह । अबराणिआ । छप्पअजाई इमा ॥ ४ ॥

एत्थ चउत्थं जहा—

गणविन्धई । जसु सिद्धई । परसमानु जसु अप्पओ ॥
 पहु एकहो । तहलोषाहो । सोअ देव परमप्पओ ॥ ५ ॥
 पदमवउत्थे । पदमवीए । जइ अत्रकल्लओ होन्ति ॥
 सेसे पाए । छप्पअजाई ॥ उवजाई तं भणन्ति ॥ ६ ॥

जहा—

हिमरुचिरकीति । चन्दनमनलति । मित्राप्यपि रिपवन्ति ॥
 वक्के वैषसि । विकळे चेतसि । निपरीतानि भवन्ति ॥ ७ ॥
 पदमवउत्थे । पंचमवीए । जइ वर मत्ताओ होन्ति ॥
 सेसे पाए । तंविअ लक्ष्मण । अवजाई तं भणन्ति ॥ ८ ॥

40: Cf. H. p. 38 a/1 ff.

41: Why are the definitions of Utsāha and Vādāna repeated here from IV. 5 and IV. 29? Perhaps they are added by a reader.

छद्वा अवजार्ह जहा—

कहवि ससहिरई । दिहई गहवई । मणसिहरोपति सुपठताई ।
 नेमो बलमहो । मअणतुरंगहो । गे पइ छुट्छुट् दुक्खताई ॥ ९ ॥
 इअ तिण्णिवि जाईओ दहाइसत्तारहावसाणाओ ।
 सत्ताइणवन्ताओ हुवन्ति अइममेदाओ ॥ १० ॥
 पंचसत्तारहए बहुल्लये लक्खलक्खणविमुद्धे ।
 एत्थ सर्वमुच्छन्दे छप्पअजार्ह परिसमत्ता ॥ ११ ॥

VI.

तत्थ चउप्पअजार्ह तिपवारा अन्तरदसमा ।
 अन्तरसमाए मेए साहिज्जन्ते निसामेह ॥ १ ॥
 सत्तु विसमे । जइ अइ समे ॥
 लक्खणमिणं । चंपअकुसुमे ॥ २ ॥
 अइहि निसमा । सत्ताहि समा ।
 मण्णइ एसा । सुमणोपमा ॥ ३ ॥
 णवमत्तवन्ति । विसमइअम् ।
 इह तं पंकअम् । सत्ता लुअम् ॥ ४ ॥
 सत्ता अजुए । णवमत्तं लुए ॥
 लक्खणमिणं । फिर सामुदए ॥ ५ ॥
 दस विसमे वल्लये । सत्तावरे ॥
 असाहव(ज)णो । तो कुंजरे ॥ ६ ॥
 सत्त विसमे । दस अवरे वल्लये ।
 तं चउपअं । अइहणंति भणन्ति ॥ ७ ॥
 सत्ता अजुए । एवारह मे(वे)सए ॥
 लक्खणमिणं । फिर सुहअविल्लासए ॥ ८ ॥
 विसमे एवारह । सत्तावरे ॥
 तं जाणइ लक्खणं । मअणाउरे ॥ ९ ॥
 सत्ता अजुए । बारह बीअचउल्लये ॥
 तं केसरं । होइ अवहंस[स]ये ॥ १० ॥
 जहा—विरहमिणो । जलइ जल्लजलमि ॥
 अं आलिगि । अम्मिअहि मावसंघि ॥ ११ ॥
 बारह पडुमतइअए । सत्तावरे ॥
 होइ भमररिंछोली । फिर एरिखी ॥ १२ ॥

3: This is सुमनोरमा of H.

7: This is मल्लहण of H.

तेरह पट्टमतइअए । सेसे गिरी ॥
 सा भण्णइ चउप्पआ । पङ्कअसिरी ॥ १३ ॥
 सत्ता अलुए । तेरह बीअचउत्थए ॥
 लक्खणमिणं । जाणह रावणहत्थए ॥ १४ ॥
 जहा—पिअविरहिओ । कण्णतालहअमज्जुअरो ॥
 दुअमन्तओ । भमइ वणे वणकुअरो ॥ १५ ॥
 चोइह पट्टमतइअचउत्थए । अवरे सुणी ॥
 छन्दअम्मि कोट्टावणिआ । सा किंकिणी ॥ १६ ॥
 सत्ता अलुए । चोइह बीअचउत्थए ॥
 इणमेरिसे । सीहविअन्तिअत्ति पमणे ॥ १७ ॥
 जहा—हरि घलिउं । अणउं कऊरमालिहि ॥
 ण उ कलहउ । खोअह छन्देणालिहि ॥ १८ ॥
 पण्णारह विसमे तवसिणा । अवसेसए ॥
 कुंकुममलआ इमा भण्णए । छंदे सआ ॥ १९ ॥
 सत्तासमे । पण्णारह बीअचउत्थए ॥
 इअ छन्दए । मअरन्दिअत्ति सा भण्णए ॥ २० ॥
 जहा—मिसिआगमे । णिअसहअरिविरहवसंगअं ॥
 धुअवक्खओ । कमलअरे भमइ रदंगओ ॥ २१ ॥
 सोअह पट्टमतइअअपाअए । सत्तन्तरे ॥
 एवं लक्खणं समुदिहं । ससिसेहरे ॥ २२ ॥
 सत्ता असमे । सोअह बीअचउत्थए होन्ति ॥
 तं तारिसं । जाणह महुअरचिलसिअअन्ति ॥ २३ ॥
 जहा—अवकण्णे । गिरिसिहरोवरि कुण्णपल्लसु ॥
 को उडु मे । को ण उडु जोअइव हुआसु ॥ २४ ॥
 सत्तारह पट्टमतइअअम्मि । सत्तावरे ॥
 तं लक्खणअन्ति चउप्पअम्मि । कदंबसिरे ॥ २५ ॥
 सत्तालुए । सत्तारह बीअचउत्थए पाए ॥
 तं लक्खणं । इअ चंपअकुसुमार(अ)त्तअम्मि ॥ २६ ॥
 जहा—पिअपत्तअं । मित्तअराळिगणसुइपत्तअम् ॥
 किं कमलअं । विसहइ बहुसुइअं शुक्कमलअम् ॥ २७ ॥
 इअ सत्तअले पाए चतपदआरेहिं दुविहमंगिले ॥
 उत्तरचलणविभिण्णे ×× बीसहं लक्खणं एअम् ॥ २८ ॥
 अइहिं विसमा । अवहिं समा तहा ॥
 चउपअलक्खणे । मणिरअणप्पहा ॥ २९ ॥

25: This is लीलालया of H.

26: This is चंपककुसुमावर्त of H.

गव मुहत्तइअए । अइ सेसए ॥
 एवं लक्खणं । चन्दहासए ॥ ३० ॥
 विसमे बलगे । अइ समेसु दह ॥
 कुकुमतिलए । लक्खणमणसरह ॥ ३१ ॥
 दस विसमे बलगे । अइ सेसए ॥
 तारागणा इमा । इअ चउवाए ॥ ३२ ॥
 अलुए वइ । एआरह परम्मि ॥
 तं लक्खणं । चंपअसेहरम्मि ॥ ३३ ॥
 विसमे एआरह । अइ सेसए ॥
 जाणह लक्खणमिणे । कुसुमुच्चाणए ॥ ३४ ॥
 अइ विसमे । बारह सेसे पाए ॥
 भग तमिह दई । फीळणअं चउपाए ॥ ३५ ॥
 जहा—मणगअवरओ । मोइमएण मत्तओ ॥
 रइकरिणिवसो । दुग्गइधारिपत्तओ ॥ ३६ ॥
 बारह पडमतइअए । अइ अइ समे ॥
 जाणह लक्खणं तं । मालइकुसुमे ॥ ३७ ॥
 अइ अओजे । तेरह बीअचउत्थए ॥
 चउलामोओ । एत्तो अवहंतएत्थ ॥ ३८ ॥
 जहा—चग्गम्मि ठिओ । अवरभीरुवि जहा मओ ॥
 ग तु सरोविअ । केसरी मुण्णिअणामओ ॥ ३९ ॥
 तेरह आइतइअए । अइ उत्तरे ॥
 मत्तओ इह छन्दए । णाअकेसरे ॥ ४० ॥
 अइहिं विसमा । बीअचउत्था चोइहहिं ॥
 धम्महतिलओ । स इमे पाआ होन्ति जहिं ॥ ४१ ॥
 जहा—ध(ह)णुमत्त रणे । परिवेळिअइ निसिअरहिं ॥
 अं चअणे । बाळदिआअर अलहरहिं ॥ ४२ ॥
 पडुमतइअआ चोइहहिं । अइहिं सेसा ॥
 छन्दे णवचम्पअमाला । मणिआ एसा ॥ ४३ ॥
 अइ अओजे । पण्णारह बीअचउत्थए ॥
 तं लक्खणं । भग मालाविलसिअछन्दए ॥ ४४ ॥
 जहा—चावनिहत्था । ते भारहमाळ महागुणा ॥
 अमरिसकुणिआ । अहिहवेवि वेवि कण्णज्जुणा ॥ ४५ ॥
 पण्णारह बीअचउत्थए । अइत्तरए ॥
 तं लक्खणं समुद्धिवं । विज्जाहरए ॥ ४६ ॥

32 : This is गौरोचना of H.

34 : This is कुसुमवाण of H.

अइ अइजे । सौरह बीअचउत्ये पाए ॥
 इगमेरिसअं । लकखणअं पण्हामूलए ॥ ४७ ॥
 जहा—इन्दिन्द्रिओ । सगरणइ कुसुमई परिहरइ ॥
 चउवअणख् । पाराअणणाहिकमल भरइ ॥ ४८ ॥
 सोलह पद्धमतइअपाअए । अर्द्धअक्सिमे ॥
 होन्ति चउपअजइमअहे । कोऊअकुसुमे ॥ ४९ ॥
 जइ अइजे । सत्तरह सेसकमे हुवन्ति ॥
 तं लवखणअं । कंकल्लिणचपल्लवे भणन्ति ॥ ५० ॥
 जहा—ठेरासणअं । मोहइ ममरलुएण भमन्तेण ॥
 सुखानगअं । पाई गअणलुअलेण चलन्तेण ॥ ५१ ॥
 विसमे सत्तरह अइ होन्ति । सेसे चलणे ॥
 लकखणअं तं जाणह अवहंसे । पुष्पकथरणे ॥ ५२ ॥
 इअ अइअले पाए छदपचतचआरणविमंगिहे ॥
 उत्तरचरणविभिण्ये अडारहइइ इमे भेवा ॥ ५३ ॥
 णव मुहत्तइए । सेसेसु दिआओ ॥
 स मलअमारुओ । ईर(एरि)स चउपअओ ॥ ५४ ॥
 जहा—गोरी अंगणे । सुप्पन्ती दिइ ॥
 चन्दहो अप्पणी । जोह विउच्छिइ ॥ ५५ ॥
 दस विसमे चलणे । णव अवसेसए ॥
 मग्गविस्संआओ । सो अवहंसए ॥ ५६ ॥
 णव मुहत्तइए । एगारह सेसए ॥
 लवखणअं इणं । सुण मअणावासए ॥ ५७ ॥
 जहा—एककि अण्णु । सग्गम्मि कहिं पिण्णु ॥
 दोणु सुदुःखेण । दर वअद पुण्णु ॥ ५८ ॥
 विसमे एआरह । णव अवसेसए ॥
 जाणिज्जसु लवखणं । तं मुहवासए ॥ ५९ ॥
 णव मुहत्तइ[अ]ए । बारह बीअचउत्ये ॥
 सा कुकुमकला । होइ अवहंसत्ये ॥ ६० ॥
 बारह पद्धमतइअए । णव अवसेसए ॥
 एसा कुकुमलेहा । भण्णइ छन्दए ॥ ६१ ॥

47 : This is पुण्यामलक of H.

50 : This is नवकुसुमितपात्र of H.

56 : This is मङ्गुकीसंछाप of H.

59 : This is सुखावास of H. But perhaps मुखवास is the correct title.

60 : This is मांगलिका of H.

गव मुहूतइअए । तेरह बीअचउत्थए ॥
 सा अहिसारिआ । एत्थ वउणहु(अ)भज्जए ॥ ६२ ॥
 तेरह पट्टमतइअए । गव समचलणए ॥
 लक्खणवं इणमेत्तिअं । कुरवअदामए ॥ ६३ ॥
 गव मुहूतइअए । सह चोइह बीअचउत्थए ॥
 कुसुमणिरन्तरं । तं होइ अवहंसत्थे ॥ ६४ ॥
 जहा—विस्तिअरणाहहो । अलिखज्जइ गम्मिणु बाणें ॥
 बील ण ईसइ । परमपं जिह विणु णाणें ॥ ६५ ॥
 जइ चोइह पट्टमतइअए । गव अवसेत्तए ॥
 तं लक्खणं णाअणं इह । कलहंसए ॥ ६६ ॥
 गव मुहूतइअए । पण्णारह सेसे पाए ॥
 लक्खणमेत्तिअं । जाणेअसु इह मअणीअए ॥ ६७ ॥
 जहा—आउवबीवउ । वरसिइह दलेप्पिणु अंगओ ॥
 कोइहालेण । सण्णहनि दसाणव पिम्माओ ॥ ६८ ॥
 पण्णारह पुरिमतइअए । गव समपाअए ॥
 एस भण्णइ खंझावली । चउपाअमाअए ॥ ६९ ॥
 जइ विसमे गवो । सोरह बीअचउत्थे होमि ॥
 तं चंदुज्जुअं । छन्दे क्खवसहा पभणन्ति ॥ ७० ॥
 जहा चउम्मुहस्त—
 भाइमिओअए । जिह जिह करइ विहीससु सोओ ॥
 तिह तिह दुक्खेण । रअइ सह विवद वाणरओओ ॥ ७१ ॥
 सोलह पट्टमतइअए पाए । गव अवसेत्तए ॥
 एसा भण्णइ अंगअल्लिआ । किर अवहंसए ॥ ७२ ॥
 गव विसमएसु । सत्तारह बीअचउत्थएसु ॥
 इअ लक्खणेण । रअणावली कआ क्खणेण ॥ ७३ ॥
 जहा—सुरवरतासअर । रावण दहु जासु जग कंपइ ॥
 अणुकाहिं मग्गई । चुक्कइ पवणो इत्तिहिं अंपइ ॥ ७४ ॥
 सत्तारह पट्टमतइअए । मत्ता कमेण ॥
 गव बीअचउत्थएसु मीए । कुसुमावलीए ॥ ७५ ॥
 इअ गवमत्ते पाए छतत्तिचपआरणत्तिमंभिहे ॥
 उत्तरचलगविभिण्णे सोवसहा लक्खणं एअम् ॥ ७६ ॥
 बीसहारहसोलह एवं चउपण्णवत्तुजाईहिं ॥
 सत्ताई गवन्ताई बीअचउत्थम्मि पावज्जुए ॥ ७७ ॥

63: This is कुवलवदाम of H.

72: This is कुंजरललिता of H.

बीअचउत्थे पाए दहाई सत्तारहावसाणाई ॥
 ताई विअ धुववाई भासाकवाई साराई ॥ ७८ ॥
 दस विसमे चलणे । एआरह सेसए ॥
 भमरावंगणअं । एअं अवहंसए ॥ ७९ ॥
 जहा—ओरेंसह मणुस । णउ सज्जति पिज्जति ॥
 पूअसरिक्खउ उअ । सुणिहालित किज्जति ॥ ८० ॥
 विसमे एआरह । दस सेसचलणे ॥
 इअ लक्खणसेजुअं । विज्जुलअंति भणे ॥ ८१ ॥ *
 दस पडुमतइअए । तेरह बीअचउत्थए ॥
 कोइलरिंछोली । एसा अवहंसत्वए ॥ ८२ ॥
 जहा चउम्मुइस्स—
 णं पनइ पलासु । वणसंवारिमफुल्लिभा ।
 ते चोइह लक्खणि । [णि]मिसदें सरसल्लिभा ॥ ८३ ॥
 तेरह पडुमतइअए । दस सेसे पाए ॥
 लक्खणअं तं एरिसं । मरंगअमालाए ॥ ८४ ॥
 दस पडुमतइअए । चोइह अवसेसे चलणे ॥
 तं मडुअरवंदं । सइ वहेसच्छन्दवणे ॥ ८५ ॥
 जहा चउम्मुइस्स—
 सत्ति उग्गउ ताम । जेण णहअंग मंडिअउ ॥
 णं रउरहचक्क । दीसइ अरुणे छडिअउ ॥ ८६ ॥
 चोइह पडुमतइअचलणे । सेसे दस जाइ ॥
 एसाहिणचवसन्तसिरी । कस्स न पडिहाइ ॥ ८७ ॥
 दस विसमे चलणे । पण्णारह सेसे पाअए ॥
 तं केअइकुसुमं । वज्जन्ते कस्स ण सोइए ॥ ८८ ॥
 पण्णारह पडुमतइअए । दस सेसे चलणे ॥
 एरिस लक्ख[ण]संजुअं । मणहअंति भणे ॥ ८९ ॥
 जहा—सुरसंचवि संकन्त तेलोके । जासु सेव करइ ॥
 अत्थाणे तसु सुअ नालिहो । दूओ पइसइ ॥ ९० ॥
 दस पडुमतइअए । सोइह बीअचउत्थे पाए ॥
 लक्खणमेरिसअं । जाअह णवविज्जुलमालाए ॥ ९१ ॥
 सोइह पडुमतइअए पाए । दस सेसे चलणे ॥
 अक्खित्तिआए तं लल्लणअं । इह उग्गम्मि भणे ॥ ९२ ॥
 दस आइतइअए । बीअचउत्थएसु सत्तारइ ॥
 एरिस चउपाअं । तिवलितरंगअंति तं जाणह ॥ ९३ ॥

79: This is अचकणके of H.

*Between vv. 81 and 82, two stanzas giving the definitions of मुक्ताफलमाला (10, 12 (×2)) and पद्मानललित (12, 10 (×2)) have obviously been dropped.

सत्तारह पङ्क्तद्वयसु । इत्त सेसे पाए ॥
 मत्ताउ कनेण हुबन्ति नि । किण्णरलीलाए ॥ ९४ ॥
 इअ वसमत्ते पाए ल(ब)पपदचउसे(चंस)तिविहमंगिहे ॥
 उत्तरचलणविभिण्णे चउदसहा लक्खणं एअं ॥ ९५ ॥
 विसमे एआरह । बारह बीअचउत्थे ॥
 एअं अरविन्दअं । होइ अवहंसत्थे ॥ ९६ ॥
 बारह पङ्क्तद्वयसु । एआरह सेसए ॥
 जाणह लक्खणं तं । मकरअअहासए ॥ ९७ ॥
 जहा—इरिआगमण सुणेवि । आसासिअ पडरए ।
 धुअधक्कलअपअ राए । तेणुअिउ महुए ॥ ९८ ॥
 ओजे एआरह । तेरह सेसे चलणए ॥
 मत्ताओ सुणिअह । विअममविलसिअअअणए ॥ ९९ ॥
 तेरह पङ्क्तद्वयसु । एआरह उत्तरे ॥
 लक्खणं तं एरिसं । कुसुमाउलमहुअरए ॥ १०० ॥
 विसमे एआरह । चोदह बीअचरमे चलणे ॥
 इअ लक्खणसंजुअं । खणकुल्लंअअन्ति भणे ॥ १०१ ॥
 जहा—भजउ जो भजह । सत्तुअले रणे वुअअहो ॥
 ठुअं एअ ण भजह । सारहिअअअअअअहो ॥ १०२ ॥
 चोदह आइतअअचलणे । एआरह सेसए ॥
 लक्खणअंति तमेरिसअं । भण भमरविलासए ॥ १०३ ॥
 विसमे एआरह । पण्णारह जइ अवसेसए ॥
 लक्खणमिणमेरिसं । किर किण्णरमहुअविलासए ॥ १०४ ॥
 पण्णारह पङ्क्तद्वयसु । एआरह सेसए ॥
 लक्खण(ण)मिणं समुदिअं । किर मअणविलासए ॥ १०५ ॥
 विसमे एआरह । सोरह बीअचउत्थे पाए ॥
 मत्ता हुविज्जाह । मिअन्ने विज्जाहरललिआए ॥ १०६ ॥
 सोलह पङ्क्तद्वयसु चलणे । एआरह सेसए ॥
 लक्खणं जाणेरिसअं तं । विज्जाहरहासए ॥ १०७ ॥
 विसमे एआरह । सत्तारह बीअचउत्थेसु ॥
 मत्ता हुविज्जाह । एअं सारंगापाअसु ॥ १०८ ॥
 सत्तारह पङ्क्तद्वयसु । एआरह उत्तरे ॥
 मत्ताहु कनेण ठवेहु एअ । कुसुमाउहसेहरे ॥ १०९ ॥

101: This is नवकुल्लंअ of H. Probably we have to read ण for वण.

106: This is निआधरलील of H.

इभ एआरहमते छपपचदचतत(च)तिविहभंगिळे ॥
 उत्तरचरणविभिण्ये बारहहा लक्खण एअं ॥ ११० ॥
 बारह पडमतइअए । तेरह जइ अवसेसए ॥
 लक्खणअं एरिसअं । जाणइ कामिणिहासए ॥ १११ ॥
 जइ चउमुहस—

दोह ण किअ अहिसेसए । विविहसुत्तिअविण्हइं ॥
 बद्धिअसमराचैसइं । बल्ल वेवि सण्णइइ ॥ ११२ ॥
 तेरह पडमतइअए । बारह बीअचउत्थे ॥
 उवदुचहअलक्खणमिणं । होइ अवहंसत्थे ॥ ११३ ॥
 यथा संस्तुते—

अयि सखि साहसकारिणि । किं तव चक्रमितेन ॥
 ठसविति मङ्गलभास्सयि । कुचयुगमारभरेण ॥ ११४ ॥
 बारह विसमे चलने । चोइह पुणु सेसए होन्ति ॥
 जाणह एरिसअं तं । अवदुचहअलक्खणअंति ॥ ११५ ॥
 चोइह पडमतइअचलणे । बारह बीअचउत्थे ॥
 अवदुचहअलक्खण एरिसउ । होइ अवहंसत्थे ॥ ११६ ॥
 जइ—णिसुणेवि पळे तुरअरउ । मुंडअणिहिं सहसति ॥
 भिअवन्तह दाढालुअले । पुणि पुणि पाअण वलन्ति ॥ ११७ ॥
 बारह पडमतइअए । पणारह बीअचउत्थए ॥
 जाणह लक्खणअं तं । एरिसं पेम्मविलासए ॥ ११८ ॥
 पणारह पडमतइअए । बारह बीअचउत्थे ॥
 सा भणइ चन्दमलेहिआ । एत्थ अवहंसत्थे ॥ ११९ ॥
 बारह आइतइअए । सोलह बीअचउत्थे पाए ॥
 छंदणुएहिं भणिअं । लक्खणअं कंचइमालाए ॥ १२० ॥
 जइ सोइह पडमतइअचलणे । सेसे बारह होन्ति ॥
 तं सुरआलिंणअस्स इमं । जाणइ लक्खणअन्ति ॥ १२१ ॥
 बारह पडमतइए । सत्तारह बीअचउत्थे पाए ॥
 एरिसअं णाअव्वं । लक्खणअं जलहरविलासिआए ॥ १२२ ॥
 सत्तारह आइतइअए । बारह सेसे चलणे ॥
 मत्ताउ हुवन्ति कमेण एआ । कङ्केल्लिलआभरणे ॥ १२३ ॥
 इभ बारहमतिळे छचदपचदचतचचभंगिळे ॥
 उत्तरचरणविभिण्ये दसविहअं लक्खणं एअं ॥ १२४ ॥
 तेरह पडमतइआए । चोइह अवसेसए पाए ॥

120: This is काचनमाला of H.

121: This is मुताल्लिअन of H.

मत्ता जाणेमासु इह । अहिणवमिअकूलेहाए ॥ १२५ ॥
 चोद्दह पट्टमतइअचलणे । तेरह बीअचउत्थए ॥
 लक्खणअंति तमेरिसअं । कुसुमिअकेअइहत्थए ॥ १२६ ॥
 तेरह पट्टमतइअए । पण्णारह तेसे पाअए ॥
 साहारकुसुममञ्जरी । एहा अवहंसे भण्णए ॥ १२७ ॥
 जहा—रणे रणपट्ट ण वज्जइ । को तासु जिअंते भण्णइ ॥
 अकुसलसुहृदणिहुंमहो । किं करउ सलमणवमहो ॥ १२८ ॥
 पण्णारह पट्टमतइए । तेरह सेसे पाए ॥
 तं भण्णइ कुंजरबिलसिअं । एत्थ चउत्पज्जाअए ॥ १२९ ॥
 तेरह पट्टमतइअए । सोलह बीअचउत्थे चलणे ॥
 छन्दुण्णुअपरिपदिअं । कामिणिक्कीडणअंति भणे ॥ १३० ॥
 सोलह पट्टमतइए चलणे । तेरह जइ अवसेसए ॥
 तं लक्खणअंति तमेरि(स)अं । छंदम्मि राअवहंसए ॥ १३१ ॥
 तेरह पट्टमतइअए । जइ सत्तारह बीअचउत्थे ॥
 सत्पाअरिअमेरिसत्तं । जौणह तमिणं ककुणहत्थअं ॥ १३२ ॥
 पट्टमतइअए सत्तारह । तेरह सेसपाअए ॥
 असोअपल्लवळाअलक्खणं । होइ चउत्पज्जाअए ॥ १३३ ॥
 इअ तेरहमत्तिजे पछदपपचवचपत्तिमिहमत्तिजे ॥
 उत्तरचलगमिणिजे मडुविहं लक्खणं एअं ॥ १३४ ॥
 चोद्दह पट्टमतइअए चलणे । पण्णारह तह अवसेसए ॥
 मुहुअं वरतिलअस्स इमं । लक्खणअं इहावहंसए ॥ १३५ ॥
 पण्णारह पट्टमतइअए । चउद्दह अवसेसे चलणे ॥
 इअ एरिसलक्खणसंलुअं । तं अण्णल्ललिअंति भणे ॥ १३६ ॥
 पट्टमतइअ चोद्दहं । तह बीअचउत्था सोलहहिं ॥
 इअ चउत्तलगतलक्खणिआ । छन्दे वसन्तलेहा मणिआ ॥ १३७ ॥
 जइ पट्टमतइअ सोलहहिं । बीअचउत्था चोद्दहहिं ॥
 इअ एरिसलक्खणविरइअं । भण्णइ वम्महविलसिअअं ॥ १३८ ॥
 चोद्दह पट्टमतइअचलणे । जइ सत्तारह बीअचउत्थए ॥
 लक्खणअं तं एरिसअं । जाणह मडुरालाविणिहत्थए ॥ १३९ ॥
 जइ सत्तारह पट्टमतइ(ई)[अ] ए । चोद्दह अवसेसए चलणे ॥
 एअआरंगअन्ति विरअन्ति । चउवअलक्खणअं कइणो ॥ १४० ॥
 इअ चउद्दहमत्तिजे छपतपपचवचवदगमत्तिजे ॥
 उत्तरचलगमिणिजे छब्बिहमिह लक्खणं एअं ॥ १४१ ॥
 पण्णारह पट्टमतइअए । सोलह बीअचउत्थे पाए ॥
 तं मुहचन्तीए लक्खणं । लक्खेण कज्जललेहाए ॥ १४२ ॥

127 : This is सहकारकुसुममञ्जरी of H. Read सहआर for साहार.

140 : This is ओहुल्लग of H.

पण्यारह पदमत्तइहए । सत्तारह बीअचउथे अम्मि ॥
 लक्खणअं कुसुमल्लआ[ह]रए । उअमेण किलकिञ्चिअअम्मि ॥ १४३ ॥
 इअ पण्यारहमत्ते चचपदगणविदिमहिजे ॥
 उत्तरचलणविभिणे चउविहमिह लक्खणं एअं ॥ १४४ ॥
 सोलह पदमत्तइए पाए । सत्तारह बीअचउथेअम्मि ॥
 लक्खणमिह रअणमाल्लए । तं उअमेण ससिर्विअअम्मि ॥ १४५ ॥
 इअ सोलहमत्तिजे छल्लवचचउअहुविहमणिजे ॥
 उत्तरचलणविभिणे हुविहं इह लक्खणं सिद्धम् ॥ १४६ ॥
 इअ सत्तारहमत्ते छल्लपतिअभारपगणममीओ ॥
 एआओ इमे पाए इमाहं अणुसरह बीसत्था ॥ १४७ ॥
 बीसत्तारहसोल[ह]चोहत्तारहदसहल्लवत्था ॥
 एवं दहुत्तरसअं धुवआणं वल्लुआणं व ॥ १४८ ॥
 अण्णणचलणअभिअं । तं संक्खिण्णअन्ति भणिअं ॥
 छन्दे अहविहं व मिअद्वअं । अद्धसमसंक्खिण्णअं ॥ १४९ ॥
 जहा—वाआल्ल फल्लसा विन्धणा । गुणेहिं विमुक्का पाणहरा ॥
 जिह दुअणु सअणउवरि । सिद्ध पसव ण लहन्ति सरा ॥ १५० ॥
 पदमसरिच्छो बीअओ । तद्वअअस्त तह चउत्थओ ॥
 इह एरिसल्लसण्येण जपिअं । ते धुवअं अद्धसमं भणिअं ॥ १५१ ॥
 जहा—किर कण्णकल्लिअ परिअिआ । डिअ णवर माणमिअजिआ ॥
 णहु कोपि अहिहद मुणिअवत्ते । कहिं भरइ अअदइ कण्हकहे ॥ १५२ ॥
 दसमत्ते पाए । अट्टाहमगये ॥
 सा सन्वसमाणं । मज्जे ससिअजणा ॥
 एअरह कलिजे । चपदासुहत्तइअए ॥
 चचत्ता सेसपाए । लक्खण माणइअए ॥ १५४ ॥
 जहा—सव्वद दूरे संछु । हणुमन्त न दीसइ ॥
 सअइ सअन्वत्ते । एअरह पइसइ ॥ १५५ ॥
 बारहमत्ते पाए । तिअआरा छओवा ॥
 इअ लक्खणसंलुत्ता । अण्णइ महाणुभाआ ॥ १५६ ॥
 चलणे तेरहमत्तअं । पपतरणेहिं विहत्तअं ॥
 अहवा चचपविहत्तिअं । तमिणे अक्कल्लरविहत्तिअं ॥ १५७ ॥
 चलणे ओहहमत्ताओ । अण्णे आहुत्तवआरा ॥
 छल्लवा जीअ पिहासए । एसा गन्धोअअधारा ॥ १५८ ॥

150 : This is also found at H. p. 42b/14.

152 : This is also quoted by H. at p. 42b/11.

153 : This is शशीकवदा of H

154 : This is मारकृति of H.

सव्ये पण्णारहमतथा । त(ति)चतवारसंजुआहवा ॥
 छवपगणेहिं संबद्धा । आरणअस्स इमे पाअवा ॥ १५९ ॥
 सोल्लमतं पाआउलअं । (छवछ)सविरइअं संकुलअं ॥
 तं येअ चत्तारचउल्लअं । ते जाणसु पद्धिआ धुवअं ॥ १६० ॥
 होमिंत सआ सत्तारहमतथा । तह चतवपतआरसंजुतथा ॥
 अहवा छवचतआरपिअहवा । तिपदा ओवअस्स इमे पाअवा ॥ १६१ ॥
 छप्पअचउप्पआणं दोण्णं इह छवसलक्खणं सिद्धम् ॥
 एत्ताहे दुवआणं साहिज्जन्ते पिसामेह ॥ १६२ ॥
 अट्ठवीसमत्ताहिं णिअं सत्ताहिं येहिं लउम् ॥ १६३ ॥
 दसमतविरामं अट्ठवीसमतमिणं भमरर(प)अम् ॥ १६४ ॥
 पडमछआरकअं सत्तमदगअं उड्ढममरखअं तम् ॥ १६५ ॥
 सत्तमपगणकअं गारुडवअं भणिअं अवहंसए ॥ १६६ ॥
 पडमछआरकअं सत्तम[त]गअं उअगारुडवअं इमम् ॥ १६७ ॥
 तीसहिं मत्ताहिं चण्णकआहिं तहिं चिअ सुविरइआई ॥
 पुव्वपरद्धकअं गीईसमअं भणिअं पवारकईहिं ॥ १६८ ॥
 वे वारहअट्ठन्ते छल्लअलअन्ते ते उण हरिणवअम् ॥ १६९ ॥
 पंचछआरजुअं मण भमररअं दसअट्ठसु वारहसु ॥ १७० ॥
 एक्खतीसकलअं छवउल्लकअमुवह चतेहिं कमळाअरम् ॥ १७० ॥
 जा सत्तचआरा गिहणतआरा सा कुकुमतिलआवली ॥ १७२ ॥
 वारहअट्ठसंठिआ रअणकंठिआ छमुहा पविरामिआ ॥ १७३ ॥
 अट्ठवआरकअं गंधारामअं दसअट्ठचउद्धल्लणम् ॥ १७४ ॥
 वारहसमे वीसमए वत्तीसमए जमिअं मोत्तिअदामम् ॥ १७५ ॥
 ओइहमे वाईसमए वत्तीसमए णवकेलीपत्तम् ॥ १७६ ॥
 छल्लगणपुरिमाए गुरुचरमाए ते गिहणं वणिआए ॥ १७७ ॥
 सत्तचआरकअं अट्ठमपगअं तेत्तीसकलं पाआमाअम् ॥ १७८ ॥
 दसमे अट्ठारहमे गिहणगअकमे वीसमिअं कैचीदामअम् ॥ १७९ ॥
 वारसमे वीसमए तेत्तीसमए संउह रस्सणादामअम् ॥ १८० ॥
 ओइहमे वीसमए तेत्तीसमए विरमे चूळामणी ॥ १८१ ॥
 छल्लसपुरिमाई तणिहणाई ताई उअपुव्वाई मणेअ उगो ॥ १८२ ॥
 अट्ठवआरकअं पवमगअसरुअं चउत्तीसकलहिं सोधणअम् ॥ १८३ ॥

159: This is पारणक of H. Read पारणअस्स for आरणअस्स.

161: This is रगडा ध्रुवक or उपवदनक of H. cf. p. 37a/17 and 43a/11. Read पावा for पाअवा in the last line.

169: This is हरिणीकुल of H.

174: Read खंवअसमअं for गंधारामअं.

178: This is आवामकं of H. Perhaps read आआमअम्.

183: Perhaps read सोधणअं. This is स्वप्नक of H

दसमे अक्षरहमे चउतीसमए जइ बीसामो अचछरकुसुमम् ॥ १८४ ॥
 बारसमे बीसमए वतीसमए संठइ भुअङ्गविचिन्तम् ॥ १८५ ॥
 जं पढमचउत्थछआरं चउदसमे बीसमए द्विअमङ्गणम् ॥
 तं भण ताराधुवअं; पवणधुवअं पढमछउत्थछउअम् ॥ १८६ ॥
 जं सोढसमे बाबीसमए ठिअमङ्गणं तं णारङ्गम् ॥ १८७ ॥
 तिस्थानणअं परमे सुहअं अङ्गवधारकअं तंसंगअवम् ॥ १८८ ॥
 पंचतीस मत्ता परमे चोहइबिरमे बाबीसे कन्दोदृअम् ॥ १८९ ॥
 दसमे अक्षरदसमे संठइ चरमे दो छआपुरन्वे भमरव्वअम् ॥ १९० ॥
 बारसमे ईसमए इमुतीसमए जं संठइ तं सुरकीडिअम् ॥ १९१ ॥
 चउदसमे बाबीसमए छतीसमए जं संठइ तं संगीअम् ॥ १९२ ॥
 जं सोढसमे चउवीसमए छतीसमए तमिणं उवगीअम् ॥ १९३ ॥
 गोन्दुलअमेआणं णवमपत्तारं सत्तातीसकलसंपुण्णअम् ॥ १९४ ॥
 बारसअङ्गसंठिअं पढमछकअं तंतं भणिअं रच्छावणअम् ॥ १९५ ॥
 चोहसमे बाबीसमए अवसाणपए जा संठइ ता किर चचरी ॥ १९६ ॥
 जं सोहहतेरहसंठिअं अहिणवअं पढमछआरं चवत्तावळअम् ॥ १९७ ॥
 जं छ णवद्वचआरकअं रदरमणपिअं चोहसङ्गोदसणिअमन्ताम् ॥ १९८ ॥
 अछतीसमत्तं छमुहं कलकंठिरुअं दोणि छआरं वंसवअवत्तम् ॥ १९९ ॥
 जं सोढसङ्गवउदसठिअं तं सीहवअं सतमे छआरे अमअम् ॥ २०० ॥
 णवचं दसमतआरकअं अइवीहरअं चउदसइसत्तारहसंठिअम् ॥ २०१ ॥
 तं चिअ दोछआरपुरिमं तेहि बिरदअं जणपिअमुण मत्तमाअङ्गअम् ॥ २०२ ॥
 एआणं अहिअअरं मालाधरअं भणन्ति कव्वसहा ॥ २०३ ॥
 पंचसंसारहूए बहुलअं लक्खलक्खणविमुदं ॥
 एत्थ सअंभुछन्दे दुवउत्ता परिसमत्ता ॥ २०४ ॥

VII.

विणवणसंविद्याणअमङ्गलसीदावलोइअथम्मि ॥
 तत्थ णिवज्जइ धुवअं तस्सोवरि सम्बहुवईओ ॥ १ ॥
 दोप्पाअसंतुआओ एआणंअक्खरन्तजमिआओ ॥
 ताओचिअ धुवईओ चउण्ढतीसण्ढमज्जम्मि ॥ २ ॥

- 184: This variety is not mentioned by H.
 193: This is उपगीत of H.
 198: रतिरमणपिअ is the दीर्घक of H.
 199: वंशपदपत्र is शलपत्र of H.
 202: Read मालाधुवअं for मालाधरअं.

चकषा । विजया ॥ ३ ॥
 पंश्या । रेखा ॥ ४ ॥
 छंसवई । गणदुवई ॥ ५ ॥
 क्षतविरहा । सुरदुवहा ॥ ६ ॥
 पदगिवासा । अचक्षरा सा ॥ ७ ॥
 मङ्गलावई । पतंतवई ॥ ८ ॥
 चवथारजुआ । किर मअरभुआ ॥ ९ ॥
 छदविहृत्तिआ । मल्लभविअसिआ ॥ १० ॥
 नपंसजुआ किर । जंमेहिअआ ॥ ११ ॥
 पमुहा पसेसा । लल्लअअति एसा ॥ १२ ॥
 पंचससारदृए बहुअथे सक्खल्लवणविसुद्धे ॥
 एत्थ सअंमुच्छन्दे सेसेण समा परिसनत्ता ॥ १३ ॥

VIII.

जइ तिण्णि होन्ति पाआ वसाण ।
 जमवगि होन्ति पाआवसाण ॥
 उत्थक्क होइ चउहुँवि जाण ।
 पाआण ताण + + हुँविजाण ॥ १ ॥
 जहा—धअरदणरेन्दुसासणेण ।
 विसमेण सुहु दूसासणेण ॥
 जइ मह ण भण्णु दूसासणेण ।
 तो पहेण जामि दूसासणेण ॥ २ ॥
 चत्तारि पगणार्द मअणावआरए ॥ ३ ॥
 जहा—ताव पडुपडुहपडिपडुअपडुपडुणे
 गार्द सुरदुन्दुही दिग्ग गअणजणे ॥
 रसिअ सअसेण गावन्ति वरमल्लं ।
 तिबलि उणुत्ता पुम्मन्तावरमल्लम् ॥ ४ ॥
 वेण्णिवि चक्काई । भुवए सअलाई ॥ ५ ॥
 जहा—बारगहो मज्झ । उम्मग्गि करेवि ॥
 सीहकिसोर ठिठ । बणे पइसरेवि ॥ ६ ॥
 सत्तविहा छट्ठिआ तिबिहाओ होन्ति तदअ पत्ताओ ॥
 पद्धिआणेअविहा गीईओ होन्ति विविहाओ ॥ ७ ॥
 नोइहमत्ता विसमपवा । बारहमत्ता वेण्णि ॥
 पडमा छट्ठिआ हुवए । एव मुणेण्णिण्णि चिण्णि ॥ ८ ॥

8: This is मदनविलसिता of H.

10: Not mentioned in H.

12: This is चार of H.

जहा—सतरह दिन जुजसंतत । कुलद गिहुअ हुत्तत ॥
 अलथमेविणु सन्तो होप्पिणु । बाहु महासरे सुत्तत ॥ १ ॥
 दसतेरहन्ता । पडमविदिअपअअमअवर ॥
 छद्दुणिआ विदिआ । पुणुवि ग्या इअ भण अवर ॥ १० ॥
 जहा—जइ गिणुवि पाविअ । दुलह लहेवि निअप्पणत ॥
 ठिउ कामिणि रव्वहं । जेण करहि हिअ अप्पणत ॥ ११ ॥
 चण्णाई चारि थोरेवि । पडमे तइएवि ॥
 चण्णाई गेण्णवि सअल्लई । विदिअ चउथएवि ॥ १२ ॥
 जहा—जइवि ण ससहिं जइवि ण वुल्लहिं । जइवि ण दअ करहिं ॥
 तोनि भराळा जिणवरहिअए । खणवि ण बीसरहिं ॥ १३ ॥
 बारह मत्ता पडमं । चळणं तइअंवि ॥
 णवकल बीअचउथो । छब्भणिए सन्ति ॥ १४ ॥
 जहा—छगइ षेअ असइवल्ल । तुह चळणह पणत ॥
 जिम जाणहिं तिम पालहिं । किंकर अप्पणत ॥ १५ ॥
 पडमएवि दिअपए । तइवपएअ तेवि ठिआ ॥
 एककउ छणु कउ । जेणिण सअल तुरिए सडिअ ॥ १६ ॥
 जहा—तिहुअणगुरु तं गअ गुरु । मेळवि क्षीणकसाअउं ॥
 गउ संततविरहं तउ । पुरिम ताणु संपाइअउ ॥ १७ ॥
 पडमए तइअए । दोदोवि चळकला ॥
 विविअए चउथए । पाए पंचकला ॥ १८ ॥
 जहा—कळा परिपाडी । जणु जाणइ तोरा ॥
 चत्तउ जो सअइ । तसु कमणु णिदोरा ॥ १९ ॥
 दसकलपरिअइहे । अइणिअइहे । तेरह कल संभाविअहे ॥
 पडमवि दिअपअकर । तइअ पुणु निउणु । छद्दुणिआ छप्पाइअहे ॥ २० ॥
 जहा—अणवणुसमिअहो । पुहविमिअहो । जगमणअणानन्दणहो ॥
 रणवासहो एन्तहिं । रामाणेन्तेहिं । फिउ उम्माह पइणहो ॥ २१ ॥
 पडमचउथपअं बारहमत्ता जहा—
 अरि सअल विहंसेवि । जणु जसं मन्डेवि । फिउ पअंअ राजअप्पणत ॥
 जा भुंजण आइती । धरकरअन्ती । तसु ण ईअइ परिहणत ॥ २२ ॥
 अवरावि जहा—
 जण पुण्णहिं उप्पणत । गुणसंपुण्णत । सो पुव्वहमि वरिह ॥
 तिहुअणसिअत्तइं (!) । कुलअपत्तइं । सीहासण उअविह ॥ २३ ॥
 अथ वत्ता—
 णव मत्तउ पडमे । बीए चउइह मत्तओ ॥
 तइए इमेअिअ । चोथएणि होइ चत्तओ ॥ २४ ॥

जहा—सरदूतण लिलेवि । रणेवि ते तिण जाइआ ॥

णं सवकाले इह । रावणहो पडवी पाइआ ॥ २५ ॥

सव्वाणहोमि पआण । तिणवकलाओ हुवन्ति ॥

घनालकलण एरिसउ । गोवाला विलवन्ति ॥ २६ ॥

जहा—अवसाह मउतमत्तामि । तिहुअणे रुद्धपसंसहो ॥

मुण सेगिअ उप्पति । रक्खसवानरवंसहो ॥ २७ ॥

आ मुहवका वआरि ठवेप्पिणु । आइने धीअए [एक ?] करेप्पिणु ॥

तइअचउत्थए ये जमआ पुणु । तं तिविहं इह घत्तमहो मुणु ॥ २८ ॥

जहा—वामणरुअ करेप्पिणु साहउ । वेउ पढत पराइउ साहउ ॥

तिणिण पआहं करेप्पिणु सामउ । दाणउ वंथिउ सो वलिणामउ ॥ २९ ॥

पद्धडिआ पुणु जेइ करेन्ति । ते सोइह मत्तउ पउ धरेन्ति ॥

विहिं पआहिं जमउ ते गिम्मअन्ति । कउवअ अहहिं जमअहिं रअन्ति ॥ ३० ॥

आइहिं पुणु पत्त समामणन्ति । जमआवसाण छट्ठणि भणन्ति ॥

संलाणिबद्धकउवेहिं संधि । इह विविहपआरहिं तुहुंवि वन्ति ॥ ३१ ॥

संधिभआई ते रइव एअ । छट्ठणिआमि पत्ता भण सुभेअ ॥

अण्णाउ विविहपआरिआउ । पत्ताउ छट्ठणि विआरिआउ ॥ ३२ ॥

तीए मुणवि वज्जन्ति ताउ । लोएहिं केण विण्णाउ ताउ ॥

साळाहुणेण धवलाई जाहं । विरइआई अणेआई बल्लुविहाई ॥ ३३ ॥

इअ एअ असेसव वज्जन्ति । सभलउणाअरिअ ॥

मुपसिद्धा लोए पडिअ । जणेहिं समाअरिअ ॥ ३४ ॥

संधिहिं आइहिं पत्ता । दुवई माहाडिहा ॥

मत्ता पद्धडिआए । छट्ठणिआमि पडिआ ॥ ३५ ॥

संधिपत्ता जहा—

जिणु पंचहुं रत्तुप्पलहिं । दीवाये विणु वारि ॥

एकमि जम्मणु पुणु मरणु । छिण्णहुं अण्णहारि ॥ ३६ ॥

अह दुवई ॥—

पडिहिअभिण्णकण्णमंडत्थले । विउणोविहपुचछओ

णिहअवल्लिजकरपहरपरिअरिअरिअकअविअसरीअओ ।

चलदल्लिनलयमपुरांकारविराजितकुम्ममण्डलं

तव नमनेन माथ नाक्कामति परिकुपितोपि केखरी ॥ ३७ ॥

अह गाहा जहा—

तुम्ह पवकमलमूले अमं जिण दुःखमावतविआई ॥

बुस बुल्लिआई जिणवर अं जाणहु तं करेज्जासु ॥ ३८ ॥

अह अडिहा जहा—

अवपत्तवविह्नुअठरुसउ

धम्मिअ एअएअ महुअस त्सउ ।

मुद्रादण्य बद्ध हरि संकर

जे मेराज देल हरिसंकर ॥ ३९ ॥

मत्ता जहा—

जगहिं जिगवर सोम अकलंक ।

सुरसण्णुअ निगवमव ।

राअरोसमअमोहवज्जिव ॥

मअणणासण भवरहिअ ।

विसअसअलतई देव निअविअ ॥ ४० ॥

पद्दविआ जहा—

जिणणामे मअमल मुअइ दण्णु

केसरि वच हो ण बसइ सण्णु ।

जिणणामे ण बइइ धअपअन्त

हुअवइ जालासअपअलन्त ॥ ४१ ॥

जिणणामे जलणिहिं देइ थाहु

आरण्णे वण्णु ण वधइ वाहु ।

जिणणामे भवअअसेललइ

टुहन्ति होमिअ खण मोकलइ ॥ ४२ ॥

जिणणामे पीडइ गहु ण कोवि

हुम्मइ पिसाउ ओसरइ सोवि ।

जिणणामे बुआअ खडिअन्ति

अणुविण वरपुण्णइ उअमवन्ति ॥ ४३ ॥

जिणणामे छिंदेमि मोहजाल

उअवइ देवअसामि साल ।

जिणणामे कम्मइ णिइलेवि

मोअअगो पइसिअ सुइ लहेवि ॥ ४४ ॥

छडुनिआ जहा—

जिणणामपवित्तं । दिवसुअवन्ते । पाउ असेसुवि छवइ ॥

अं अं मणे भावइ । तं सुइ पावइ । दीणु ण कासुवि किअइ ॥ ४५ ॥

संगीअवअअहिअअसंहुत्तं तालमेअमिह मुणसु ॥

सत्तच्छन्दोरुअं सत्ततालं हुवे कअवे ॥ ४६ ॥

पंचच्छन्दोरुअं पंचतालं च होइ कअम्मि ॥

तेहिं रूपहिंअ रअअं तित्तालं तं मुणिआसु ॥ ४७ ॥

छन्दोरुअहिं विहिं लुअलं चकलअमेव च चअहिं ॥

कुलअं सेसेहिं हुवे चकसमंतेहिं तेहिं तं ॥ ४८ ॥

घत्ताछड्डिआहिं पद्धिआहिं सुअण्णरूपहिं ॥
 रासाबन्धो कब्बे जगमगअहिरामओ होइ ॥ ४९ ॥
 एकवीस मत्ता गिहणउ उदामगिरह
 चउदसाइ विस्साम हो मगणविरह चिह ।
 रासाबन्धु समिद्धु एउ अहिरामअरु
 ललुअतिअलअवसाणविरइअमहुरअरु ॥ ५० ॥
 जहा—सुरवरगरवरधुअ उरअवरणमिअ उ चरणकम (?)
 मअणमहणअलहिगअरोसजाअसमदम ।
 पराधीर जिणएव जअणिहिवरसरमिलअ
 पदअवुरिअ संतावहरण गुरुमोहमिलअ ॥ ५१ ॥

अहा अ—

जइवि ज वसुमइमगहं इह कोवि संचरइ
 अइकिलेसे ससिगि सुदेअवि जइ फुरइ ।
 तोवि एहु मोरी वाणि विलह फलागवइ
 अहिणवधण पअ पसरहि अवहंसेहि रमइ ॥ ५२ ॥
 पंचंससारहुअं बहुलअथे ललललललवणवितुअम् ॥
 एअ सअधुअअन्दे अवहंसन्ते परिसमत्तम् ॥ ५३ ॥
 संवत् १७२७ वर्षे आश्विनशुद्धि पंचम्यां शुभे रामनगरे
 लिखितमिदं कृष्णदेवेन ।

49: Compare H. p. 35b/1-2.

50: Compare H. p. 35a/19-20

THE OLDEST KNOWN ILLUSTRATED PAPER MANUSCRIPT.

The *Kalpasūtra* is a well-known Jaina work and is attributed to Bhadrabāhu who is said to have been a contemporary of Chandragupta, the great Maurya Emperor of India. According to tradition recorded by Jaina authors of repute including Hemachandra, Bhadrabāhu died one hundred and seventy years after the *nirvāṇa* of Mahāvīrasvāmī, the last *Tīrthaṅkara*. Whether the whole of the *Kalpasūtra* was written by him cannot be stated with certainty but it undoubtedly is a very old Jaina work. It mainly gives the legendary account of the life of the great Jaina patriarch including the legend regarding the transference of the embryo from the womb of the Brāhmaṇi to that of the Kṣatriyā mother about which there is considerable difference of opinion in the two main sects of Jainism. That such ideas existed in very early ages is proved by the fact that the whole scene showing Naigameśa taking, at the instance of Indra, the embryo from Sunandā to Devanandā is clearly depicted on a stone slab from the Kaikālī-tilā of Mathurā now preserved in the Provincial Museum at Lucknow. This interesting sculpture belongs to about the first century and bears an early Kushāna inscription, thus establishing the great age of the legend. It would show that this belief was current about the first century after Christ. The account of it in the *Kalpasūtra*, therefore, could not have been an interpolation. The objection to being born of a Brāhmaṇa lady as stated in the legend has its own meaning and would show that the Jainas, especially the Śvetāmbaras, who believe in the myth, held the Brāhmaṇas in very poor regard. This becomes particularly noteworthy when we make a contrast of such ideas with those found in Buddhism regarding the birth of a Buddha. It is expressly stated in Buddhist books that Buddha will be born of either a Brāhmaṇa or a Kṣatriya mother. This aversion must have been mutual otherwise sayings like '*Hastinā piyamāno = 'pi na gachchhej = Jaina-mandīram*' etc., current amongst the orthodox Brāhmaṇas, could not have been found. But this is not the point requiring discussion in this note. The sculpture mentioned above and the panel illustrating the legend as painted in the manuscript under notice are reproduced in my Memoir on 'Indian Pictorial Art

as develop in Book-Illustrations.' Incidentally it may be remarked that panels like this prove it to be incorrect to say that such panels have "no organic relation to the text", or that "Indian art has never developed book-illustrations as such."

The text of the *Kalpasūtra* was published in Roman characters by Jacobi long ago. It has also been printed in the Devanāgarī script. But it is strange that no fully illustrated edition of this very important Jaina work has yet been brought out, especially because its illustrations are sure to help in the study of Jaina art. A number of Jaina paintings have been reproduced in various publications but an edition of the whole of the *Kalpasūtra* together with its illustrations in colours is badly needed. Comparison of paintings found in different parts of India and also in some parts of Burma makes one think whether it is not possible that the Jaina Art of painting went to distant places and influenced the local artist. The resemblance in some of the paintings is marked and cannot be accidental.

Several illustrated copies of the *Kalpasūtra* are known. The earliest so far known was the one in Jacobi's collection. It is dated in Samvat 1484. But I have been able to secure another copy which is of much earlier date, being dated Samvat 1125. This manuscript, which is quite complete and carefully preserved though the paper has turned brittle, consists of 118 sheets of writing, which, according to the colophon, were written by one Nemachandra-sūri. Interspersed are 40 illustrations depicting various scenes from the life of Mahāvīra and other Tīrthāṅkaras. The execution is crude but expressive. In the centre of each sheet a little space is left for the binding string after the manner of *pothīs*. I believe no older copy is known to exist anywhere, not only of this important Jaina work but of any other illustrated manuscript on paper. So this copy can well be taken as the earliest illustrated paper manuscript yet known, and here lies its importance. I have reproduced some of its pages and of other manuscripts in my Memoir alluded to above.

Kumārāpāla, the well-known Jaina king of Medieval India, at the instance of his guru Hemachandra-sūri, is reported to have distributed hundreds of manuscript copies of this work. A number of its illustrated copies are now known. The one at Devashāh's *pāḍḍ* in Ahmedabad is perhaps unique in that it gives the representations of different *rāgas* and *rāginīs* with various designs and also of the *nāṭya* or Indian dance-poses on its margin. It gives the names of their subjects also. This feature adds to its utility.

HIRANANDA SASTRI

ARUNADATTA AND HEMĀDRI, THE COMMENTATORS OF THE AṢṬĀNGAHRDAYA

Mr. K. A. Padhye in his *Life of Hemādri* (in Marāṭhī) published in 1931, (Bombay) p. 43 while dealing with the works of Hemādri, the minister of Kings, Mahādeva and Rāmacandra of Devagiri, makes the following statement about the relative chronology of Hemādri and Arunadatta, who wrote the commentaries on the *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya* of Vāgbhaṭa II called the *Āyurvedarasāyana*, and *Sarvāṅgasundarā*, respectively :—

Page 34, lines 21-22—"In the commentary by Arunadatta on the *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya* no mention of Hemādri appears to have been made" (translation ours).

The above statement presumes among other things that Hemādri was prior in point of date to Arunadatta. This presumption of Mr. Padhye is definitely wrong because Arunadatta and Hemādri flourished about A.D. 1220¹ and 1260² respectively. Obviously, therefore, Arunadatta could not refer to a medical writer of Hemādri's repute even if he had desired to do so, as such a reference would result in an anachronism. Perhaps Mr. Padhye was not aware of this chronology of the two commentators. Dr. Hoernle and Mr. Kane have recorded sufficient evidence for the dates "about A.D. 1220" and "A.D. 1260" for Arunadatta and Hemādri respectively. I shall, therefore, record in this note some additional evidence in support of these dates. This evidence is furnished by the following extracts from Hemādri's *Āyurvedarasāyana*³ and the *Sarvāṅgasundarā* of Arunadatta :—

(1) *Arunadatta*—"तथा, मधु-मद्धौकिं, मैरेयं-खर्जुरासवं "

(2) *Hemādri*—"मधु-क्षौद्रम् 'माद्रीकम्' इत्यरुणदत्तः
मैरेयो 'धान्यासवः' इति चन्द्रवंदनः 'खर्जुरासवः'
इत्यरुणदत्तः

1. Hoernle : *Osteology*, Intro. p. 17.

2. P. V. Kane : *History of Dharmasāstra*, Vol. I, p. 354.

3. *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya* with commentaries of Arunadatta and Hemādri, ed. by Paradkar-shastri, N S, Press, Bombay, page 136, (forms kindly supplied by the Editor).

From the comparison of the two extracts recorded above it is clear that Hemādri mentions Aruṇadatta by name and quotes from him and further Hemādri's quotation from Aruṇadatta's text stands identified, proving thereby that Hemādri is quoting from the *Sarvāṅgasundarā* and from no other work ascribed to any other namesake¹ of Aruṇadatta. The difference of about 40 years between the dates of Aruṇadatta and Hemādri explains the possibility of a junior author quoting from a senior contemporary of repute. It also appears from the above extract that by the time Hemādri composed his *Āyurvedasādhana*, Aruṇadatta had already attained some reputation as a commentator of the *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya*. It is not, however, clear whether Aruṇadatta and Hemādri were contemporaries even for the smallest period of their lives as mere mention of a writer's name cannot prove this point.

P. K. GOSE.



1. Vide Aufrecht : *Cata. Catalogorum*, Part I, p. 30.—Aruṇadatta, a lexicographer and grammarian is quoted by Ujjvaladatta and Rāyamukūṭa (A.D. 1431), see *Gaṇaratnamahodadhī*, p. 119. A work on architecture called *Manuṣyaśāstra Candrikā* is also ascribed to Aruṇadatta (see *Oppert's Catalogue*, 2658, 2942, 6108). The identity or otherwise of these namesakes of the author of the *Sarvāṅgasundarā* is still a matter for investigation.

GROWTH OF GUJARATI LANGUAGE

I

Language is one of the fundamentals of gregarious existence. From language comes literature, and both affect and are affected by the prevailing conditions of society. The Gujaratis came into contact with many alien races, with the result that they have a very rich vocabulary, from which our writers could draw freely at will, nay they could actually even make a vocabulary of their own. Even contemporaries like Padmanābh and Karman Mantri (early 16th century Vikrama Samvat), Rishabhdaś and Akhō (17th century V.S.) Prēmānand and Samayasūndar (middle 18th century V.S.), Sāmal and Vallabhabhatt (early 19th century V.S.), almost seem to be talking different languages.

A freedom from any mixture of Persian and Arabic words, as far as possible, characterises the writers of the Brahmin or non-Jain School, although Padmanābh's historical poem, dealing as it does, with the invasion of a Muslim adventurer, is an exception. The Jain writers, however, are delightfully free from all linguistic restrictions. Their mission of approaching the masses through their own vernacular and dialects rendered it necessary for them to retain or insert local or Deśya words, and their style was still further influenced by their extensive travels. Thus, their style is both ornate and homely—sometimes too much so! The Gūjarātī of the Jain Rāsās and Prabandhas had always been too difficult for the Hindus, while the language of the Hindus had been too archaic for the Jains.

Difference in beliefs was thus supplemented by difference in language, and there was a gulf fixed between Jains and Hindus to which the attitude of their writers one to another, bears eloquent testimony. They simply ignore one another. For instance Shīvadāśa and Rishabhdaśa who both wrote in the second half of the 17th century of the Vikrama Era from Cambay were as much strangers to one another as though one hailed from Nandurbar and the other from Patan or one from Dwarka and the other from Godhra.

Social and political conditions, also, effectually prevented a healthy amalgamation of these two races and their literatures. Social and political conditions further served to keep these two races and

therefore their literatures from a healthy amalgamation. The Jain Hindus were less affected by the political disturbances in the land than the Gūjarātī Hindus, as they could always find asylum at the various Opāsrayas, and as a feeling of religious brotherhood prevailed among the Yatis of different Gachhas. The Hindus, had, on the other hand, scarcely a chance to foster and develop their literary life, and so it was that these two literary currents always flowed apart, neither of them enriching or being enriched by the other.

Upto the 10th century of the Vikrama Era, the whole of India wrote and spoke in the Prakrits—Mahārāshtrī in the South, Sauraseni in the central and the western India, and Māgadhī, or Ardhamāgadhī, in the east, while Sanskrit was the common literary language of India as a whole. There existed, however, a stock of ideas common to all the provinces of India, a survival of the time when all lived together as a single society, and had a common language.

Thus each province had a sense of being linked up mentally with the other provinces. Being free to draw upon and borrow from one another as much as they chose, their various cultures had features in common which aroused in them a most comforting sense of kinship one with another as can be seen from the writings of Gūjarātī Sanskrit poets like Bhaṭṭī and Māgha (circa. 800 A.D.) who wrote for the whole of India and not only for their own immediate circle or province.

II

Gūjarātī is mixed language, part Prakritic and part Sanskritic. The Prakrit and Deśya words generally express simple facts and obvious feelings, while the Sanskrit words crept in in a later and more reflective age and were used to express the shades and subtleties of thought and emotion. The Kshatrapas and the Gurjars brought a non-Sanskrit language and non-Aryan ideas to Gujarat centuries ago, but traces of the Aryan invasion and occupation still remained in the land to be supplemented later by Muslim influences. The Buddhistic rule of Chandragupta and Aśoka in the 3rd century B.C. and the activities of missionaries headed by Dharmarakṣita a Yavana, introduced further novel elements into the social, political, intellectual, spiritual and therefore linguistic development of Gujarat.

Then came the Western Kshatrapas and their Hinduised followers to be followed by the cultural invasion of the Gurjars and their various branches of Rajputs—from Kanauj and Bhinmal—a section of whom founded Anhilwad after the fall of Valabhipur and Panchasar. Both of these brought with them a non-Sanskrit language

and non-Aryan ideas ; but traces of the Aryan invasion and occupation still remained in the land, to be supplemented later by Muslim influences.

Gūjarātī literature under the later Anhilwad kings went back to Sanskrit traditions of measure and form, but Sanskrit was not the only language favoured by the Solanki patrons of literature. Prakrit, and especially the Apabhraṃśa won a sure recognition through the advocacy of Jain scholars who found it a most valuable medium of expression.

The description of the 'Rājasabhā' by Rājaśekhara, who flourished at the beginning of the 10th century A.D., in his "Kāvyamīmāṃsā" (G. O. Series No. I.) will not be out of place here. He writes : "On its northern side should be seated Sanskrit poets, and behind them Vaiśiṣṭikas, Logicians, Paurāṇikas, Smārtas, Physicians, Astrologers and such others ; on eastern side the Prakrit poets and behind them the actors, dancers, singers, musicians, and bards and such others ; on the western side the vernacular poets and behind them painters, jewel-setters, jewellers, goldsmiths, carpenters, blacksmiths and such others ; and on the southern side Pāṣāṇa poets, and behind them paramours and courtesans, rope-dancers, jugglers, wrestlers and professional soldiers." (pp. 54-55).

Later on, however, it became clear that the Gūjarātīs had a preference for their vernacular-Apabhraṃśa. Rājaśekhara says that the people of Lāṭa, i.e., Gujarat, south of the Mahi up to the Tapti in the south were decidedly for Prakrit, and actually disliked Sanskrit¹ ; and Bhoja-Deva confirms this.² The men of Saurāṣṭra, too, were not above interspersing their speech with Apabhraṃśa. The Gūjarātī poets, both Jain and non-Jain, had a decided partiality for the vernacular, i.e., the later variety of Apabhraṃśa, as we can see from side-remarks that occur in their poems.

1 'पठन्ति लटमं (v.l. प्रसमं) लाटाः प्राकृते संस्कृतद्विषः ।

विह्वला कलितोल्लापलुब्धसौन्दर्यमुद्रया ॥'

—काव्यमीमांसा, पृष्ठ १३.

also 'परिचितस्वयः प्राकृते लाटदेव्याः ।'

2 'अपभ्रंशेन मुष्यन्ति ह्येन नान्येन गुर्जराः ।'

—सरस्वतीकव्यभरण, द्वितीय परिच्छेद, श्लोक १३.

Sāmala Bhaṭṭa¹ has given a regular discourse on the respective merits of Sanskrit and Prakrit, meaning thereby the vernacular of the land. "Sanskrit," says he, "is like paddy (શાલિ :) which must be pounded before it can be eaten, for it is difficult to understand and appreciate ; Prakrit is like rice ready from the granary, which can be cooked direct. Sanskrit is like a gold coin, not easily exchanged in the money-market ; Prakrit is like a copper-piece, which finds ready acceptance everywhere. Prakrit is the language of the bazar, of the accountants, of the schools and of the common people. Without it, social intercourse is impossible. Local vernaculars and currencies may not be of much use to aliens, but they are both useful and important to the natives." One Jain poet has emphasised the sweetness of the Prakrit.²

Akho also is partial to the vernacular as being the best vehicle of thought and speech ; and there is no doubt that Gūjarātī was the language of the masses, whereas Sanskrit was favoured only by the select few.³

III

Gūjarātī may be regarded as one of the Rājasthāna-group of dialects influenced somewhat by the speech of the Gurjars in 500 A.D., later on modified by the Saurāsenī speech of Central India. The western or Mārwarī form of Rājasthānī is really the immediate sister of Gūjarātī, for it has been found that western Rājasthānī and Gūja-

- 1 Cf : "સંસ્કૃત કડી શાલ છે, શાંભા વિષ ન સવાન
પ્રાકૃત તાંદુલ પાધરા, છટ ચવાય, ગળાય.
સંસ્કૃત મોઢોર સોનાતળી, પંકિત વગ ન પરણાય
પ્રાકૃત પૈસા તેરના, બારંબાર વેચાય.
નાળાં લેલાં નાળાવટાં, મળતર ગળતર માર
પ્રાકૃત વિના પ્રીતે નહીં : ક્યાંયો પામે પાર ?
પોતપોતાની ધોલીઓ, પોતપોતાનો અર્થ,
પરદેશીને પ્રિય નહીં, સ્વદેશમાં નહીં ધ્વર્ષ."

—શિવપુરાણ. (ર. સં. ૧૭૭૪) જુ. કા. યો.

મા. ૧ પુ. ૩૫૨

- 2 Cf : "જેહવું મીઠું પ્રાકૃત હોય, તેહસમું નવિ દીસદ કોદ ।
—પંચોપાધ્યાયન (સં. ૧૬૩૭.)

- 3 Cf : "સંસ્કૃતમાં શું આવી ગયું ? પ્રાકૃતમાં શું નાશી ગયું ?
માણને શું ચઢ્યો મૂર ? જે રળમાં જીતે તે ચૂર. "

—અસો, 'ભાષા બંધ,'

rāṭī derive from the same source-dialect, which has been called "Old Western Rājasthānī."¹

This old Western Rājasthānī has quite a respectable literature of its own, mostly Jain, dating from before the 14th century to the end of the 15th. Gūjarāṭī must have been born in the 16th century (Vikrama Era) and is now spoken by over 12 millions. The Śaurasenī Prakrit and Śaurasenī Apabhraṃśa has already modified the original Indo-Aryan dialects spoken in Rajputana and Gujarat, as can be seen from the following :

The Apabhraṃśa verses quoted in the Prakrit Grammar of Hemachandra are in a Śaurasenī dialect which had already become archaic in his time—an earlier phase of Old Western Rājasthānī. The Prākṛta-Paiṅgala (14th century), a treatise on Apabhraṃśa versification, gives in illustration of the metrical rules a number of poems and couplets, most of which are in the artificial literary Western Apabhraṃśa, based on earlier literary Śaurasenī.

Jacobi produces evidence from literature and epigraphy, from Bhāmaha and Dandin, and from the inscription of King Dharsena of Valabhi to show that some form of speech called Apabhraṃśa was used for literary purposes as early as the 6th century A.D. The term 'Apabhraṃśa' originally had no special significance, and merely meant "speech fallen off (from the norm), vulgar speech."

It was regarded with contempt by Savants like Narasirha Mehtā,² Premānanda, Sāmala, Akho and others. It came, however, to be employed by the masses for their songs and couplets, and, with the growth of a popular literature, came to win recognition from scholars as well. Hemachandra, evidently following tradition, called this late and literary form of Middle Indo-Aryan as 'Apabhraṃśa.' None but the Indo-Aryan dialects spoken in Gujarat, Rajputana and Central India are so fortunate as to retain traces of the Apabhraṃśa stage,—the stage between the Prakrits of the dramas and the modern vernaculars.

A kind of Śaurasenī Apabhraṃśa was a sort of literary speech for Northern India in the closing centuries of the 1st millennium A.D., and for some centuries to follow. The power and prestige of the Rajput courts, which had their centres in Central India and the Ganges valley, was responsible for this. The Jains of Gujarat culti-

1 Vide Dr. Tessitori's article in Ind. Ant. 1914-1916.

Cf : अपभ्रष्ट गिराबिषे, काव्य केवु दीसे !

गाय हीसे ने ब्यम तीर लागे "

—सुतसंश्रम पद ७२ सु. (नरसिंह महेताकृत काव्यसंग्रह)

vated it a great deal ; and often it became a mixed dialect. Nāgara Apabhraṃśa, also cultivated by the Jains, is probably based on the late Middle Indo-Aryan source dialects of Rājasthānī and Gūjarātī, strongly tinged with Śaurasenī. There were similar forms of Apabhraṃśa derived from the Prakrits. Possibly Śaurasenī was the polite language of the day when people employed a vernacular.

IV

Political and social conditions have made Gūjarātī the language of the province, although there are dialects enough. From the times of the Solankis the greater part of Gujarat and Kathiawar formed portions of the central kingdom. Lāṭa, Sorath and Gujarat, however, were still separate provinces of the kingdom, brought together under the political power in the 12th century. The Brahmans, who had settled in the country very early in the history of Aryan Gujarat, had first established themselves in Northern Gujarat, at Anandpur, and in the western part of the peninsula during the glorious days of Valabhi Bhīnmal and Prabhas, and thence spread to Southern Gujarat and all over India, they were a separate social unit.

Had there not been some sort of political union under the Muslim rule from Naharvālā, just when the foundations of the Gūjarātī language were laid ; had there not been a well organised Brahman community all over Gujarat, and had the Kāyasthas not participated in their efforts, the evolution of a common nationality and a common culture and literature amongst such a heterogeneous people would have been well-nigh impossible. There would then have been, linguistically and culturally, three self-contained and independent Gujarats : Kathiawar or Sorath, North Gujarat and Southern Gujarat, or Lāṭa—the last two divided by the river Mahi.

Kathiawar and Gujarat are thus split up into two tracts. But the absence of political union and a common intellectual aristocracy are among the reasons why the very slight dialectical differences between Kāthiāwādī-Gūjarātī and Tala-Gūjarātī have not been bridged over by a common literary speech and the two peoples speaking these dialects united into one.

Of the extra-Gūjarātī dialects similar to Gūjarātī, namely, Mārawādī and Marāṭhī, it is the first which approaches Gūjarātī most closely. Mārawādī and Gūjarātī scholars kept up an intimate intellectual communion for some centuries, but socially Mārawādī Brahmans and Gūjarātī Brahmans formed distinct communities ; and when at the end of the 16th century (1578 A.D. ; Śaṃvat 1622) Akbar contracted the limits of the Sūbhā of Gujarat, all communication ceased

between Gujarat and Marwar, originally governed by common political governor.

The isolated peninsula of Kathiawar, with her ancient culture, her contiguity to the sea-coast, her intercourse with foreign nations, and her openness to the cultural influence of foreign traders, would have drifted away from Gujarat and from the whole of India but for the shrine of Dwārakēśa at Dwārakā, which had always attracted Hindu pilgrims, and had thus become a sort of link between the heart of Kathiawar and the people of Gujarat; while saint-poets like Narasimha Mehtā brought them even closer together.

The Vaishnava revivals under Vallabha and Svāmīnārāyaṇa gave a further impetus to the social unity of the Gūjarātīs. They gave an exalted expression to religious impulses and emotions peculiar to the Gūjarātī alone and considerably increased the stock of national literature. With the Muslim conquest tracts in the different parts of Western India, governed from Anhilwar, received the common name of Gujarat, which was merely an extension of the appellation for the people of Northern Gujarat or Southern Rajputana.

One feature of the Gūjarātī language which is due to its double origin is an abundance of apparent synonyms which on investigation are found to be distinguished from one another by fine shades of difference. Gūjarātī language and literature seem to have been formed by the mingling of four separate streams of dialects:—the Brahmanic of the Brahmin settlers, the Cāraṇic or Bardic of the martial races that came later on and settled there, the Jainic of the Jain converts, who later on formed commercial communities, and the Persian of the Muslims, the whole mixed up with the miscellaneous speech of other foreigners, such as the Portuguese. There are, moreover, local or provincial idioms, so that each town, city, district and community retains a peculiarity of its own. Hence the proverb: "Speech changes with every twelve Kos."¹

The Brahmin settlers brought their Sanskrit and Śauraseni Prakrit from the north. The Cāraṇic stream of dialect and literature bears all the peculiarities of the Rajput tongues of Rajputana, Malwa and other tracts still further north, where it followed unchecked. Bhāṭas, Cāraṇas, and other martial or minstrel classes made poems and sang songs of heroism and chivalry, made chronicles and wrote annals in the Cāraṇic dialect, which was universally understood and appreciated throughout the provinces of Gujarat, Rajputana and Malwa.

1. Cf: "बार गावण बोली बदलइ, जिन तरवर बदलइ शास्त्र."

The Jainic stream has its source further east, in Māgadhi, the sacred language of the Jains ; and the Jain monks or Sadhus were the writers of liturgical, anti-Brahmanic and scientific works in the district. The last stream is fed by the other races of Gujarat—the Pārsīs, the Khojās, the Memons and others.

Of these four branches, the last three were the most conservative, being sectional and confined to their own channels, while the first, the main stream, which may be called Gūjarātī, is broader and deeper, being constantly in flow and overflow, overstepping its banks and borders, and ever advancing. Gūjarātī is thus a language of races that have gone the whole round of India before settling there. It had connections with the sacred languages and literatures of the early Aryans, no less than with those of the later Brahmans, Buddhists, Jains, Muslims and Parsis.

It clasps hands on the south with Marathi, on the east and north with Hindi, and on the west and north-west with Sindhi and Punjabi. Situated as it is in the centre, the language and literature of Gujarat have absorbed the most admirable characteristics of its neighbours. It has a rare sweetness, tenderness, richness, and fineness.¹ It does not sound masculine, like Hindi, or nasal, like Kanarese² and other Dravidian vernaculars, nor has it the occasional harshnesses of the Marathi palatals, nor the sometimes flat and sometimes round and hollow sound of the Bengali vowels. Its richness is due to its catholicity. It has not disdained, when need arose, to borrow foreign words, both European and Asian.³

It is not a sacred language, as Sanskrit is of the Brahmins, Pāli of the Buddhists, Māgadhi of the Jains or Hindi-Brij Bhāṣā of the Vaiṣṇavas ; nor is it a political or court language like Urdu, or Marathi. It is pre-eminently a language of the people.

1 Cf. Dr. H. H. Dhruva's paper at the International Oriental Congress, Stockholm, 1889 (p. 72) : "Gujarati is a language of songs and poetry—the Italian of Western India."

2 The Saurashtra women, however, are said to have a somewhat nasal speech, and the अनुनासिक प्लुत स्वर is called सौराष्ट्र स्वर :

“ यथा सौराष्ट्रिका नारीः तस्माद् इत्यभिभाषते । ”

—पामिनीय शिक्षा.

3 "Owing to its maritime connections, the Gūjarātī language has borrowed occasional words from other parts of Asia and from Europe. This is specially marked in the changed Dialect of the Kāthiāwād boatmen who travel all over the world as Lascars on the great steamships. Their language is a mixture of Hindustani and Gujarati with a heterogeneous vocabulary."

Encyclopaedia Britannica, (14th Edition) p. 980, vol. 10.

VI

The Gūjarāṭī language consists of four elements :

- (1) Tat-sama,
- (2) Tadbhava,
- (3) Deśī, and
- (4) Videśī.

By 'tatsama' is meant only those words which are identical in form with Sanskrit. The 'tadbhava' element is the genuine folk or native element and stands for those words and forms which underwent a natural modification through centuries of constant use. This is the very groundwork of the language, the very beginning of the transformation of the original Aryan speech into a popular medium of expression.

Side by side, with the 'tadbhava' element, forming, indeed, a part of it, is a class of words (called 'deśī' by Prakrit grammarians) which is composed of words obviously derived from the pre-Aryan languages of the country, Dravidian and Kol. These included all onomatopoeic and other words which could not be traced to Sanskrit, either because their derivation happened to be obscure and not obviously traceable to Sanskrit, or because their equivalents were not used in Sanskrit. Hemachandra's *Deśināmamālā* has scores of such 'tadbhava deśī' words. The true deśī words are relics of the popular dialects which preceded Aryan speech, and hence aboriginal or 'of the country'. In the Apabhraṃśa period, deśī words are as much a native element in the speech as tadbhava words.

The 'videśī' or Mlecchha, i.e., foreign extra-Indian element is more or less ignored by the older grammarians, first, because the number of foreign words was comparatively small, and secondly, because their origin was not always known. Yet words like *पीक* (Latin *Picus*) cuckoo, *दीनार* (Latin *Denarius*) a gold coin, *द्रक्म* (Greek *Drakhme*) a coin, were recognised as foreign in ancient times. From the beginning of the 5th century a.c. when the Persians ruled a part of north-western India, there has been some sort of connection between India and Persia, sometimes intimate, sometimes distant. Each country influenced the other with the result that we have a number of Old and Middle Persian words in Indo-Aryan, down to the period of the Muslim (Turki) invasions in the 10th century.¹ After the establishment of Muslim rule in India by

¹ The words "Mihira," meaning Sun; Maga—a class of Brahmins, from the Indian "Magus," a priest of the Zoroastrian faith; 'Pusta,' meaning a book, from the Middle Persian "Post" meaning skin, skin for writing, etc., are instances in point.

the Turks, the Tajiks and the Afghans, Persian was introduced into the country as the language of administration and as the cultural language of the Muslim courts; and the Indian vernaculars thus came in direct contact with Persian.

Greek also influenced the language in the middle Indo-Aryan stage. Greek adventurers and officers in Persian service seem to have come to India even before Alexander's advent in 327 B.C. Intimate relations between Greeks and Indians began to be established in the next century, and continued down to the end of 3rd century A.D. The Greek settlers in India, however, were rapidly Hinduised and absorbed. This contact gave a number of Indian words to the Greek language, and a number of Greek words to Sanskrit and the vernaculars. Modern vernaculars have thus inherited a number of Persian and Greek words. The word 'Dām' meaning price, and 'Damaḍi' equal to a small copper piece, have come from Greek. The word "Suranga" meaning tunnel has come from the Greek 'Surink' (syrinx) and so on.

The influence of Persian on Gujarātī speech and literature began to manifest itself in the beginning of the 14th century. The first Muslim conquerors of Gujarat (not counting the Arab episode in Sindh and in Valabhipur in the 8th century) were Turks, and not Afghans or Pathans. Under the Turki and Afghan rulers, the administration of Gujarat being left mainly in the hands of Hindu feudatories, and in the ordinary way but little influence could be exerted on the life and language of the people from the Muslim court at Ahmedabad.

In Gujarat, Persian really began to make itself felt only in the times of the Mughals, i.e., from the last quarter of the 16th century. The Turki and other foreign Muslims who settled in Gujarat themselves fell under the influence of their subjects; but this contact certainly brought a number of Persian words into Gujarātī during the early period of Muslim rule. The Sultan's Durbar at Ahmedabad became, in many ways, a model for the petty chiefs of Gujarat.

The introduction of Persian as Court-language, and the using of it for all official records, at the instance of Rājā Todarmal, under Akbar, brought a still greater influx of Persian terms connected

The word 'Pothi' (Iranian 'Post', Sanskritised to 'Pusta', Pustikā; Prakrit 'Pṛthā' means a book, MS. in the old Indian style. The word 'Mochi' is from Mid-Persian Mochaka, meaning shoe, or boot; The word 'Sikkah' of the middle Persian is said to have been borrowed from the Aramaic 'Sykt' i.e. 'die for coining', which later Persian introduced into India as the word Sikkah, a coined rupee.

with justice, revenue and general administration into the Gūjarātī vocabulary ; and the number of such words even now in use in Gūjarātī is quite a large one. Constant fighting in Gujarat brought in a number of Persian military terms, such as तीर arrow, कमान bow, फल execution, किलाह fort, दुर्ग battlement or tower, लख्ख army, कत्तेह victory, मोचाह intrenchment, etc.

Persian as the cultural and administrative language of the Muslim rulers came to be studied by some Hindus in Gujarat, and in the 18th century it became as common as English is to-day. Brahmin and Kāyastha Munshis taught Persian to sons of rich people, and there were 'makhtabs' and 'madrasahs', frequented both by Hindus and Musalmāns. A direct and more intimate connection was established between the capital cities of Delhi and Agra and the distant Subah of Gujarat. The average Gujarati came in greater touch with the administrative machinery than before. Gujaratis found a place in all the departments, executive, judicial, fiscal and military, and therefore had to pay greater attention to the Persian language. Contact with men in the court of the Nazim (military officer) or Viceroy at Ahmedabad, the Fozdar at Junagadh, the Diwan (civil administrator) and other Hindu and Muslim officials sent out from Delhi brought a greater refinement, polish, breadth, openness of mind and astuteness to the middle class Gujarati. New things and ideas came freely to Gujarat, and for a time Gujarat became truly a province of the Delhi empire.

The Mughal empire united all northern India ; and the 17th century, which witnessed the zenith of the Mughal power, saw also the establishment of Hindustānī as the lingua franca of India. In the 12th and 13th centuries, India was the battle-ground of two peoples (Hindus and Turkis or Tajiks) with different sets of ideas. By 1605, when Akbar died, a synthesis had been effected, and there was born an Indo-Muslim culture of which Hindustānī became the vehicle. It came to Gujarat, and more Persian words now began to be admitted through Hindustānī into Gūjarātī and the other vernaculars. The result was, that towards the end of the 18th century, the speech of the higher class Gujaratis, even Hindus, was greatly Persianised, and Persian words admitted as Gujaratised words by most sections of the people, became parts of the vocabulary, together with a few Persian affixes which have become thoroughly naturalised.

Of such words, the first in point of number are those relating to revenue, and administration and law ; the second to material culture : objects of luxury, the trades, arts and crafts : thirdly come words pertaining to kingly state, warfare and chase ; and lastly religious words, naturalised and as understood by Hindus and others ; and

those dealing with intellectual culture—education, music, literature and general refinement.

The other foreign elements in the Gūjarātī language consist of some words from Portuguese, a few from Dutch or French, and now an ever-increasing number of English words. Gujarat had, from a very early date, come into contact with the Portuguese. It is not generally known that it was a Gujarati Muslim of Cambay, by name Davana, who met Vasco da Gama's fleet on the Mosambique coast, and furnished the great navigator with detailed information regarding the riches of his country, the best possibilities of trade it offered, and the power of its sovereign. Surat, Broach and Cambay were not known to Portuguese shipping. Daman and Diu, the only two landmarks of their former influence in these parts, which still belong to them, have Gūjarātī for their vernacular.

The names of the flora and fauna, brought mostly from South America and parts of Africa, which the Portuguese introduced into India were adopted by almost all the Indian languages. Many articles which were in use among Europeans were introduced for the first time into India, and the names of these were borrowed by the people when they learnt to appreciate their usefulness. Ecclesiastical and nautical terms were borrowed from the Portuguese by the Gujaratis, the latter of which can be found in Marāṭhī, Gūjarātī, Kanarese and Hindustānī as well. But the largest number of words thus naturalised have reference to domestic and social life, as, for instance : अचार (pickle), बिस्कीट (Biscoito), खमीस (Cimesa), इस्तरी (Estirar), सोर्दा (Sorte), and several others. The Portuguese obviously not indifferent to the joys of good living brought into Gujarat many a term attesting their skill in confectionery and preserve-making ; they were the first to introduce European culinary art into India ; their influence in the sphere of dress and clothing is not inconsiderable.¹

VII

The most urgent need of Gūjarātī language to-day is an up-to-date dictionary which gives the etymologies, pronunciations, history etc. of all the words in use to-day. The dictionary should also contain

¹ For a detailed comparative table of words from the Portuguese, showing their translation in the different vernaculars, see the late Prof. A. X. Soares' article on the 'Portuguese Heritage to the East' in J. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XXVI, (1919).

Also, see his posthumous publication "Portuguese Vocables in Asiatic Languages" (G. O. Series No. 74, 1936).

new technical terms specially coined to facilitate the work of teaching all sciences through the medium of vernacular.

A committee of competent scholars may be formed by the Gūjarātī Sāhitya Paṇḍit to begin the work as soon as possible.

His Highness Sir Sayajirao Gaekwar, the Maharaja of Baroda could foresee this coming need and, as a preliminary to other such attempts, appointed a committee of competent scholars to prepare a dictionary of legal and administrative terms used in the principal modern vernaculars (Gūjarātī, Marāṭhī, Bengālī and Hindi). The work is known as "Sayājī-Śāsana-Śabda-Kalpataru". The first volume of this monumental work is already published. It contains equivalents of about 5000 legal and administrative terms used in the English language. The attempt has become greatly successful and has made Gūjarātī Language very rich, for many of these terms have become popular throughout the state.

Another attempt is being made by Sir Bhagawatsinghji, Thakore Saheb of Gondal, whose "Gōmaṇḍala-Kōśa" promises to give a collection of over one lakh of words, which can be pointed out as the extant stock of Gūjarātī words, in use to-day.

But still much work remains to be done if the ideal of our University to impart higher education through vernaculars is to be realised.

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REVIEWS

Principles of Education, With Special Reference to Educational Psychology, (Part I). By ANJILVEL V. MATTHEW.

This book is written by a person in the line, a lecturer at a Teacher's College, hence it is bound to be of great help to all teachers both in Training Colleges and outside. The author states it very modestly at the outset that the chapters in this book were originally lectures delivered by him at his College. But these do not suffer by their being lectures originally. They are singularly clear of all faults such as verbosity, unnecessary padding, and repetition generally associated with oral lectures. As the book is intended for the use of teachers the author takes a very full survey of the work of all eminent educators during the last two centuries and shows the reader what advances in educational theory have been made by now. He has tried to represent each thinker's point of view faithfully and without any prejudice or one-sidedness. Towards the end of each Chapter and topic the author has tried to draw his own conclusions and suggest what he thinks to be the best solution.

Text-books of the type of Mr. Matthew's book are bound to be packed full of theories and may, therefore, frighten away the young initiate unless due care and discretion is used by the author to make them simpler. The first chapter, wherein the author has discussed the "Aims in Education" is admirably written; it is so lucidly written that the reader feels fascinated by the simplicity of exposition. The views of Herbert, Adams, Dewey, Sir Percy Nunn and other great educationists are referred to and discussed, and the level of discussion is kept up to such a pitch that even a beginner would understand the matter stated herein. The author recognises the infinite scope of variety of aims in education and from that proceeds to a discussion on the process of adjustment to natural and social environments and points out how it should be directed through education. The stress laid on individuality in modern educational theory is very well brought out towards the end of the chapter and the author has to a great extent succeeded in harmonising the two aims, the development of the individual and his development in relation to the state as an integral member of Society. He rises to a great height towards the close of this chapter when he winds up his discussion on educational

aims and appeals to teachers and educationists to cultivate a catholicity of outlook and openness of mind to new ideas.

The chapters that follow are full of solid matter, but the treatment is in no way so simple as we should have expected from the lucid exponent of "Aims in Education" (chap. I). We can certainly realize the difficulty of the author who feels obliged to give proper place to the views and ideas of eminent thinkers in the field of education; but the method followed is not the one most suited for a beginner. At times the author appears to be addressing an audience of specialists, or at any rate of persons who are presumed to have a minimum amount of information on the topics under discussion. Moreover the discussion is generally too much theoretical, and the practical applications arising out of these theories are delegated to a minor place at the end of the chapters. It would certainly have been more appealing and useful to teachers to have the practical conclusions stated at greater length and the theory portion further cut down. Again it may perhaps be not out of place to make a suggestion that at the end of books like this meant for Indian teachers and Indian schools short biographical notes may be given regarding eminent thinkers and educationists mentioned in the texts. Such brief notes will, we feel confident, help the teacher interested in the theory of education to a better understanding of it.

The chapter on *Psychology and the Teacher* lays stress on the psychological method of approach but this very chapter begins in a strictly logical manner, and one would have wished that the definitions of psychology with which the chapter begins could have been, without any great loss, postponed to a later stage. The author has emphasised the need of a knowledge of psychology for a teacher and has pointed out what it is expected to do and what it cannot do; but somehow the lucidity of exposition so clearly present in the first chapter is not very conspicuous here. The author is perhaps weighed down by a sense of responsibility to do justice to the different branches of psychology, of which he mentions more than half a dozen. We do not think that an omission of these schools at this stage would have been a serious loss to students.

Sir Percy Nunn's theory of *Horme* and *Mneme* receives its rightful consideration in the chapter on *Human Being, a Living Organism*. The author has done ample justice to the theory and simplified it as much as he could from its abstruseness; we wish however that the treatment were still simpler.

In Chapters IV—VII the author deals with the special tendencies or instincts of man and with his general tendencies. He treats the

subject in a comprehensive manner and has succeeded to a certain extent in making the topics practical and useful to the teacher. The theories about the general tendencies of Sympathy, Suggestion and Imitation are stated and discussed and practical hints are given as to how these could be utilised by the teacher and the parent in their daily dealings with the child. The author displays his essential understanding of how the teacher can utilize these tendencies of the child, as well as the tendency of all animals and human beings to delight themselves in activities that are engaged in for the joy they give and are generally designated under the term "play." The theories about "play" are easily understood as explained by the author, and his general direction how this play-tendency is to be harnessed in the service of education is most constructive and practical. The latter part of this chapter deals with the great part rhythm, repetition and ritual play in human life, and how they should be taken advantage of and utilised by the teacher.

Chapter VIII, *the Role of the Unconscious*, has again a marked tendency to delve into theory-land a little too much. Perhaps the subject demands such a theoretical exposition; but the author could have simplified the discussion and stated the general conclusions applicable in daily work and useful to teachers, and referred students who want further information to original sources.

One feels that the subject matter of Chapters IX-XI could have been taken for treatment earlier in the book than where the author deals with them. Perhaps this is a minor point, but we are inclined to think that discussion on such important topics as membership of group, part played by heredity and individual differences, or the influence of environmental conditions would have been more useful if attempted immediately after a discussion on *Aims in Education*. We are prepared to admit however that each author should be free to determine his own order of exposition.

The vexed question of the importance of hereditary factors in the achievements of individuals is very ably discussed (Chap X). The experiments and observations of Lamarck, Mendel, Kammerer, Pavlov and others are referred to, and the conclusion is drawn that "the exercise of a habit on the part of an animal renders the formation of the same habit easier in the off-spring." The author makes it clear that "acquired habits by their very nature are of immensely shorter duration than racial or hereditary habits, and that unless the newer habits are constantly strengthened by the continuance of the newer environmental factors that originally brought them into being the species will readily recede to the racial type." He examines the

works of great psychologists who have studied the genealogies of geniuses and criminals, and finds that it is possible to conclude that human nature does not gather grapes from thorns or figs from thistles. Yet the more significant general observation is quite clear that heredity is the sum total of all the past experiences of a race in which the nature of the parent plays a part, "though this part is not so overwhelmingly important as some have a tendency to suppose." The author deserves to be congratulated for his very sane and reasoned view on this point. He has raised the justifiable, rational cry against overdoing 'the Eugenics idea' "The laws applied to the breeding of animals will if thoughtlessly applied to man degrade him, as humanity has developed moral and social values which primarily do not rest on hereditary factors. The superiority of man over other animals is more a matter of his social and moral life than of his biological inheritance."

As for Individual Differences, the author tells us how they are often innate but not all necessarily hereditary. Environmental conditions play a significant part in the development of each child. Here the author discusses very important and practical questions of great help to teachers and parents alike. The author has considered all conscious and unconscious influences, the function and influence of the home, the press, the cinema, the church, art galleries, museums and gardens. The great influence of a teacher in making or marring a child's future is also fully stated and discussed. At the end of this chapter on this subject the author speaks of one of the most important factors in education, viz., ideals and the part they play in life. The secret of achievement of many great men and women, in not a few cases, is that their lives are made rich and radiant by high ideals of service and that they spend all their resources, material and spiritual, towards the realisation of the uplifting goal they set themselves. On the other hand there are born big men who, as the author points out, make tragic failures of themselves—men who squander the wealth of their high intellectual and other special talents and fortunate social advantages, as they do not feel in them the pull of any great life-interest except that of eating and drinking and making the best of the sensuous world.

The book leaves, however, much to be desired in point of printing and get-up. It could have been given a more attractive body and even some of the mistakes in printing could have been avoided. There is no doubt, however, that it is on the whole ably written. Except for the differences noted here and there, the conclusions are worthy of note and most useful for guidance and practical work for a teacher. The author's announcement that there would be another book dealing

with the learning process and with emotions and moral conduct makes us look forward to its publication, as judging by this book we can confidently hope that it will fulfil the needs of teachers and guide them in their efforts to be more efficient.

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English-Kannada Dictionary. Published by THE CHIEF EDITOR AND CHAIRMAN, the English-Kannada Dictionary Editorial Committee, Chamarajpet, Bangalore City.

Under the influence of the western literature in arts and science the Modern Indian Languages are fast progressing in all branches of learning. Books on a variety of subjects are being published from day to day. To handle the subjects efficiently the authors are required to coin new technical terms. For the better understanding of the readers it is very necessary to have such common words introduced in all the languages, and if possible Sanskrit terms, which will be common to all these languages, in the absence of which there would be much confusion and the subject would not be understood easily. Mr. N. B. Ranade's English-Marathi Dictionary is worked out on this plan. Similarly dictionaries have been published in Tamil and Telugu as well. It was high time for the Kannadigas to take up the work of publishing an English-Kannada Dictionary. Zigler's English-Kannada Dictionary was meant for the School children and is antiquated now. This work of compilation has been taken up by the Mysore University and the first volume has been published. We congratulate the authorities of that University on their taking it up and publishing the said volume. They further deserve our congratulations since the Editorial committee have spared no pains in giving appropriate definitions and equivalent terms for various English ones. However a little difference of opinion is bound to be there as regards the coining of terms. This can be illustrated by the word—"Axiom" to which the equivalents given are *Swatassiddhāpamāṇa*; *Ādhārasūtra*; *Siddhānīyama*; and *Sūtra*. But in Geometry the equivalent term used in all the parts for this word is *Pratyakṣapamāṇa*; and in Tarka the equivalent used is *Svataḥprāmāṇya*; *svataḥpramiti*; and *Svataḥsiddhitva*. Sir Monier Monier Williams in his Sanskrit-English Dictionary gives *Siddhānta* as a word conveying that sense. The compound word *Svataḥpramāṇa* is an adjective and conveys the sense of self-proved

or self-evident. This cannot further be taken as a noun. The word *Akhāḍa* cannot be an equivalent for "Amphitheatre." The Editorial Committee may very well have avoided the foreign words *Maidāna* and *Akhāḍa* conveying the sense of "Area" and "Arena". But such instances are very few and can, therefore, be neglected.

It is also creditable to the Editorial Committee that they have consulted the Concise Oxford Dictionary for the selection of the words. In doing so they have not neglected such standard and previous works as Charles Anandale's Dictionary, and the Webster's International Dictionary. In finding out suitable equivalents reference has been made to almost all the dictionaries and glossaries available in the Modern Indian Languages and Sanskrit.

We take this opportunity of suggesting to the authorities of the University of Mysore to take up another similar work namely that of revising the Kannada-English Dictionary of Dr. F. Kittel. It was compiled and published as early as 1894. Since then numerous old Kannada works have seen light. They contain a number of words now obsolete but occurring in one form or another in other Dravidian Languages. Such a work will not only help the study of Kannada literature, but also be very useful to the students of Comparative Philology of Dravidian Languages. The authorities of the University of Mysore alone can take up such a work and finish it successfully as is amply borne out by the present publication.

K. H. KUNDANGAR.

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PART IV

PIRACY IN THE WESTERN SEAS IN THE REIGN OF AURANGZEB.

(From French Sources)

PREFACE.

A study of piracy in the Western Seas under Aurangzeb has never been attempted. Some accounts of the evil, no doubt, appear in Kaepelin's "*La Compagnie des Indes Orientales*", and in my own book, "*Les Premières Relations entre les Français et les Princes Indigènes*", but both are casual accounts subsidiary to the main themes of these books—the history of the early French Establishments in India in the one case, and a study of early Indo-French relations in the other.

And yet the history of piracy in India, in the later 17th Century is important and interesting enough to be studied by itself. For one thing it compels attention to the sea, an element too apt to be neglected in the histories of Aurangzeb, and by tracing the origins of large scale piracy to the predatory disorders on land, imparts a new, if somewhat sinister significance to that social anarchy only too rife in the last two decades of the Emperor's reign.

For another thing, a history of piracy necessarily emphasises an element of weakness in the Mogul Empire which we are only too apt to overlook in our preoccupation with the land concerns of the Empire—the utter helplessness of the Mogul, in the absence of anything like a navy, to cope with a maritime foe, which caused the original evil of native piracy to be reinforced by all the cosmopolitan elements of European piracy, and thus greatly aggravated.

Thereafter the interest of the story lies in the apt illustration it affords to a lesson emphasised by Thucydides long ago, and often used thereafter as a plea for Imperial expansion—the lesson that a state which abdicates the duty of protecting its commercial subjects on the high seas, not only sacrifices Commerce, but with Commerce, Civilization itself.

The present paper, composed chiefly from the invaluable material in the French Colonial Archives, is an attempt to tell the tale of piracy in the Western Seas of India, with all the interest inherent in such a fascinating subject, and in such a way as to bring out all the points of interest, noticed above.

THE ORIGIN OF PIRACY.

Piracy is found to exist in history in one of two forms. In its milder form, piracy is the natural occupation of vigorous and restless peoples who dwell on the coast of maritime countries.¹ In its more virulent form piracy is the outcome of general predatory disorder. The first is an inconvenience to commerce, often of a galling kind; the second is a serious menace to commerce, and invariably kills commerce, if it is not itself killed.² As an evil the first may be dealt with by a strong mercantile marine; the second can only be extirpated by the State.

Piracy as the natural occupation of virile coastal races existed in India from times immemorial.³ Its presence in the early reign of Aurangzeb is noted in the Memoir addressed to Colbert by that French colonizing pioneer La Boullaye le Gouz, where he tells the minister⁴ that, if French commerce is to be guaranteed against loss, the sea must be cleared of "malabaris and other corsairs". It is worthy of note, that the Angevin nobleman uses the words "malabaris" and "corsairs" synonymously, even as in pre-Homeric Greece, the terms "sailor" and "pirate" were used to mean the same thing.

La Boullaye's countrymen had reason to be impressed with the prescience and wisdom of the pioneer's words, when they set up their factory at Tellichery on the Malabar Coast, in 1670, and were pestered by the unwelcome attentions of the Malabar pirates who, Dr. Dellon assures us,⁵ "plundered the godowns, and offered to kill the French factors if they could not take them alive"

1. Pirates are not unfrequently to be found, to this day, in the Chinese and Indian Seas.

2. See Ormerod, *History of Ancient Piracy*.

3. See K. G. Jayne's *Vasco da Gama and his Successors*.

4. *Mémoire de La Boullaye le Gouz à Colbert, Surate le 1er Avril, 1665*. Ac. C 62, f 1-4.

5. Dr. Dellon: *Relation d'un Voyage des Indes Orientales*, (1687-1677), Paris, 1685. Vol. I, pp. 257-264.

Dr. Dellon himself went through the thrilling experience of being captured by Badigara pirates as he was sailing down the river Cotte, from the interior of Mysore. His fierce captors led him before their chief, Cognaly¹ who dismissed the doctor with a gesture of irritation when he learnt that he was a Frenchman, the French being well-known allies of the Zamorin of Calicut, whom the pirates held in awe.

Large scale piracy, however, was the peculiar outcome of the social unrest which marked the later years of Aurangzeb's reign. The history of the Ancient World shows us that piracy as a serious menace to commerce is the child of comparative commercial prosperity, combined with political anarchy, and administrative impotence. The instances of Crete and Athens, Carthage and Rome, conclusively illustrate the obvious truism that robbers only flourish where there is plenty to rob, and when the arm of the State is not long enough to reach them, or strong enough to put them down.

In the India of the later 17th Century both these conditions for the growth of predatory power, were, as we shall see, only too well realized. Under the healthy stimulus of the European Companies² a vast commerce had grown around the Gujarat ports of Cambay, Goga, and Surat. This commerce was nourished by the inland products of India which found their way, through Agra and Seronge to Surat, and thence radiated outward in all directions—to Busrah and Bunder Abbas on the Persian Gulf, to Moka and Jeddah in the Red Sea, to Achim and Banca in the Straits Settlements, and³ even further afield to China and Japan.

The increase in the volume of sea-borne trade may be gauged from the growth of shipping at the single port of Surat. Martin tells us⁴ that when he left Surat in 1670, there were not more than 16 to 17 ships in the port. When he returned to it in 1681, there were as many as 72, most of them three masted vessels, with capacities varying from six to eight hundred tons. A native ship-building industry had kept pace with the increase in the demand for ships, thanks to the enterprise and skill of Parsi ship-builders, whose crafts-

1. Cognaly, referred to, by Dr. Dellon, as a corsair is really the name of a district near Mahe—Cognasair or Cognaly.

2. The English factory was set up at Surat, in 1611, and the Dutch factory in 1616. Abbé Guyon,, *Histoire des Indes Orientales*, Paris, 1744, Vol. III, p. 23.

3. *Mémoires de Francois Martin, Fondateur de Pondichery*, ed. Martineau, Paris, 1931. Vol. 2. pp. 436-37.

4. *Mémoires de F. Martin*. Vol. II, p. 437.

manship, Martin tells us,¹ would have done credit to the best ship-building yards of Europe.

Political order and administrative efficiency had, unfortunately, not kept pace with commercial progress. The political security which the Mogul Government offered its subjects had been far from perfect, even in the earlier reign of Aurangzeb. Baron's picture of social anarchy round Surat, and in the neighbourhood of Agra is sufficient testimony of this.² Writing in July 1672, he says, "Hindustan is in the throes of strange convulsions. According to popular reports, there are some fifty thousand men who have risen in revolt, and are going about pillaging and burning everywhere. The City of Surat, in particular, is in a great agitation, owing to the presence of Moro Pundit who is keeping the inhabitants in a state of continual alarm. All the gates of the city are walled in, with the exception of one. The guards are doubled everywhere, but the Governor of the place, with a courage worthy of him, has kept seven stout boats in the river below his palace windows, so that, should anything untoward happen, he can let himself down in them and make away." This was in 1672, when there was nothing to take the Emperor's attention away from the task of providing for the security of his dominions. Half a generation later, when the Emperor's engrossing preoccupation with his conquests in the Deccan and Maharashtra had brought out all the inherent defects of the Imperial system, and in particular the waywardness of provincial government when released from Imperial control, the situation became much worse and was intensified by famine and pestilence. "It is impossible," writes Deslandes Boureau in 1686,³ "to give an idea of the state to which this country has been reduced, and neither sacred nor profane history has any picture to offer which can parallel the barrenness and mortality of recent years". "The country around", continues Pilavoine,⁴ "is in the very last desolation owing to famine. The people are up in arms everywhere, and put everything to fire and slaughter. There is neither limit nor exception to the tyranny of the local governors". Elements of social or political discontent smouldering in provinces which had never been properly settled, now broke out into open flame, and provincial gover-

1. *Mémoires de F. Martin*, Vol. II, p. 437.

2. Baron à Colbert, Surat, le 25 Jillet, 1672. AC, C 62, f 139-141. Also Blot à Colbert, Surat, le 25 Mars, 1672. AC, C 62, f 166.

3. Deslandes Boureau et Martin aux Directeurs, Pondichery, le 24 Sept. 1687. AC, C 63, f 90.

4. Pilavoine aux Directeurs, Surat, le 15 Oct, 1686. AC, C 63, f 83.

nors were either too weak or too indifferent to put them down, and as an inevitable result, predatory disorder broke out everywhere.

In 1681, Martin had occasion to tour round the northern districts of Gujarath. He has a lurid picture of social conditions prevailing there. "The roads," he says, "are everywhere of the best. The countryside is lovely, and the fields well cultivated. But all the inhabitants round Baroda are robbers. The women, like true help-mates, accompany their men-folk on their plundering expeditions, carrying jars of water on their heads, from which they give the men to drink when they are tired." "As for the children," he goes on, "they are brought up from infancy in the profession of thieving". Further north, in the neighbourhood of Ahmedabad, there existed a tribe of robbers called "gratias". They went out on their expeditions on fleet-footed ponies, in bands of 20 or 30, armed with lances and swords. The most curious feature about these robbers was their system of signalling to each other by imitating the cries of wild animals. The system was so elaborate and perfect, that they could warn each other, "about the number of travellers, whether they were armed or not, whether it was time to attack them, and every other detail regarding them." Unchecked by the Mogul police, the "gratias" became so bold that they ventured to attack townships and villages in Gujarat where they would levy contributions from the villagers, and hold their *Mukadums* or headmen to ransom if they refused to pay.²

It was in this anarchic atmosphere of social unrest and predatory disorder, that piracy on a really serious scale took its birth. Late in 1681, a native ship bound for Sind was waylaid and overhauled by pirates³ and within the next three years outrages at sea rapidly multiplied. In January 1685, the British interloper Mr. Petit took ship at Bombay for Surat. On the way his ship was attacked by four native corsairs, but rendered a very good account of itself, and escaped. Elated with the victory, Mr. Petit insisted on drinking numerous toasts to the accompaniment of the ship's cannon. In the general feasting, a barrel of gunpowder caught fire and exploded, carrying away part of the ship's poop. The corsairs who had stood off at a distance, all this while, returned to the attack, plundered the ship, and carried off Mr. Petit and the crew as prisoners.⁴ In September of the same year, a daring attack of Gujarat pirates on a British man-of-war returning to Surat, was only beaten off by the

1. *Mémoires de F. Martin*, Vol. II, p. 313.

2. *Mémoires de F. Martin*, Vol. II, pp. 315-17; also pp. 351-353.

3. *Mémoires de F. Martin*, Vol. II, pp. 281-282.

4. *Mémoires de F. Martin*, Vol. II, pp. 373-374.

gallantry of the captain. By the end of the year 1685 Martin records that the pirates had become so bold, that they attacked ships in sight of Suvaly, often in the harbour itself.¹

All these outrages were the work of corsairs from the coasts of Cutch and Kathiawar, bearing the singularly appropriate name of Sangans or Jangans. They were fierce turbaned robbers who had their headquarters somewhere near the promontory of Diu, and owned a fleet of some twenty vessels, large and small—mostly ships captured from Surat merchants.² Well aware of the seasonal movements of commerce, and the preference of Indian ships in those days for the coast-line, the Sangans used to lie in wait in the numerous bays and inlets on the Kathiawar and Concan coasts, preying usually upon boats of merchandise, but preferring by far the rich specie laden vessels which returned, after the monsoons, from the Red Sea.³

Within four years of their appearance, the raids of the Sangans became so numerous, and devastating on the commerce of Surat, that, on continued solicitations from the merchants, Aurangzeb had to interfere. In 1684, therefore, he appointed Syed Mahmoud, the energetic governor of Baroda, to the governorship of Thatta, on the mouth of the Indus, and commissioned him to suppress the Sangan raiders. Syed Mahmoud's orders were very precise: he was to "arm ships, give chase to the Sangans at sea, and also attack them in their ports."⁴ The minute precision with which Syed Mahmoud's programme is defined, only makes us smile, for, at no time had the Mogul Government ever possessed anything like a navy, or even a system of naval transports. When, in 1681, troops had to be landed in the Concan by way of the sea, to co-operate with Shah Alam's army against Sambaji, the Surat governor had to requisition the ships of the Surat merchants,⁵ and some years earlier, the same governor had been helpless to put down the Matia rising⁶ in Ahmedabad, simply because he had not the ships with which to concentrate troops in the affected area. In these circumstances, how was Syed Mahmoud going to obey his orders?

The answer is very interesting to the history of piracy in Indian

1. *Mémoires de F. Martin*, Vol. II, p. 410.

2. *Mémoires de F. Martin*, Vol. II, p. 410.

3. Almost all the specie, required for the monetary needs of the Empire, came from the Red Sea, and Persian Gulf ports. See *Martin's Mémoires*, Vol. II, pp. 436-437.

4. *Mémoires de F. Martin*, Vol. II, p. 336.

5. *Mémoires de F. Martin*, Vol. II, p. 297.

6. *Mémoires de F. Martin*, Vol. II, pp. 413-414.

waters. "Seeing that the Mogul's subjects were not made for enterprises of this kind," says Martin, "Syed Mahmoud wrote to the European Companies at Surat, and asked them for ships, sailors, officers, and gunners". The French company answered that they could not spare either men or ships, and the other Companies did likewise.¹ Syed Mahmoud, in consequence, could do nothing to put down the Sangans. The Mogul, in short, had failed to take up the challenge which piracy had thrown. Obviously, then, piracy had come to stay in Indian seas.

It was, presently, to be strengthened with other elements in the fostering atmosphere of war.

THE GROWTH OF PIRACY

The war between the Mogul and the English which was to prove so favourable to the growth of piracy in India, was preceded by a long period of strained relations between the two parties. Both sides in the conflict mutually blamed each other, and each with a good show of reason—the English complained of the harassment of the Mogul customs officers, while the Mogul accused the English of abusing the privileges of their "firman".

That there was much truth in the English complaint of Mogul harassment is borne out by similar complaints made at this time by other European companies against the Surat authorities.² The preoccupation of the Emperor in the Deccan, and the relaxation of Imperial control were beginning to produce their administrative reaction in the tyranny of provincial governors and the deterioration of provincial government. Naturally enough, the commercial companies were the first to feel the weight of this change. Incoming goods were intentionally detained at the customs wharf, or charged for at higher rate of duty than that stipulated for by firman. Goods coming from the interior of the country were re-assessed at Surat when they had already been taxed at intermediate stations like Ahmedabad and Broach. Goods declared to be duty-free were charged duty. Every opportunity, in short, was taken to harass the Company's servants, with a view to extort gratifications from them.

On the other hand, however, the English were not altogether blameless on their side. On fixing their settlements in Bengal, the Company had secured, that, in return for an annual payment of Rs. 3,000, all their goods should be allowed free entry and exit, in and out of the province. Instead of using this privilege for themselves,

1. *Mémoires de F. Martin*, Vol. II, p. 336.

2. See particularly: Demandes présentées au Gouverneur Salabat Khan, le 24 Oct. 1685. AC. C. 63. f 86.

as it was intended, the English traders sold passports to native merchants, extending their immunity to others not covered by the Imperial contract, and thus defrauded the Mogul Exchequer of a large share of its legitimate revenue.¹

However this might be, quarrels of this kind had arisen in the past. They were in the very nature of the conditions of settlement in Mogul territory of alien commercial bodies. If they were not settled amicably now, as they had been in the past, it was because the Directors were in no mood to brook the vexatious interference of the Mogul, and had instructed the British President at Surat, Mr. Child, to resist Mogul pretensions if need be, by force.² The prevailing ill-will between the parties was now to be fanned into sudden flame by the question of piracy.

Late in December 1685, a corsair was reported to be hovering in the vicinity of Diu. He was even rumoured to have made several valuable captures at sea. An English man-of-war, then at Surat, set out to investigate the report, but came back having discovered nothing.³ But on November 16th, 1686, Surat was convulsed with the news of a grave outrage at sea. Two native merchant-men returning from Moka and Jeddah, richly laden with specie and valuable merchandise were plundered off Diu by two pirate vessels. The thoroughness with which the corsairs had done their work was particularly remarkable. They had at first unloaded all the gold in the ships, and transferred it to their own vessels. Then they had looked about for other valuables, and removed all the munitions and victuals which the vessels contained. Not satisfied with this, they had finally stripped the ships of their masts and rigging, picked some fifty of the sturdiest members of the crew, likely to be of service to them, and putting all their plunder into one of the vessels, they had placed the remaining men in the other vessel, and sent it on to Surat.⁴

The Native merchants in the city were in the wildest consternation. The loss was great enough, since the gold alone was valued at £ 400,000, but even worse than the loss in money, was the menace which such an outrage held for the future of commerce. "The merchants" says Martin, "clearly foresaw that the ease with which the robbers had done their work, would tempt other robbers to enter the field, and the security of their shipping would be gone for ever."⁵

The air was already full of animosity against the English.

1. *Mémoires de F. Martin*, Vol. II, p. 466.
2. *Mémoires de F. Martin*, Vol. II, pp. 450-451.
3. *Mémoires de F. Martin*, Vol. II, p. 417.
4. *Mémoires de F. Martin*, Vol. II, p. 453.
5. *Mémoires de F. Martin*, Vol. II, p. 453.

Sedulous enquiries made from the survivors of the outrage elicited the information that the pirates were white men and "topiwallas". The Surat merchants knew of white men who wore "topes" in the European residents of Surat, and their anti-English prejudice prompting the thought, they naturally inquired whether these white men were Englishmen. The reply was that they might be Englishmen. The angry merchants, embittered with their loss, and eager for a scapegoat, exclaimed that they must be Englishmen, and presently the survivors themselves, under the stress of prevailing opinion, came round to the conviction that they were Englishmen. The rumour went round the city that the outrage at sea was the work of Englishmen, and, in due course of time, these reports along with the petitions of the Surat merchants having reached Aurangzeb, the Emperor already irritated with the English, determined to chastise them severely. Instructions were accordingly sent to the Viceroy at Bengal that he should expel the English from the province, and Itmad Khan, Governor of Surat, was ordered to confiscate all English goods in the port, imprison the English, and attack them in their island of Bombay.¹

Seldom has history come across a more remarkable instance of mistaken identity. The outrage which had caused all the mischief was really not the work of the English, but of a Danish corsair Vilken by name. In the course of eight years service under the Danish Company at Tranquebar, Vilken had amassed a large fortune. Not wanting to carry all the cash with him, Vilken had converted it into jewellery which he kept hidden in the locker of his ship. One evening when the Captain had gone to say goodbye to some of his Dutch friends at Pulicat, two of his men who knew the Captain's secret, broke open the locker, plundered its contents, and letting themselves down in the ship's boat, made off with the booty. Cheated of a lifetime's hard-earnings by this cruel robbery, Vilken had retaliated by taking to robbery himself, and, as the present outrage showed, he had certainly made a good beginning. What is more to our point, he had set the English and the Mogul by the ears.²

The war between the Mogul and the English lasted for four years—1687-1690, and passed through many vicissitudes both in Bengal and on the West Coast. Interesting as are many of the episodes in that war,³ our main concern is not in the war, but in the

1. *Mémoires de F. Martin*, Vol. II, p. 469.

2. *Mémoires de F. Martin*, Vol. II, pp. 453-454.

3. See Mannucci Nicolao, *Storia do Mogor*, Indian Texts series, London 1907. Also Martin aux Directeurs, Pondichery, le 29 Nov. 1687. AC. C 63, f 100, and *Mémoires de F. Martin*, Vol. II, p. 485.

question of piracy. Piracy had precipitated the war, and piracy was now to gain strength from its duration. Early in the conflict, the combatants perceived that they were unequally matched—the English were powerful at sea where the Mogul could never cope with them, while the Mogul was strong on land where the English could never hope to close with him. With sound instinct, therefore, the English withdrew from the land, and intrenching themselves in the island of Angely, at the mouth of the Ganges, and in Bombay, on the West Coast, they put the security of the sea between themselves and the enemy, and carried on a vigorous naval war against all Mogul shipping.

We have abundant evidence of the thoroughness and success with which the English prosecuted this war of reprisals. They crowded the seas with their ships, and intercepted Mogul commerce wherever it could be found. In September 1687, Father Yves de Bourges, Superior of the Capucin Mission at Moka, reports an English vessel has been sent to Aden, with orders to capture all ships in the Red Sea belonging to Abdul Gafur, a Mahomedan merchant from Surat, because he had written to the Mogul to say that the pirates who had recently captured so many ships were Englishmen.¹ Three English vessels kept patrol in the sea between Damaun and Diu, and intercepted all Mogul ships which entered Suvaly. "The mouths of all the rivers which flow from Hindustan into the sea," writes Pilavoine from Surat in January 1688, "are blocked by the English who capture all ships even if they are empty."² Vessels were despatched to Madras and the Coromandel Coast to keep an eye on enemy ships bound for the Straits Settlements and capture them.³ Interesting side-issues arose with other European powers as a result of the indiscriminate manner in which the English seized all ships at sea, whether they flew the Dutch, French, or Portuguese flags, for neither passports nor flags were any protection to Mogul ships in this promiscuous naval warfare.⁴

The ease with which the English preyed not only on Mogul, but on all ships which came their way argued a total absence of public order on the high seas which was bound to tempt other nationalities, having no quarrel with the Mogul at all, to come in and try their luck in the disturbed Indian Seas. In April 1687, a Danish

1. *Mémoires de F. Martin*, Vol. II, pp. 497-498; Also Vol. II, p. 519.

2. *Les Marchands de Surate aux Directeurs*, le 17 Jan, 1688, Ac. C. 63, f 112.

3. *Mémoires de F. Martin*, Vol. II, p. 488.

4. *Mémoires de F. Martin*, Vol. II, p. 519.

vessel arrived at Tranquebar with three richly laden ships, belonging to Surat merchants, and a fourth belonging to Armenians from Bengal, with a cargo worth over Rs. 30,000. The Armenians on being landed at Tranquebar, were subjected to a searching ordeal under the suspicion that they had jewels concealed on their persons. They were stripped of all their clothes, given a *cabaye*, a shirt, and a pagoda apiece, and then put outside the city walls.¹ "The Danes" as Martin dryly observes, "had no pretext whatever for seizing the Armenian vessels"—except, of course, the right which the strong acquire over the weak in the demoralizing atmosphere of war. The Armenians went to Negapatam, and laid their grievances before Van Ree, the Dutch Commissioner there, as the flag under which they had been sailing was the Dutch flag. Van Ree sent officers to Tranquebar to negotiate the return of the vessel, but the Danes were in no mood to part with what they already held.

If Danish privateers could profit from the Anglo-Mogul war, there was nothing to prevent regular pirates from doing the same. Between Privateering and Piracy there is but the shadow of a difference. Early in 1688, the almoner of the "St. Francois d'Assise", a French ship which had touched at the islands of Mascarenhas² brought news that a pirate vessel had taken provisions at the islands, only a few days before, paying handsomely for them. The Captain of the ship was said to be an English filibuster from the Lesser Antilles, with a motely crew of divers nationalities.³ If the almoner's information was correct, what business had American buccaneers to cross from the Caribbean Sea into the Indian Ocean? Was this a mere hazard that meant nothing, or was it the precursor of a general migration taking place in the seas? The answer to these queries came late in the same year. A Portuguese vessel belonging to one Antony Ribeiro from Panjim, with rich cargo in its hold, bound for Malacca, was met off Ceylon by a corsair who plundered it from stern to stern, and left it helpless at sea. A French ship, the "St. Nicholas" had met the Portuguese vessel, and, like a good Samaritan, led it into Pondichery. Inquiries made by Martin showed that the corsair was an English buccaneer from the Antilles, with a crew of 40 Englishmen, and 4 Chinese boys.⁴ There could be no doubt now as to what was happening. Drawn by the lure of easy plunder, English corsairs and American buccaneers were slowly

1. *Mémoires de F. Martin*, Vol. II, pp. 480-481.

2. The three islands of Mauritius, Reunion, and Rodriguez, to the East of Madagascar.

3. *Mémoires de F. Martin*, Vol. II, pp. 550-551.

4. *Mémoires de F. Martin*, Vol. II, p. 459.

abandoning their traditional spheres of action, and entering the more promising field of the Indian Seas. A letter written by Pilavoine to the Directors, late in 1688, gives us something like a complete picture of the final result of these migratory movements after they had accomplished themselves, and the roving plunderers of the sea had settled down in their new homes.

Casting a bird's-eye view over the vast coast line around the Indian Ocean, Pilavoine carefully notes¹ how English pirates had fixed their abode along the Gujarat coast, how Danish corsairs held the shores of the Arabian Sea, and the chief points of the Persian Gulf, how finally, further West, "certain English and American buccaneers have taken shelter on the Arabian Coast, and from Perim and Aden, control the Red Sea and Persian Gulf navigation." Pilavoine's letter, in short, admirably sums up the results of the war between English and Mogul on the growth of piracy in the Western Seas. Born in the cradle of predatory disorder on land, piracy had been nurtured in the favourable atmosphere of war into a problem of sufficient magnitude to claim the serious attention of the Mogul. How was Aurangzeb now going to deal with the problem?

MOGUL ATTEMPTS TO SUPPRESS PIRACY

(a) *The First Imperial Ban*

The war between the English and the Mogul ended in 1690, through the good offices of the Portuguese, it is said² who feared that Mogul designs against Bombay might involve the ruin of their own settlement at Goa. But the cessation of hostilities made no difference in the ravages of the pirates, except perhaps, to intensify them. From carefully chosen spots in the great coastal semi-circle around the Indian Ocean, the pirates would swoop down upon Mogul ships and bear them away—American buccaneers from Aden, Danish pirates from the Persian Gulf and the Coast of Makran, English corsairs from off the Gujarat and North Concan Coasts. Shipping was everywhere subjected to a running fire of piracy. Within the next two years—1691-1692—the ravages became so frequent that frantic appeals from the Surat merchants began to reach the Mogul Court.

In 1692, an incident of considerable importance to our purpose happened at the port of Mangrol, on the Kathiawar Coast.³ In November of that year, certain white men landed at the port, and offered valuable goods for sale to the townspeople. The cheapness at which the goods were offered made the people suspect that the

1. Pilavoine aux directeurs, le 17 Jan. 1688. AC. C 63. f 112.

2. Martin à Seignelay, le 20 Fev. 1690. AC. C 63. f. 152.

3. Pilavoine à la Compagnie, le 20 Jan. 1693, AC. C. 64. f 65.

white men were some of the pirates who had recently inflicted such heavy damage on the Surat merchants. They communicated their suspicions to the Governor of the town. This astute man, hoping to gain the Imperial favour by an act of signal service, cultivated good relations with the white men, won their confidence, and finally invited them, one evening, to a banquet which he held at his residence. The unsuspecting corsairs easily fell into the trap. They came ashore to the number of some twenty-two, and were soon making merry with their genial hosts. But just when their revelry was at its height, they were suddenly seized by the Governor's men, loaded with chains, and, at the Emperor's orders, despatched under a strong escort to Agra. At Ahmedabad, some Dutch merchants who were curious to see who the prisoners were, went out to meet them, and found to their amazement that they were Englishmen, some of them former servants of the East India Company at Surat. The prisoners' arrival at Agra could not have been more opportune. Numerous petitions received from the Surat merchants had latterly been engaging the mind of the Emperor. Almost all these petitions, complaining of outrages at sea, declared that the pirates in question were Englishmen and Dutchmen. If there were any doubts on this point in the Emperor's mind, they were speedily dispelled by the arrival of the English prisoners from Mangrol. For here was conclusive proof that Europeans and piracy went hand in hand.

From this, to the Ban was just one more step, for, if Europeans and piracy went together, it presumably followed that if the former were penalized the brigandage would forthwith stop, and the only punishment Mogul despotism could conceive of, in the case of traders, was a complete stoppage of their trade. In 1693, therefore an order went forth to all the provincial governors instructing them to put a stop to all European commerce in Mogul territories.¹

When the order reached Surat, Itmad Khan, the Governor, raised serious objections to its execution. What with declining commerce, on the one hand, and Mogul harassment on the other, the European Companies had been faring very badly at Surat indeed. The only thing which still kept them in the port was the hope that trade might improve in the future. But if, on the contrary, they saw that all commerce were stopped, they would surely leave the city, and, having become the enemies of the Mogul might even make war openly on his subjects. All these objections were embodied in a Remonstrance, and sent to the Mogul Court.²

1. Pilavoine à la Compagnie, le 20 Jan, 1693. AC. C 64. f 65.

2. Même Citation. AC. C 64, f. 65.

In the meanwhile, the French had been busy on their own side. Having learnt privily of the impending ban from Itmad Khan, and apprehensive for their trade, they had written to some of their friends at the Imperial Court to try and get it relaxed in their case. These friends, in turn, had interested the Kazi at the Imperial Court in their favour. When the Governor's Remonstrance arrived at the Court, the Emperor's Kazi proved a zealous advocate of the French cause. He showed how good and obliging the French merchants at Surat had always been, how the other merchants never had any occasion in the past to complain of them, and how they were the sworn enemies of the English and the Dutch whom the Mogul hated. He finally pointed out that it would be the height of injustice, in these circumstances, to treat them in the same way as the others.

Evidently the Kazi did his task well, because fresh orders were despatched to Itmad Khan asking him to enforce the ban in the case of the English and the Dutch, but to suspend it in the case of the French.¹

In 1695, however, an outrage of peculiar daring took place at sea. The "Ganj-i-Sawaiee", a vessel belonging to Aurangzeb himself, and returning from Moka with over forty thousand rupees worth of specie in its hold, was attacked off the Kathiawar Coast by English pirates. The ship was stripped of all its treasure, and several ladies of quality on board were grossly dishonoured.² This daring outrage, but even more, the gross attack on the honour of Mahomedan ladies lashed the Emperor into sudden fury. He instantly ordered Itmad Khan to seize the British President at Surat and all the English merchants he could lay hands on, to hold their property in pledge, and put the owners in jail. At the same time, the Ban of 1693 was promulgated anew, this time without any saving clauses for anybody. Piracy had, in short, brought European commerce at Surat to a standstill.

Originally imposed in 1693, modified some months later, and finally re-imposed in its original form, Aurangzeb's Ban of 1695 was more a punitive measure directed against Europeans suspected of complicity with piracy, than an attempt to deal with piracy itself. Knowing the wide range of the evil as we now do, and the diverse elements which entered into its composition, the system of interdicting commerce strikes us as a shot very wide of the mark

1. *Même Citation*, AC, C 64, f 65. Also Traduction de l'ordre du Mogol écrit à Etemnad Khan pour l'interdiction de Négoces.

2. Copie de la Remonstrance faite par M. Pilavoine, 1696-97. AC, C 64 f. 149-155. The fact is confirmed in Grant Duff. "History of the Mahrattas."

indeed. It neither could nor did, in actual fact remedy the evil of piracy itself. As a method of penalizing the Commercial Companies, the Ban was indiscriminate in its punishment, confounding the innocent with the guilty. It sowed seeds of bitter discord between them, and, while alienating each from the other, antagonized both against the Mogul. Worst of all, the Ban was like a boomerang which recoiled on the head of the thrower, for, if the Commercial Companies lost in not being able to trade, the Mogul Exchequer lost as heavily in not being able to levy its usual customs dues on the Companies' goods.

These evils were to make themselves abundantly manifest within the next six months, and compel the Mogul to lift the Ban, but, in the meanwhile the Interdict lay heavy on the commerce of Surat. Looking some afternoon across the motley houses of the city, one might have seen the glittering waters of the harbour of Suvaly lying beyond, dotted with a hundred ships—English, French, and Dutch,—sails all furled in, the warehouses closed, the factors idle, and the wharves deserted.

Events were, however, moving towards a speedy removal of the Ban. In November 1695, the Dutch who had large stakes in Indian commerce, tried to bring the Governor Itmad Khan to relax the Ban in their favour, and permit eight of their vessels lying in harbour to take in cargoes. They employed threats, menaces, and bribes, but all to no purpose, and on December 25th 1695, they were compelled to send their ships empty to Quilon, Cochin, and Batavia.¹

Early in the following year (April 1696) the arrival of the French Squadron under Serquigny enabled Pilavoine, the French chief at Surat, to make a more tempting offer to the Governor. At the latter's request Pilavoine offered to place some of the Royal ships at the disposal of the Mogul to serve as armed escorts to ships proceeding to the Red Sea. This was, indeed, some remedy to the evil of piracy, indirectly aimed at by the Ban. It really amounted to an offer by a Commercial Company of naval co-operation with the Mogul in putting down a menace detrimental to both. But, though the Surat Governor accepted Pilavoine's offer, the Imperial sanction to it was late in coming, and, by that time the Serquigny Squadron, under the menace of a Dutch attack, had quitted Indian waters.²

The French offer, however, though it served no immediate purpose, provided a sensible basis for a suspension of the "no commerce war" between the Mogul and the Companies. Six months'

1. *Même Citation*, AC. C 64 f 149-155.

2. *Même Citation*, AC. C 64, f 149-155.

experience of the Ban had conclusively shown what Aurangzeb might have anticipated before this—that to stop all commerce, because the sea was infested with robbers was like cutting the nose to spite the face, since, without grappling with the main issue of piracy, it inflicted incalculable damage to the commerce of the Companies, and the Customs revenues of the Mogul. Negotiations were opened between the Surat Governor and the Mogul, as a result of which the former was permitted to lift the ban on the proviso that each Company would furnish Mogul shipping with an armed escort of two vessels to cope with the menace of pirates at sea. In June 1696 the new conditions for the resumption of commerce were notified to the three Companies at Surat. At the same time the English President and factors who had been cast into prison were set at liberty.¹

For the next six months, however, (June-November 1696) the European factory chiefs seemed to be in no hurry to accept the Mogul offer to resume commerce under a system of armed escorts. In view of the dangerous state of affairs in the Red Sea, and the mutual distrust of the Companies for each other bred of the Ban, this was hardly to be wondered at. Reports received from the Red Sea from ships coming from that quarter showed that the situation there, so far as pirates were concerned had considerably worsened during the duration of the Ban. Five British corsairs were patrolling the sea between Aden and Moka. They had already plundered and burnt two tartans which had put into Aden to take merchandise, and thus frightened other ships at that port from proceeding Northwards. They had, then, accompanied two Mogul ships returning to Cambay and Goga warning their captains that if the English at Surat had been set free, they would escort them safely to their destination, but if they had not been released, they would hold these ships as lawful prizes of war. Such a situation as this was not calculated to encourage the European Companies to give escorts to Mogul shipping, which might be seized as hostages, any time an outrage broke out in the dangerous waters of the Red Sea.²

The other reason which prevented co-operation between the Europeans and the Mogul authorities was the mutual distrust which had broken out among the Companies themselves as a result of the Imperial Ban. The interdiction order, had, as we have already said, penalized both the guilty and the innocent, and thus sowed bitter ill-will between them. The French who had nothing to do with piracy

1. J. B. Martin à la Compagnie, Surate, le 25 Juillet, 1696. AC. C 64. f 185.

2. J. B. Martin à la Compagnie, Surate, le 30 Nov, 1696. AC. C 64. f 188-190.

found themselves, so far as the punishment was concerned, in the same boat with the English who had presumably everything to do with it. Naturally enough, this produced bitter recrimination among them, for if the French resented their being made to suffer for the sins of the English, the English in turn resented the attitude of superior innocence which the French assumed, and did their best to involve them in their own guilt. This state of feeling led to several undignified squabbles between the two companies, of which the most important was the Incident of October 1696.¹ In that month, the English captured six Frenchmen from the Island of Anjouan, and kept them in confinement at Surat. They declared that they were the pirates responsible for the recent outrage, whom they intended to send to Bombay to be hanged, since the Frenchmen themselves had confessed their guilt. This latter statement, strange as it might seem, was literally true—the prisoners had been tortured into admitting that they were pirates. The French merchants at Surat, fully alive to the consequences of such a damning admission felt that before anything worse should happen, the prisoners had better be saved and put out of harm's way. Secret communications were opened with them, and the prisoners on their side having ably seconded the efforts of their countrymen by filing away the grating of their cell, the prisoners were helped to escape one midnight and hidden away in a certain quarter of the City. On hearing of the escape, next morning, the English raised a terrible hue and cry. With a party of a hundred soldiers, furnished by the Governor, they proceeded to search every house in Surat, and offered a reward of Rs. 1,000 for their capture. It looked dangerously as if the Frenchmen would be re-captured, had not a sudden shower of rain forced everybody within doors, and enabled the prisoners to be carried away in broad daylight to the French factory, whence they were smuggled later into Portuguese territory.² When such feelings animated the servants of the European Companies at Surat, every possibility of co-operating with the Mogul to put down piracy was out of the question. The French felt that the English had been definitely implicated in the charge of piracy, and should never have been let off, leave alone being treated with great honour by the Governor, as they had been since their release.

The offer of a resumption of commerce under a system of armed escorts had been made in June 1696, but it was November of that

1. Les Marchands de Surate à la Compagnie, le 25 Juillet 1696. AC. C 64. f 186 Vol.

2. Les Marchands de Surate à la Compagnie, le 25 Juillet 1696. AC. C. 64. f 190-191.

year now, and none of the European Companies was forthcoming to accept the Governor's offer. In that month, the Governor, despairing of getting anything from either Dutch or English, approached Jean Baptist Martin, the French chief, and asked him to furnish two ships to escort the Mogul vessels to the Red Sea. Martin was short of ships, but he offered the "Pontchartrain" lying at Goa, and not venturing to come out from fear of the Dutch, provided a safe custody could be obtained for the ship from the Dutch. This put a different complexion on the matter altogether. The Dutch did not want to trade under the system of escorts proposed by the Mogul, because they thought that system too risky. But they were not going to allow the French to steal a march over them by accepting the offer which they had rejected. They, therefore, undertook to trade on the Mogul terms, and presently the English, and later, the French too, re-opened trade on these conditions.¹

The resumption of commerce came none too soon. All the specie needed for the monetary needs of the Empire, as well as for the commercial needs of the Companies entered India through the port of Surat. Owing to the suspension of the Red Sea commerce, and to the complete cessation of gold and silver imports, no money had been minted in the Empire for the last two years. At Surat money was such a rare commodity that, on the testimony of J. B. Martin, even the foremost merchants of the city could not find enough for their daily needs, and, "rupees were so scarce that the biggest money-changer in the port wanted more than ten days to be able to raise a paltry thousand rupees for his customers".²

MOGUL ATTEMPTS TO SUPPRESS PIRACY

(b) *The System of Guaranteed Commerce*

Hardly had commerce under the System of Armed Escorts entered the high seas, than it found itself assailed by pirates on a much larger scale than it had been in the past. The fact is, that piracy, in the interval had very much increased both in volume and in the range of its activity, for reasons we shall presently notice.

The capture of Gingi, by the Mogul, in 1696 had shifted the centre of Mahratta operations to its original headquarters on the Concan Coast, and led to an extraordinary outburst of predatory disorder both by land and sea. To the activities of the Malabaris, on the Canara and Malabar Coast, were now added the depredations

1. Les Marchands de Surate à la Compagnie, le 30 Nov. 1696. AC. C. 64. f 199.

2. Les Marchands de Surate à la Compagnie, le 30 Nov. 1696. AC. C 64. f 191.

of the Mahratta pirates on the Concan Coast all the way from Goa to Surat. The French records give us interesting details of the way these Mahratta sea-robbers worked.¹

Lurking in inconspicuous creeks and inlets on the coast, they would keep eager vigil for passing ships. Directly they spotted a likely victim, they would dog its footsteps, gaining slowly but surely on it. Then, crowding all their sails, as they neared, they would so manœuvre their vessel as to bring it as close alongside the enemy ship as possible. Some fifteen or twenty of the pirates would then leap off, with blood-curdling yells, from their own ship on to the deck of the enemy vessel, overpower the crew, and, having made themselves masters of the ship, overhaul it completely, and sometimes bear it away to their haunts on the coast.

Another fresh class of pirates noticed by the French records of this time were the Arab corsairs from Muscat. The Arabs had, of course always been the traditional foes of the Portuguese in East African waters, but, in 1696, the age-long feud between the two had been kindled anew. Having worsted their enemies in Mozambique and Mombasa, the Arabs had attacked Diu twice, and then Bassein, and successfully defeated a concerted attack on Muscat by the combined forces of the Portuguese and the Persians. Flushed with these easy victories, the Arabs had taken to the seas around the Persian Gulf, and were waging an indiscriminate war against all shipping that came their way. We are assured that they had in their port at Muscat, at this time, a miscellaneous collection of some twenty to twenty-five ships which they had captured at sea, one of them a large Mogul vessel, and two ships taken from English interlopers from Madras and Bengal.

At the same time, the ranks of European corsairs who had been working on a much wider field since 1690, had been swelled by two fresh elements. J. B. Martin, writing to the Directors from Surat, in 1697 says,² "These poor Indian merchants are really to be pitied, if what I had been told by an English interloper is true, for, he assures me that he has seen a list of some 15 vessels, with the names of their captain, which are to pass into Indian waters. They are chiefly American buccaneers and filibusters who, having nothing to do now against the Spaniards, are drawn into the Indian Ocean by the tempting prospects of making rich captures at easy cost." A little later, the French merchants mention a fresh invasion, this time

1. J. B. Martin à la Compagnie, Surate, le 15 Nov. 1697, AC. C 64, f 237.

2. J. B. Martin à la Compagnie, Surate, le 15 Nov. 1697, AC. C 64, f 238 V°.

of English pirates who had entered the Red Sea. They specify, in particular, three ships, the "Pelican", the "Phoenix", and, "a frigate commanded by the notorious Captain Kidd."¹

It was too much to expect that with all these new accessions of strength to the ranks of piracy, Mogul commerce in Indian waters would long remain unmolested. In April 1697, a large native barque, sailing to Bombay, in the company of six other vessels, escorted by two armed convoys, was attacked near Gandiuy—four or five leagues South of Surat, says J. B. Martin,—by Mahratta corsairs, and robbed before either ships or escorts could do anything to save it.²

The Gandiuy Incident was but an ominous portent of what was coming. In September 1698, a large vessel belonging to a rich Surat merchant, Hussein Arneydan, was returning home from Malacca and the Sound with 40 lakhs worth of specie and merchandise in its hold, and Surat and Turkish merchants as passengers. The ship had left Bombay five days, and was near its destination when it was surprised by pirates and plundered outright. Of the passengers, half were carried away by the pirates, doubtless to be held for ransom, and the other half were left stark naked in the stripped vessel.³

It was only natural that, in the light of these two incidents, which had occurred within a year of each other, the Emperor's faith in the system of armed escorts should have completely broken down. The Gandiuy incident had proved the futility of armed convoys in the face of a determined attack from sea robbers, and, if any proof were wanted of the total inadequacy of escorts supplied by the companies it was now furnished by the present incident.

But in attributing reasons as to why the system of armed escorts had failed, the logic of the Mogul Emperor went altogether wide of the mark. If the system of armed convoys had failed, it was not because the system was bad in itself, or because the Companies had not performed their part in carrying it out, but because the Mogul Government had refused to co-operate with the European Companies in making it a success. The system of convoys was, in fact, the best that could be devised in the circumstances, because it brought the Companies and the State together in the task of putting down an evil detrimental to both. But in the execution of the system, while the Companies provided the escorts they had stipulated for

1. Les Marchands de Surate à la Compagnie, le 26 Avril 1700. AC. C. 64. f. 211 V°.

2. Même Citation. AC. C. 64 f 237.

3. L'ordre du Mogol que Ahmed Khan a envoyé à la Compagnie à Surate, le 12 Jan, 1699, AC. C 65, f 8.

with the Mogul, the latter, instead of adding its own quota to the number, stood calmly by and watched the Companies doing their bit. Naturally the system had broken down, for it was not to be expected that the six paltry escorts provided by the Europeans would guarantee anything more than a fraction of the vast volume of Indian shipping from the menace of piracy. The two incidents we have just recorded, then, ought to have convinced Aurangzeb that the security of navigation at sea being the prime concern of the State, it was wrong to abdicate that duty to private commercial companies, and altogether unreasonable to saddle them with a larger responsibility than their limited resources could stand. Instead of this, they only convinced him that the Companies had not performed their share of the task, and gave him the excuse for saddling them with a far greater responsibility than any they had undertaken under the system of armed convoys.

The Hussein Ameydan incident occurred in September 1698. In January 1699 Ahmed Khan, Governor of Surat, received from Delhi the Letter of Instructions which were to regulate European commerce in the future. The Letter certainly makes interesting reading. It rehearses the Ameydan Incident in a strain of self-congratulation peculiar to the Mogul, and then affirms the Emperor's conviction that the system of escorts had altogether failed. It enjoins the Governor of Surat, in these circumstances, to inform the European Companies that if they wanted to trade in India, in the future, they would have to hold themselves responsible for the safety of all Indian commerce at sea. The extent of their responsibility is explicitly defined,—should a piracy take place at sea, it devolves on the Companies "to chase the pirates, seize them, and bring them to justice", failing which their persons and property shall be forfeit to the State. Such of the companies as do not care to work under the new conditions are to be allowed to quit India, the others are to signify their acceptance by giving a written bond to the Mogul authorities which can, whenever the occasion arises, be duly produced before the Kazi in a Court of Law, and legally enforced according to the regular forms of justice.¹

These instructions, harsh in themselves, were to be rendered even harsher in their execution. The option permitting Companies unwilling to trade under the new conditions to leave India was, in practice, altogether withdrawn. The tyrannical Ahmad Khan extorted written guarantees from the chiefs of the three European Companies that they would stay in India and trade on the conditions dictated by the Mogul. To bring the Companies to a fuller reali-

1. Traduction de l'ordre du Mogul à Ahmed Khan, AC. C 65. f. 8,

zation of their responsibility, distinct jurisdictions were assigned in which they were each to be answerable for piratical outrages—the English being given the Indian Ocean, the French the Persian Gulf, and the Dutch the Red Sea.¹

The final position assumed by the Mogul in 1698 marked a great advance in unreasonableness upon that assumed by him in 1693. At its worst, the Ban of 1693 was negative in its effects, and involved both the Companies and the Mogul in a common loss. The Instructions of 1698 were the positive inauguration of a new and iniquitous system of commerce, a system under which the Mogul and his subjects were insured against every loss, while the Companies were completely involved in it. The Ban only incriminated the Companies in piracy by implication, while the Instructions laid the charge openly at their door. The Ban of 1693 never specifically withdrew the State from the task of suppressing piracy, while the system introduced under the Instructions shook the State free from all obligation to put piracy down, and saddled that duty entirely upon the European Companies. In future, so far as piracy was concerned, the Mogul had no duties to perform, and he and his subjects had no losses to suffer, while the European Companies were burdened both with the duty of putting piracy down and the liability for all losses incident upon its existence.

If nothing untoward happened during the next two years, it was merely because the Companies were quick to adapt themselves to the difficult conditions imposed upon them by force. Well aware of their added responsibility, and the heavier liabilities incumbent upon them, they naturally decided to take no risks whatever. Instead of venturing out singly, as they had done in the past, ships now only moved abroad or came home in little groups, closely huddled together, each fleet well covered by an advance and rear guard of armed convoys. Sea navigation, under pressure of circumstances, was approximating to the caravan system of travelling by land, through country infested with highway robbers. But the best contrived arrangement of fleets, and the utmost vigilance of convoys could not long be proof against the number or the audacity of the pirates as events were soon to show.

In September 1701, the Red Sea ships were returning to Surat, after the monsoons. All the way out, they had taken the greatest precautions against being surprised on the way by corsairs—they had sailed together, and the convoys had kept a sharp look out for robbers. But as they were nearing home their vigilance relaxed, and three

1. Traduction de l'écrit que Ahmed Khan nous a forcé avec toutes les violences de lui donner, le Jeudi 5 Fev. 1699. AC. C 65. f 15,

of the ships parted company from the rest of the fleet. These three unfortunate vessels were met by a pirate ship with forty-eight pieces of cannon, under the redoubtable Captain Kidd and plundered outright.¹

The news created a profound sensation at Surat. Feelings ran so high that the peaceful Bania community was nearer a popular insurrection than they had ever been in all their placid history. The demonstration from the outset assumed an ugly anti-European turn. "People went about", says Pilavoine, "exclaiming that the Europeans alone were to be blamed for the continued piracies, since they had done nothing to clear the sea of the pirates". The subjects of the Mogul, like the Mogul himself, were coming to the belief that the task of policing the seas was a burden on mercantile companies from which the State was completely absolved. The populace next proceeded to boycott the European vessels in harbour, and refused to supply them with provisions, or cargoes to carry.

Meantime, the Governor of Surat having made no attempt to recover any compensation for the merchants who had suffered from the outrage, these latter petitioned the Emperor, incontinently accusing the Governor of being in collusion with the English. The Emperor's answer to the petition was sharp and swift—Aurangzeb ordered the Governor, under pain of instant dismissal, to extort damages from the English and the Dutch, under the terms of their contract, and pay the amount to the outraged merchants. In the meanwhile, the commerce of all the European merchants was to be forthwith stopped. Similar orders were despatched to Daud Khan, Governor of Madras and the Mogul Viceroy of Bengal, to be executed against the Europeans in their respective jurisdiction.

Eager to clear his character of the suspicion of complicity, the Governor of Surat treated the English and Dutch agents in the city with greater severity than he would have otherwise done. The plea of the Dutch that the outrage would never have taken place if the three ships had not left their protection was ignored. Over four lakhs were wrung out of them in cash and goods, and half that amount from the English, and this compensation greatly in excess of the loss sustained, was paid to the merchants concerned.²

The Imperial orders were executed in Bengal and Madras with considerable modifications introduced with impunity by the Mogul Governors in those distant and semi-independent provinces. Their

1. Lettre de Pilavoine à la Compagnie, le 6 Fev. 1702. AC. C 66, f 274.

2. Lettre de Pilavoine à la Compagnie, le 6 Fev. 1792. AC. C 66, f 276.

devastating effects on Europeans were, however, everywhere the same. Persistent reports heard from the outlying posts of Patna, Chapra, and Rajmahal that the Mogul was contemplating a seizure of their goods spurred the Europeans at Casim Bazar to put their valuables away. In every case their attempts were anticipated by the Mogul officials who promptly locked up and sealed their godowns. Fearing for their lives, English, French, and Dutch factors now made a mad rush for Hugli, but were caught half way, brought back, and could only obtain their release by bribing the Mogul officers heavily. At Hugli itself, the excitement was so great that the Europeans proceeded to fortify themselves in their factories, and raise war and food supplies to stand a long siege. They were only dissuaded from doing so by the Mogul Governor's assurance that he did not contemplate taking any action against them. At Balasore, the European factors and factory chiefs put themselves and their effects into boats ready to sail up the Ganges to the comparative safety of Hugli. Their action which threatened a general exodus of the native merchants from the town was only prevented by the timely intervention of the Governor.¹

On receiving the Imperial orders, Daud Khan, the Mogul Governor of South India, immediately invested the English at Madras by land. He seized all the goods sent out of the town, among other things a large consignment of copper, and rupees ten thousand worth of cloth—and cut off their supplies from the country around. During the next two months, vigorous attempts were made to starve the English out, but, although the lesser Mogul chiefs successfully intercepted all supplies from land, the English still had control of the sea, and were prepared to stand a long siege. Feeling that the enemy could not be reduced by a mere land blockade, Daud Khan now invited the French at Pondichery to invest the town by sea, promising to hand it over to Martin after it was taken, and also to permit a new French settlement at St. Thome. Although the offer was a tempting one, the prudent Martin refused the bait, and intentionally prolonged the negotiations until Daud Khan realized that there was nothing to hope from that quarter.²

By June 1702, it was clear that the Europeans had made ample reparation for the piratical outrage of the preceding September. For a miserable raid on Mogul ships at sea by a solitary English pirate, Dutch, English and French had paid in three provinces of the Mogul, over ten times the value of the loss, not in money only but in six

1. Les Marchands d'Ougly à la Compagnie, le 12 Jan, 1702. AC. C 67. f 33.

2. Journal de Francois Martin. AC. C, 65, f. 46-48.

months of constant alarm, and a complete suspension of their trade. Now that full amends had been made, would the Europeans be allowed to resume commerce?

At Surat, the native merchants were averse to any resumption of commerce, unless the Europeans renewed the Guarantees of 1698. They rightly feared that the heavy compensation they had wrung out of the English and the Dutch would exasperate them into retaliating on native shipping, and drive them into piracy even if they had not had any share in it before. The Companies, however, stoutly refused to ratify the pledges. The French, in particular, maintained that as the original guarantees had been taken from them by force, they would never be a party to their renewal. In this impasse the Governor of Surat who had an eye to the imperial revenue, and sincerely desired an accommodation with the Europeans for that reason, threatened to report the refractory merchants to Court for putting obstacles to a resumption of commerce, and thus depriving the Mogul of his Customs receipts. This threat produced the desired result, and the merchants themselves having admitted that the French always had a clean record at Surat, they were allowed to re-open commerce unconditionally. As for the English and the Dutch, they were only permitted to resume trade after they had deposited over five lakhs worth of goods as a security.¹

The resumption of trade took place much later in the more distant provinces of Madras and Bengal. Realizing his inability to reduce the English at Madras, Daud Khan, in May 1792, opened negotiations with them, and it was finally agreed as a result of the parleys, that, in return for a present of Rs. 25,000, the Mogul Governor should give up all the property he had confiscated from the English, and permit them to re-open trade. As the property he had seized was easily worth ten times the value of the present, the English President at Madras had good reason to congratulate himself on this settlement, and showed his joy by sending two English merchants to Daud Khan at St. Thome, loaded with rich presents.

In Bengal, the venality of the Mogul officers enabled the European Companies to escape the worst rigours of the Ban long before it was formally lifted. The Dutch, for example, bribed the Mogul officers at Casim Bazar to allow them to take out their goods from the godowns and air them lest they got spoiled. We find the French, by the same method, getting up-country consignments of goods to Hugli under the names of Mahomedan and Hindu Merchants. Mean-

1. Pilavoine à la Compagnie, Surate, le 6 Fev; 1702. AC. C. 65. f 275-276,

while, both the Viceroy and the Diwan, seeing that they were deprived of the valuable perquisites incident on commerce, were pressing the Mogul to lift the Ban, and, in June 1702, the necessary permission arrived from Delhi. It is a telling commentary on the grasping character of Mogul government in Bengal that the Viceroy refused to promulgate the Imperial Orders until the Companies, between themselves, gave him a present of six lakhs of rupees.¹

By the middle of the year 1702, the normal course of commerce was once again established, but it was not destined to last long. This time the interruption came from an outrage about which the French records say very little, although they dwell fully on its consequences. As the Red Sea fleet was returning after the monsoons from Moka and Jeddah, (Sept. 1703) two ships belonging to Abdul Gafur and Kasim Bhai were waylaid and plundered, one near Bassein, and the other, off Surat! The Pirates were evidently becoming audacious enough to beard Mogul shipping in its very den. The news when it was heard at Surat caused profound dismay among the European merchants. The memory of all the persecutions they had suffered only a year ago at the hands of the Mogul—the alarms, the detention of goods, the hurried unavailing flights, the heavy ransoms paid, the suspension of all trade—all that was too recent to be easily forgotten. Rather than go through similar hardships again, it seemed better to stand and put up a fight. English and Dutch therefore entrenched themselves in their factories, and made preparations to resist what was sure to come. But the Governor of Surat, Atbar Khan was not to be balked of his prey so easily. Realizing that all attempts to coerce the Europeans would turn against him, he seized their native brokers, and put them on the rack, until these poor men, half dead with the pain, agreed to pay eight lakhs as compensation for the loss of the ships. Having finished with the English and the Dutch, Atbar Khan now turned to the French, and the merchants of the New East India Company. It was to no purpose that the French urged that they had never had anything to do with piracy, that the outrage had taken place on the Red Sea ships for which they were not responsible, their brokers like those of the English and the Dutch were detained for five days, and could only secure their release by paying over Rs. 13,000 in the case of the English, and Rs. 2,000 in the case of the French.²

1. Lettre General des Marchands d'Ougly à la Compagnie, le 12 Jan. 1703. AC. C 67, f 35.

2. Pilavoine à Pontchartrain, Surate, le 29 Avril 1704. AC. C. 67, f. The event is confirmed in Les Marchands d'Ougly à la Compagnie. AC. C 267, f 91-95.

Sated with the extortions he had so easily wrung, Atbar Khan now coolly ordered the Europeans to resume their commerce. But there is a limit to human endurance, and the Dutch, at least, had reached the limit. They boldly informed the Governor that they, for one, would never again engage in commerce in India unless they were absolved from all responsibility for piratical outrages in the future, and the Guarantees were returned to them.

This was a bold stand to take, and Atbar Khan was by no means blind to the serious consequences it involved. The Dutch were not only the biggest European merchants in Mogul India, but the largest carriers of Indian commerce, since the bulk of Indian merchandise to the Red Sea, the Persian Gulf, and Bengal was freighted in Dutch vessels. If the Dutch, therefore, withdrew from the commercial field, Indian commerce would be seriously crippled, and with it, the customs revenue of the Mogul Exchequer.

Greatly nonplussed by the Dutch attitude, the wily Atbar Khan tried the old diplomatic game of playing upon the jealousies of the European traders at Surat. He invited the French to resume commerce, hoping by this means, to bring the Dutch back into the commercial field. But, apart from the fact that the financial position of the French in India prevented them from playing the role of successful rivals to the Dutch in the carrying trade of the country, Pilavoine the French chief at Surat, was not the man to join the oppressor against the common commercial interests of the Europeans. So, although his nation was then at war with the Dutch, Pilavoine refused the Governor's invitation, maintaining that no commerce was possible without the return of the Guarantees, and presently, the English too threw in their lot with the French and the Dutch. The shoe was now on the other foot, for, while in the past the Mogul had always menaced European commerce, now the three European Companies united in a common adversity were menacing the Mogul revenue. It was probably due to his failure to bring these negotiations to a successful issue, that Atbar Khan was recalled in disgrace in November 1703.¹

His successor Nijabat Khan, who took charge of his office in January 1704, adopted a more conciliatory attitude. Realizing that the three European Companies stood together in refusing to re-open trade on the old conditions, he offered to write to the Emperor and recover the Guarantees from Court. A happy settlement of the issue seemed to be in sight, and Dutch, French, and English despatched their *rakils* to the Imperial Court to second the Governor's efforts

1. Pilavoine à Pontchartrain, Surate, le 29 Avril 1704, AC. C 67. f 119.

on their behalf. But six months passed away (January-June 1704) and no progress seemed to be made in the recovery of the Pledges. Chafing at the loss which their trade had suffered in the interval, and actuated also by the desire to dislodge the Dutch from their monopoly position, the English now did a very selfish thing. They resumed commerce, and offered their vessels to be freighted for Indian merchandise bound for the Red Sea and Persian Gulf ports. It is no wonder that, in these circumstances, Nijabat Khan deliberately prolonged the negotiations, feeling sure that after the English desertion, the submission of the Dutch and the French was only a question of time. But Nijabat Khan had reckoned without his hosts. With or without the help of the other European powers, the Dutch were determined to bring matters with the Mogul to a head. They withdrew to their factory, declaring that they were only waiting for the arrival of their ships from Batavia to settle scores with the Mogul once for all.¹

They were as good as their word. Late in October 1704, the expected help arrived. It consisted of a formidable armament of eighteen ships sent from the Dutch East Indies. In the face of such an overawing display of force the boldest spirit might well have quailed. Nijabat Khan hastily sent appeals for assistance to the Emperor, and, very probably, the arrival of Shah Alam with an Imperial army in the vicinity of Surat was dictated as much by the Dutch naval armament as by the threatened Mahratta invasion in Gujarat. Undismayed, however, by all these preparations the Dutch presented their demands to the Surat Governor. They were three :—(1) a return of the Guarantees, (2) better conditions of trade in the future, and (3) compensation for all damages sustained by the Dutch. Failing complete surrender on all three points, they threatened to withdraw altogether from Surat.

As if to support Pilavoine's standing contention with the Directors that nothing succeeds so well in India as force before this overawing display of strength, Nijabat Khan quickly climbed down. He returned the Guarantees and promised to give the Dutch better conditions of trade at Surat.

The moot point, however was compensation. The Dutch demanded 60 lakhs as a return for the escorts they had lent to the Mogul to the detriment of their own commerce. Nijabat Khan was ready to offer 40 lakhs. The Dutch evidently felt that to yield a

1. Pilavoine à Pontchartrain, Surate, le 10 Aout, 1704.
AC. C 67, 237-240.

jot or tittle of their pretensions would spoil their whole case. They firmly insisted on 60 lakhs, and Nijabat Khan remaining adamant, they promptly seized a Mogul vessel with a cargo of 30 lakhs in specie, and withdrew to Sualy.

For another two months the parleys went on, but to no purpose. Then the Dutch, determined to break with the Mogul, if they could not gain their point, withdrew their families and belongings from the city of Surat into their ships at Sualy, and with this earnest of their intentions resumed parleys with Nijabat Khan. These having proved unavailing, they embarked on their vessels—men, women and children—and, in April 1705, sailed away for Batavia.¹

CONCLUSION

And so, with this emphatic gesture of protest against Mogul tyranny, on the part of the most spirited of the European traders at Surat, we shall bring our story of Indian Piracy to an end. Of the three characters who figured in our narrative, we cannot help feeling that the European mercantile community were the most to be deplored. Themselves the victims of the depredations of the pirates, it was fated, in the irony of things, that they should be mistaken for being in collusion with the robbers, if indeed they were not suspected of being the delinquents themselves. Under this idea, they had been compelled alternately to play the part of joint policemen with the Mogul in putting down sea robbery, and later, the more ignoble role of the Mogul's pledge, liable with their life and property for the misdeeds of the sea robbers. At great cost to themselves, they had played these roles for over ten years, until sickened with the thankless part, one of them had violently cast it off, involving thereby the ruin of Mogul commerce and considerable loss to Mogul revenue.

For all these misfortunes, there was but one cause—the naval weakness of the Mogul Government. That weakness alone had enabled piracy to grow from a precarious infancy into robust manhood. That weakness alone had compelled the Mogul, at a later stage, into the ridiculous position of having to abdicate to the Commercial Companies at Surat those essential responsibilities for the life and property of its subjects at sea, which ought to have been its own. The latter part of Aurangzeb's reign is full of instances of such abdications, but it would be difficult to find a more glaring instance than this.

But History is relentless in its decrees. It ordains that the

1. Lettre de Pilavoine à M. Pontchartrain, Surate, le 28 Nov. 1705. AC, C 67. f 400.

State which cannot guarantee the public order of the country it is supposed to govern shall give place to another State that shall guarantee it. And we may well be pardoned, if, with Thucydides, we feel that difficult as it is to justify any Imperialism, the British Empire in India may find some slight justification for itself in the plea that it gave India that public order and security, both by land and sea, which the later Mogul Empire certainly did not give it.

ADRIAN DUARTE



STUDIES IN THE HISTORY OF THE ANGRIAS

I

BATTLE OF MUḌĀGAD—A. D. 1748,

(An Expedition against Tulaji Angria led by Nāro Rāyaji Gode Thākur with the help of (1) Gangadhar Krishṇa Pratinidhi of Vishalgad, (2) Pant Amatya Bhagasecntrao of Banada, (3) Raje Bahadar Vadikar Sawant and (4) Apaji Angria).

Before the naval power of the Angrias was finally exterminated by the joint expedition of the Marathas and the East India Company in A. D. 1756,¹ there were preliminary efforts made by the several petty rival powers to undermine the growing menace of the Angrias to the trading ships of all the European nations in India on the one side and on the other to the territories they had wrested from these powers during the course of about 50 years² of

1. Vide pp. 399-409 of the *History of the Military Transactions of the British Nation in Indostan* by Orme (From the year MDCCXLV) Vol. I.

2. Vide pp. 176-177 of the *History of the Sardesai Family* (in Marathi) Part II, where the following dates regarding the Angria's history have been reproduced from a document found in the Daftar of the Sardesais at Prabhāvali :—

- A. D. 1663— Sakhoji Angria fortifies Suvarnadurg.
- 1698-99—Kanhoji Angria removes to Kolaba.
- 1712-13—Kanhoji captures Vijayadurg.
- 1724-25—Kanhoji builds Jaigad and Pūrnagad fortresses.
- 1728-29—Kanhoji's death at Kolaba—Kanhoji ruled for 29 years—
(Sakhoji ruled for 3 years ; Sambhaji ruled for 10 years)
- 1741— Death of Sambhaji Angria at Vijayadurg.
- 1744— Tulaji Angria captured Anjanvel from Shamala.
- 1745— Tulaji becomes Sarkhel (Lord of the Admiralty.)
- 1756— 14th February—The English capture Vijayadurg.
- 1757— The flag of Pant Pradhan i.e. the Peshawa is hoisted up on the Vijayadurg.

The *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XI, p. 149, footnote 1 states :—"The date of Kanhoji's death is doubtful. According to Grant Duff (*History*, 230) and Nairne (*Konkan*, 80) his death took place in 1728. According to Low (*Indian Navy* I. 104) and Grose quoted by Low, Kanhoji died in 1731. The fact that Kanhoji's name is mentioned in the treaty between the English and the Sawantvadi Chief in 1730 supports Grose's date." The Prabhāvali Daftar of the Sardesais quoted above supports the date

piratical and plundering campaigns. The last of this line of Angrias was Tulaji Angria¹ and so great was the strength and activity of his fleet that it cost the East India Company £ 50,000 (Rs. 5,00,000) a year to protect their trade against its piratical operations. "Elated

given by Grant Duff and Nairne viz. 1728. Rao Saheb G. S. Sardesai has kindly supplied me with the following evidence regarding Kanhoji's death in a private communication dated 15-4-1936.—"Kanhoji died on 20th June 1729 (आषाढ वसुध ५ सुगुवार शके १६५१) This date is given in the *Kesari* of 7-6-1935. It is corroborated by Portuguese sources quoted by Dr. Surendranath Sen in his *Military System of the Marathas*, p. 212." There is a letter dated 6th December 1728 from Kanhoji Angria to the Sardessais of Prabhavalli published in the *History of the Sardesai Family*, Part II, p. 116 (Letter No. 174).

1. See *Bombay Gazetteer*, Index, p. 382—"Tulaji Angria (1748-1755) succeeds his brother Sambhaji, twice attacks English Fleets—Captured at the Siege of Gheria (1755)" See also Vol. XI, 153-154. For complete genealogy of the Angrias see *Maharashtra Jñānakośa* Vol. VII, p. अ 57.

Bombay Gazetteer Vol. XI, p. 383, Footnote 1—"Tulaji Angria remained till his death a prisoner first in a fort according to one account near Rayagad in Kolaba, according to another in Vandan near Satara (Grant Duff, I, 66) and afterwards in Sholapur (Lowe's *Indian Navy*, I, 136 Grant Duff, I, 66.) His tomb and those of his six wives, one of them a Sati are shown at Vijayadurg (Nairne's *Kankam*, 95).

The following references to Tulaji Angria in the *Peshwa Daftar Selections* ed. by G. S. Sardesai may be noted here :—P. D. No. 28, p. 176—Jarnardan Ballal, the father of Nana Farnavis in his letter dated 22nd June 1756 to Sagupāhni, wife of Jarnardana Baba, reports that Tulaji Angria had been brought (as a prisoner) and kept at Poona. (Jarnardan Ballal died in 1756, some months after this letter was written as he was keeping indifferent health), P. D. No. 24 contains the following information regarding the confinement of Tulaji and his sons :—

Letter No. 268 (1764-65) Provisions ordered for Tulaji

Letter No. 269 (3-1-1765) Tulaji in custody with iron at Ahmad-nagar.

Letter No. 270 (27-4-1765?) Tulaji's sons run away from confinement at Visapur prison.

Letter No. 271 (23-6-1765) Tulaji's sons go to the English at Bombay for refuge and are honoured by them.

Letter No. 176 (1766?) Sambhaji, son of Tulaji confined in Sholapur fort.

According to Forest (Papers from the Bombay Secretariat, 1885, p. 660) Tulaji Angria died after a confinement of 31 years in prison. As Tulaji was captured in A.D. 1756 the date of his death according to this statement would be A. D. 1787. At the bottom of the frontispiece of Tulaji's handwriting we find the endorsement "Died in 1769" (Peshwa Daftar Selection 24). Mr. Vakaskar in his 'अप्रसिद्ध ऐतिहासिक चरित्रें' states in his *Caritra* of Tulaji that he died about 1782.

with this success Tulaji built several vessels, set two large ships on the stocks, and boasted that he would soon be master of the Indian Sea."¹

Having made Vijayadurg or Gheria,² the base of all his naval operations Tulaji strengthened himself to such an extent that the Marathas had no hopes of reducing him and hence agreed to a peace with him on condition that he should acknowledge the sovereignty of the Maratha King Shahu,³ then ruling at Satara by paying him a small annual tribute. The Marathas, however, retained a strong animosity against Tulaji and determined to avail themselves of any favourable opportunity to recover the territories he had wrested from them.⁴

In view of this continuous molestation by Tulaji Angria to the adjoining territories of the Pratinidhi of Vishalgad and the

1. Vide *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XI (1883), p. 152. See also *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. V (1929)—pp. 113-114—"Angrias who dominated the coastline between Bombay and Goa and attacked all vessels that offered a reasonable chance of capture. Boone who was President and Governor from 1715 to 1722 not only built a wall round Bombay to guard against sudden raids but also constructed a number of fighting ships for the protection of commerce."

In February 1745 the fort of Andheri was about to fall into the hands of Manaji or Tulaji Angria and the English realising that the safety of Andheri was of greater importance to the Island of Bombay than that of any other place agreed to help the Sidi in money and men (see p. 106 of *Bombay and the Sidis* by D. R. Banaji, Bombay, 1932). See also *History of the Marathas* by Grant Duff. (3rd Edition in one volume) 1873, pp. 247, 288, 506, 531.

2. This fort was captured by Kanhoji Angria in A. D. 1712-13 (Vide *History of the Sardesai Family*, Part II, p. 177).

3. That Shahu's Sovereignty was only nominal is proved by many documents of the period. Even Bhagawantrao Panta Amātya of Bavada was negotiating between 6th June and 5th October 1748 to get some *jahagir* from Nawab Nasirjāng by sending an application to that effect through his agent Nāro Mahādeo (see letter No. 178 in Khanda 8 of Rajawade's *Sources of Maratha History*, dated 19th August 1748) at enormous cost. Nāro Mahādeo states in this letter that the Nawab admires the Amātya Bhagawantrao more than the Peshawa, Balaji Bajirao and that he agrees to give a *jahagir* of 11 lacs belonging to Udaji Chavan in the province of Bijapur and an additional *jahagir* in the Varad province. These negotiations of Panta Amātya cost about 10/20 thousand rupees and this expense, Nāro Mahādeo thinks, is not quite excessive. (See letter No. 181 of 5-10-1748). Nāro Mahādeo's letters despatched to his master from Aurangabad regarding the above negotiations give us a good insight into the anarchical state of the Maratha dominions in Shahu's time.

4. Vide Orme : *History of the Military Transactions*, etc., p. 391.

Pant Amatya of Bawada as also those of Vadikar Sawant, his relations with all of them were anything but cordial. In fact these rulers had been constantly exhorted by their common spiritual adviser Shri Brahmendra Swami¹ of Dhavadshi² to teach Tulaji a lesson by counteracting effectively, all his mischievous and aggressive activities and bring him to submission by the occupation of the territories usurped by him, which included some forts belonging to Vadikar Sawant, Muḍāḍongar, Govalkot, Anjanvel,³ Bankot, Maṇḍavagaḍ etc. Shri Brahmendra was apparently burning with anger at the insolent attitude of Tulaji, who nominally paid homage to this spiritual guru of all the rival powers but was absolutely deaf to the categorical warnings issued by him in so many letters⁴ to cease his unjust usurpation of the territories belonging to other

1. Vide Letter No. 154 (of khanda 8 of *Sources of Maratha History* by Rajawade) written in A.D. 1739, published in *Granthāmālā* (Kolhapur, 1903). I am thankful to Rao Sahib G. S. Sardesai, B. A., the learned Editor of the Peshawa Daftar for drawing my attention to this letter and in particular to the reference it contains to Muḍāḍongar, the strategic importance of which for the military activities of Tulaji Angria will be clear in the course of this paper. Letter No. 154 is addressed by Shri Brahmendra Swami to Pant Amatya Bhagwantrao of Bawada who ruled from A.D. 1721-1750. See also letter No. 141 (*Khanda 8*) from the Swami to Gangadhar Pandit Pratinidhi, expressing Swami's satisfaction at the news that (1) Bhagwantrao Pant Amatya, (2) Vadikar Sawant, and (3) Pratinidhi were contemplating a concerted action against the Angria. He exhorts the Pratinidhi to see to it that the Angria is effectively and completely punished.

2. *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XIX, p. 466—"Dhavadshi village, about 6 miles northwest of Satara is interesting as the headquarters of *Sanshan* and afterwards as the burial place, or *Samādhi* of Bhārgavarāma, the spiritual teacher or *Mahāpurush* of Bajirao, the Second Peshawa and his son Balaji Bajirao or Nana Sahib, the Third Peshawa. Bajirao and his son reported all their proceedings to Bhārgavarāma. Their letters are valuable historical records."

Mr. Parasnis in his *Life of Brahmendra Swami* (1900) Preface, p. 9 states that a Parsee gentleman viz. Prof Karkaria read a paper based on the documents published in the *Life of Brahmendra Swami* before the Royal Asiatic Society Bombay on 5th December 1899 and a summary of this paper appeared in the *Bombay Gazette* of 14th Dec. 1899. The paper was very much appreciated by the Europeans and Dr. Macdonald, the Secretary of the R. A. Society encouraged Mr. Parasnis to publish the original documents. Some of these documents were lent by the descendants and disciples of the Swami to Grant Duff but he states "I was permitted to translate, but not to copy them" (p. 1)

3. Captured by Tulaji Angria in A. D. 1744. (Vide p. 176 of *Part II of the History of the Sardesai Family*).

4. Vide Letter No. 155 (Rajawade, S. M. H. *Khanda 8*)

powers. Tulaji was not only heedless to the patronizing tone¹ of Swami's letters but was at times bold enough to protest² vigorously against the charges levelled at him by mischievous busybodies and endorsed by the Swami, whose relations with the entire Angria family are reflected in the numerous letters that passed between them. These letters have been published by the great Maharashtra historian Rajawade. Swami's advice was sought not only in matters political but even in petty matters of family life, such as reconciling rival brothers like Mānaji and Tulaji, selecting brides³ or bridegrooms for marriageable youngsters and the like. This was assuredly an enviable position and the Swami made full use of it.⁴

The foregoing remarks will provide it is hoped the necessary historical perspective for the expedition against Tulaji Angria which forms the subject of this paper and which to my knowledge has not been dealt with by any scholar, though references to it are found embedded in two published documents pertaining to the period viz. (1) *The Panta Pratinidhi Bakhar*⁵ and (2) *The Peshwa Daftar*⁶

1. Vide Letter No. 298 dated 10th November 1742 (*Ibid Khanda* 3, pp. 286-7).

2. Vide Letter No. 300 dated 1st June 1745 (*Ibid, Khanda*, 3, pp. 288-9).

This letter is a reply of Tulaji to Brahmendra Swami's letter. Brahmendra Swami died on 26th July 1745 (vide *Life of Brahmendra* by Parasnis p. 128). This date as recorded in a stone inscription on the main entrance of the Swami's temple at Dhavadshi is Saka 1667, month of Śrāvaṇa Śukla 9, Bhṛguvara. Mr. G. S. Sardesai informs me that the disciples of the Swami at Dhavadshi continued correspondence in Swami's name even after his death (vide Rajawade : *Khanda* 3, letter No. 301).

3. Vide letter No. 267 of Rajawade, *Khanda* 3, dated 27th April 1734 containing Sambhaji Angria's request to the Swami to select a suitable bride for Tulaji Angre.

4. Vide *Life of Brahmendra Swami* by Parasnis, Bombay, 1900, pp. 129-130. Tulaji Angria had not much respect for the Swami. After Swami's death in 1745 he began to molest the seven villages assigned by Shahu to the Swami. He was thereupon given an ultimatum by Shahu ordering him to stop these molestations (see Shahu's letter to Tulaji).

5. This *Bakhar* or chronicle was published in *Bhāratavarṣa*, *Khanda* 1 (pp. 1-90). According to the statement of its editor it was taken from a Tanjore ms. consisting of 76 folios of French paper stitched together in the form of a book. This *Bakhar* may have been written about A.D. 1844 and is called *Panta Pratinidhi Bakhar* because a major part of it deals with the history of the Pant Pratinidhi of Vishalgad and contains only a brief account of the History of the Maratha Power.

6. Selection No. 24 of the *Peshwa Daftar* (Peshwa's commitments on the West Coast—A.D. 1740-1772), edited by G. S. Sardesai.

and one unpublished document viz. the *Gode Bakhars*.

As the evidential value of *Bakhars*, either state-chronicles or family-chronicles, may not by itself be very great, the historian will only find in them much material for investigation and verification. If the statements in such *Bakhars*¹ are independently corroborated by dated contemporary documents they will provide for him some *terra firma* in the shifting sands of gossiping *Bakhars*. We shall, therefore, first discuss the accounts of this expedition against Tulaji Angria in contemporary despatches recorded in the *Peshwa Daftar Selections* which reveal that it was a quadruple alliance against Tulaji, the parties to the same being as under :—(1) Gangadhar Krishna Pratinidhi of Vishalgad, (2) Bhagawantrao Pant Amatya of Bawada, (3) Raje Bahaddar Vadikar Sawant and (4) Apaji Angre, one of the rival brothers of Tulaji. The identity of Apaji Angre is yet a matter for investigation for historians. In the present paper we shall refer to four letters of this brother of Tulaji to enable the historians to prove his identity.

The first intimation of the Battle of Mudlaga; the subject of this paper, given to the Peshwa at Poona is contained in a contemporary despatch in the *Selections from the Peshwa Daftar No. 24*. It is sufficiently informative to need any comment. We shall, therefore, reproduce here this despatch as it will acquaint us with the scene of operations, the parties to the battle, the progress of battle upto the date of the despatch and the chances of success for the combatants concerned :—

"No. 25—10-2-1748 ?—(Ramchandra Bawaji in a letter to the Peshwa and Sadashiv Bhanu gives an account of the correspondence between Tarabai and Jijabai of Kolhapur in connection with the activities of Tulaji Angria.)"

We translate below the pertinent portion of this letter which refers to the expedition under discussion :—

"*Bhagawantrao* and *Vadikar Sawant* have at present occupied Angre's territory upto Sangameshwar and have besieged *Mudlaga*. They attacked Angre's reinforcements (*uparajā*) and killed about hundred and fifty men, captured about four hundred arms, as also

1. Even Grant Duff had procured 20 *Bakhars* pertaining to the history of the Peshwas (see Parasnīs : मराठ्यांच्या इतिहासाची सांगणी p. 13 in *Bhāratvarsha*, Khanda 1). See also pp. 5-6 of the Preface to this Khanda where Parasnīs gives a list of important *Bakhars* available to him. Mr. Rajwade in his Preface, p. 3 of *Khanda* for (1750-1761) gives a list of such *Bakhars* and observes that during the 18th century and the first quarter of the 19th, there arose in the Maharashtra a regard for its past history and the *Bakhars* were composed for giving expression to this regard.

some ammunition. The inmates of the fortress (Muḍyā) are losing courage and the fortress will (soon) be captured. Gaṅgādharpant (Pratinidhi) has also arrived."

It is necessary to record here some information regarding the historical personages referred to in the above despatch to understand the full significance of the whole expedition. Bhagwantrao referred to in the above despatch of Ramchandra Bawaji is the Pant Amātya of Bāvaḍā who ruled from A.D. 1721 to 1750.¹ Vāḍikar Sāvant mentioned in the despatch is the then Chief of the Sawantwadi State² who appears to be identical with Ramchandra Savant I (A.D. 1737-1755). As, however, Ramchandra was a minor the State was managed by his uncle Jayaram Savant,³ "a man of great

1. See *History of the Sardesai Family* (in Marathi) p. 63, where the Genealogy of the Pant Amātya of the Bavada Jahagir is recorded. See also Forest: *State Papers* (Bombay Secretariat) 1885, p. 659. Forest devotes pp. 657 to 698 to the Genealogy of Maratha Chiefs.

2. See *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. X (Ratnagiri and Savantwadi) pp. 388-469. The following list gives the names of the Rulers of the Savantwadi and their known dates:—

	A. D.		A. D.
1. Early Hindu Rule	500—1500	12. Phond and Shriram Savants	1803—1805
2. Bijapur Rule	1500—1627	13. Ramchandra Savant II	1805—1808
3. Māng Savant	1554	14. Phond Savant III	1808—1812
4. Khem Savant I	1627—1640	15. Khem Savant IV	1812—1867
5. Sen Savant	1640—1641	(Durgabai Regent 1812—1819)	
6. Lakham Savant	1641—1665	<i>British Treaty</i>	1819
7. Phoḍ Savant I	1665—1675	British Aid	1830
8. Khem Savant II	1675—1709	British Management	1838
9. Phond Savant II	1709—1737	Disturbances	1840—1850
<i>British Treaty—1730</i>		16. Phond Savant IV	1867—1869
10. Ramchandra Savant I	1737—1755	17. Raghunath Savant	1869
Jayaram Savant as Regent	1737—1753	In 1877 Savantwadi was placed under the control of the Commissioner of the Southern Division of the Bombay Presidency.	
11. Khem Savant III (The Great)	1755—1803	In 1879 Raghunath Savant was married to the daughter of Khanderao Gaikwar of Baroda.	
<i>British Treaty</i>	1765		
War with Kolhapur	1776—1787		
The Portuguese	1803		

3. Vide pp. 63-74 of *History of Savantwadi State* (in Marathi) by V. P. Pingulkar, (1911). Jayaram Savant had stalwart physique and he was very brave. His armour and helmet are still preserved in a museum at Savantwadi. The Savantwadi state reached the zenith of its glory during his regime. He was on friendly terms with the Peshawa. This alliance resulted in the gradual decline of the Portuguese power. The Sabnis brothers, Pandurang Vishram and Jivaji Vishram, were two of his brave and trusted lieutenants. Mr. Pingulkar states on p. 70— "At

strength and courage". At first he was unsuccessful and Angria captured some of his forts and compelled the Vadi State to cede two-fifths of the Salshi revenue. In 1748, however, Tulaji Angria was defeated with heavy loss at Kudal, pursued as far as Sangave near Ratnagiri and his country laid waste. The lost territory and forts of the Vadi State were also recovered from the Angria and thus Angria was very much harassed.

It is not, however, clear from Ramchandra Bawaji's letter whether by the expression "*Vadiker Savant*" he means the nephew Ramchandra Savant I or his uncle Jayaram Savant the Regent. It is very likely that Jayaram Savant was personally present in the siege of Mudāgaḍ referred to by Ramachandra Bawaji in his letter of 10th February 1748. Ramchandra Savant being of a younger age may have been absent from the scene of operations. But this conclusion needs more documentary evidence.

The second personage of importance referred to in Ramchandra Bawaji's despatch to the Peshwa is *Gangadhar* *pant*, who is identical with Gangadhar Krishna Pratinidhi. He ruled the Vishalgad state from A. D. 1741-1750.¹

last in 1749 Savant and the Maratha Sardar Bhagwantrao Pandit launched a joint expedition against the Angria and conquered all his territory upto Lanja and thus Angria was extremely harassed". As Mr. Pingulkar has not documented his statement I am unable to say whether this expedition is identical or otherwise with the Mudāgaḍ Expedition of 1748, the subject of the present paper. As, however, the year given by Mr. Pingulkar is A. D. 1749 and as it was a *double* alliance against Tulaji Angria instead of the *quadruple* alliance at the Mudāgaḍ battle, I am compelled to presume that the expedition referred to by Mr. Pingulkar is distinct and separate from the Mudāgaḍ expedition. Students interested in Angria's history may pursue the question further. It is a pity that Angria's exhaustive history fully documented from the Maratha sources still remains to be written.

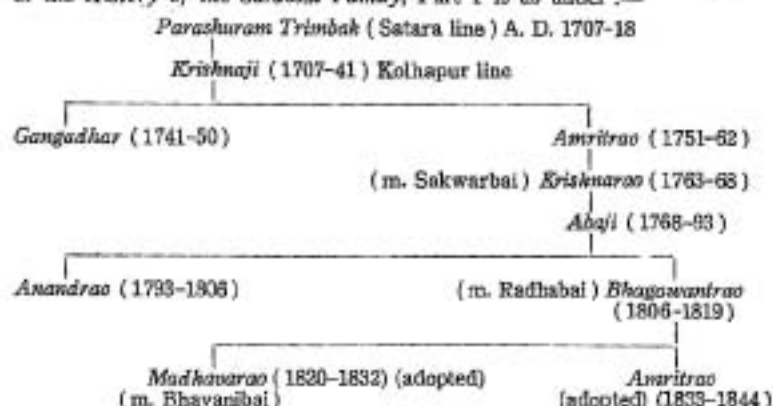
1. The Vishalgad state takes its name from the fort of *Vishalgad*. Grant Duff (*History of Marathas*, 1873, p. 13) states that a copper-plate grant found at Satara proves that the Vishalgad fort was built as early as A.D. 1192 by a raja at Panalla. (See also pp. 27, 80, 84 of Grant Duff's *History* for references to this Fort). According to Major Graham the earliest Persian inscription at Vishalgad is dated A. D. 1234 (see pp. 337-339 of Graham's *Statistical Report of Kolhapur*, 1854). A short note on the Vishalgad Jahagir appears in this Report (pp. 547-549). The Vishalgad State is now a dependency of the Kolhapur State. According to Graham the Vishalgad Jahagir "contains 12,479 beegas of cultivated land, 14,748 inhabitants dwelling in 20 towns and villages and yields a net revenue of Rs. 35,954". "The Vishalgad possessions below the Ghauts consist of a divided interest in 223 villages and an exclusive right to 20 separate villages. The entire control and management, however, of this portion,

Another contemporary despatch of importance pertaining to the Battle of Muḍgāḍ is found in the same selection from the Peshawa Daftar in which Ramchandra Bawaji's letter has been recorded i.e. in No. 24 on page 19, letter No. 20, which was received by the Peshwa on 1st April 1748. We translate below the portion at the beginning of this letter which describes the Muḍgāḍ expedition as an accomplished fact :—

"First, your honour had sometimes ago demolished¹ Muḍhāḡ, which was once established (by Angre). Tulaji Angre re-built this fortress and habilitated it. He carried on military operations from this fortress and usurped the entire territory included in the Panala province. He caused too much disturbance (in this manner) resulting in much destruction (*pralaya*). Thereupon *Bhagawantrao* of Bavada and the *Ruler of Vishalgad* (Pratinidhi of Vishalgad) as also *Savant* and *Apaji Angre* united together and proceeded to Muḍhāḡ with about 400|500 cavalry and 7000|8000 infantry. They captured *Muḍhāḡ* and devastated the whole territory by fire from Rajapur to Sangameshwar. The whole country was laid waste. Tulaji Angre is finding it increasingly difficult to protect his fortresses. It is now necessary for your honour to reward *Apaji Angre* adequately. A serious warning has thus been given by a third party to Tulaji Angre without any effort on the part of your honour. Now

are under the Collector of Rutnagere, who remits the annual net balance of Rs. 29,000" (vide p. 2 of the Report). These figures require revision as Graham wrote his Report in 1854.

The Genealogy of the Pratinidhis of Vishalgad as recorded on p. 67 of the *History of the Sardesai Family*, Part I is as under :—



1. See Letter No. 151 (*Sources of Maratha History* by Rajawade, Khanda 8) in which Sambhaji Angre states that Bajirao Peshawa demolished Muḍgāḡ contrary to his assurances on oath (bel bhākar)—
"मुरा बसवून इमानास जता केली".

Tulaji intends to visit your honour with a view to negotiate (पनोरी
 छान्नः) He intended to see your honour on the New Year Day
 (*Varṣapratipadd*)."

The account of the battle as recorded in these two contemporary despatches is quite factual and it is likely that more despatches pertaining to this battle may be found in the unpublished records of the *Peshwa Daftar* deposited at the Bombay Govt. Alienation Office at Poona.

From contemporary accounts of the Muḍagaḍ Battle we now turn to subsequent accounts of the same as recorded in the Bakhars. One such account is recorded in a published Bakhar viz. the *Pant Pratinidhi Bakhar* published in the magazine called the *Bharata-varsha* (*Khanda* I, p. 56.) We translate below the pertinent passage which is about a page in extent :—

"Gangadhar Krishna Pratinidhi was ruling at Vishalgad.¹ A mountain called Muḍagaḍ is situated on the Sahyādrī near the village Pisātri Parasāli in the Malkapur Taluka and in the vicinity of the Kajirda Ghat. Angre suddenly captured this Muḍagaḍ and installed his own garrison on it. He then began harassing ceaselessly the Panala Subha and the Talukas of Bavada and Vishalgad. Therefore the Pratinidhi collected 2,500 troops and launched an attack against this fortress but Angre met this attack in a fierce manner killing about 250 men and putting his guns in position against the attacking party which had consequently to retreat.

The Pratinidhi, thereupon, devised a new plan of action viz. to bring reinforcements from Vadikar Savant, who was known to be on hostile terms with Angre. He, therefore, sent *Nāro Rayāji Goda Thakur Kārku* to Vadikar to collect troops from the Konkon territory. These troops combined with those of Vishalgad and the Pant Amatya of Bavada again besieged the fortress. The troops

1. The fort of Vishalgad appears to have been the seat of Government in the western portion of the country in the 12th century. After 1600 it continued to be the headquarters of the Pratinidhi until 1844, when the fortifications were destroyed and the small town Malkapur on the river Shalee was selected for the location of the Court. (See p. 294 of *Graham's Kalhapur Report, Bombay, 1854*). About the rulers of Vishalgad Graham makes the following remarks :—

Page 295—"Since the year 1732 eleven Chiefs have held the office and Jagir with very little distinction to themselves or any benefit to the estate which remained until lately overwhelmed in debt etc."

This is rather too summary an estimate of the Pratinidhis! The present paper will to a certain extent reveal the unsettled state of the surroundings of the Pratinidhis and its effect on their rule.

of the Sarkhel (= Lord of the Admiralty¹ viz. Angria) numbering about 400 were killed (in an action) below the Ghat in the Saudal Mahal.² Military patrols (*Choaki*) were then established (all round). Owing to shortage of food and water inside the fortress some of the garrison began to leave it but were killed in such an endeavour, some were imprisoned, while others escaped. The garrison remaining inside the fortress held on for some days by ceaseless use of the guns, *fejālās* etc., but they were unable to protect the besieged fortress. Ultimately Angre's men deserted the fortress and ran away. The Pratinidhi then captured the fortress, demolished it completely and to prevent its further occupation a symbol in the form of a sandal (*vahāṇ*), and cowrie (*kavaḍī*)³ was hoisted up on the spot and to this day the fortress is in a deserted condition."

In the foregoing extract from the *Panta Pratinidhi Bakhar* reference is made to one *Nāro Rāyāji Gode Thakur Kārhen* as the person deputed by Gangadhar Krishna Pratinidhi to collect troops from Vadikar Savant with a view to besiege the fort of Muḍāgaḍ established by Tulaji Angria and his predecessors. This reference enables us to link up successfully the account of this very expedition as recorded in the *Gode Family Bakhar*⁴ now in the possession of

1. Vide pp. 156-163 (chap. IV) of Dr. Sen's *Administrative System of the Marathas*, Calcutta, 1925, where he deals with the *Organisation of the Maratha Navy*.

2. Ibid, p. 668—Dr. Sen explains *Mahāl* to be a subdivision or a Govt. Dept as in the twelve Mahals.

3. Mr. Parsonis, the Editor of the *Bakhar* explains this symbol as under on p. 17 of his *Notes* added at the end:—

"*Vahān-Kavaḍī*" means a torn sandal and a broken cowrie tied together as a symbol of desertion of a place. It is similar to the custom of dragging a plough with an ass on the place to be deserted (*gāḍhāvācā nāḡar*)

4. On 13th February 1928 my father the late Mr. Krishnaji Govind Gode, Khot of the villages Bhadkambla and Devada in the Sangameshwar Taluka of the Ratnagiri Dist. handed over to me fragments of a *Bakhar* in Modi Script relating to the Gode Family. Not being then interested, or trained in the investigation of family history I had put this bundle aside as it was in a fragile condition. Three years after the death of my father which took place on 3rd February 1930 I happened to search the family papers which brought to me the recollection of my father's wish that I should study the *Bakhar* handed over to me. Thereupon I tried to restore successfully all the available sheets of this *Bakhar* and found to my great surprise that they contained a regular narrative of family history and political events, containing also accurate dates from A.D. 1726 to 1840. Presumably this *Bakhar* must have been written by some one after A.D. 1840 and before 1843 as it mentions the date 1840 (*Saka* 1762) and also refers to the regime of Amritrao Pratinidhi who ruled from 1833 to

the writer of this article in an unpublished form. We translate below the account of the Muḍāgaḍ battle as found in this Bakhar :—

Part I of the Gode Family Bakhar, Folio A

"The eldest son Nāro Rāyāji and second son... was two years old... At the age of seventeen owing to poverty at home he (Nāro Rāyāji) left home without his father's permission in search of some employment and arrived at Vishalgad with Brahmins who went there for the Navarātra Festival¹. After the festival was over he requested Shrinant Krishnarao Appa Pratinidhi² that he should be given some employment. Thereupon Krishnarao, being pleased with his fine handwriting agreed to employ him on Rs. 100 as (annual) remuneration. He continued to enjoy this remuneration for some time, but owing to the molestation of the Angre to the territories of the Pratinidhi, this remuneration was stopped. Therefore Nāro Rāyāji returned home,³ when he received the news that Ragunāth Ananta Tembe⁴ who was then in the Karnatak had secured a big job with the Raja of Kanakagiri.⁵ He, therefore took with him his

1843. Chronologically the age of this *Bakhar* appears to be almost the same as that of the *Panta Pratinidhi Bakhar*. The *Gode Bakhar* contains two portions which I have labelled as Part I and Part II. Part I (folios A to G) is older in appearance while Part II (folios I to VIII) is later. Each sheet measures 23 inches by five and half inches and is written on both the sides of the paper. There are about 75 lines on each sheet, so that the total extent of Parts I & II will come to about 1200 lines or 28,800 letters, as each line contains about 24 letters.

1. See *Selections from Peshwa Daftar* (No. 40), Letter No. 67. The Navarātra Festival has been regularly celebrated by the Pratinidhis without a break almost since the commencement of their rule. In Sept. 1750, however, the Peshwa had kept the Pratinidhi in confinement at *Pussevali*. The Pratinidhi refused to celebrate the festival, though the Peshwa had given orders to his staff to provide him the necessary facilities for the celebration of the festival, which is celebrated by the Pratinidhis even to this day.

2. Krishnarao Appa Pratinidhi ruled from A.D. 1707-1741 (vide Genealogy of the Pratinidhis given above.)

3. The village *Haḍḍiḍa* in the Devagad Taluka of the Ratnagiri District.

4. He was the husband of the sister of Nāro Rāyāji's wife (i.e. Sāḍū). I have not yet been able to get a genealogy of the Tembe family to enable me to study their relations with the Raja of Kanakagiri and what offices they held in this small kingdom which paid tributes to the Peshwa and the Nizam almost alternately during the 2nd half of the 18th century.

5. Kanakagiri was captured by Shahaji (Shivaji's father) in Śaka 1577 (= A.D. 1655). Shahaji's eldest son Sambhaji was killed in opera-

younger brother Lakshman Rāyāji, who was at this time a major and proceeded to Karnatak and thence to Kanakagiri. Lakshman Rāyāji was kept there while Nāro Rāyāji went to Naladurga¹ towards Baleghat² and there visited Udaji Chavan,³ Himmat Bahadar and

tions due to the treachery of Afzalkhan (Vide *Lekhanālakṣhara* by Aba Chandorikar p. 34). Dr. Surendra Nath Sen, however, remarks: "The Maratha chroniclers erroneously think that Afzal had something to do with Sambhaji's death" (see footnote 14 on p. 11 of *Life of Shiv Chhatrapati*, Calcutta, 1900). Kanakagiri and numerous other petty states situated on the border of the territories of the Peshawa were much harassed by the Peshwa and Haidar Ali. Tribute was exacted by both these invaders alternately when they were at war with each other. At the time of the second invasion against Haidar the Peshwa collected a tribute of 25 lacs from these states in one month (Vide Khare: *Aitihāsika Lekha Samgraha*, 27th issue, 1899). A tribute of 60,000 rupees was exacted from the Raja of Kanakagiri in 1767 by the Moguls (*Ibid*, p. 1212, 30-31 issue). Owing to the harassment of Haidar the Raja of one of such states viz. Chitradurga was compelled to sell off even the valuables of royal ladies to meet the demand for tribute repeatedly made by Haidar in 1766 (*Ibid*, p. 1135-29th issue). The Peshawa had a special officer for estimating the levy of such tributes from these states in 1766 A.D.

1. In the Osmanabad District of the Hyderabad State, Naladurga was the former name of the district. The fort of Naladurga in the Tuljapur Taluka of the Dist. situated above the ravine of the Bori river as one of the best fortified and most picturesque places in the Deccan. It was a bone of contention between the Adilshahis of Bijapur and the Ahmadnagar Sultans, (vide *Imp. Gazetteer*, Hyderabad State, 1909, p. 269). It was to this very fortress of Naladurga that Vithoji Chavan, son of Udaji Chavan ran for safety after a skirmish with Ramachandra Jadhav four years after Udaji's death i.e. in A.D. 1766 (vide *Peshwa Daftar* No. 38 letter No. 155 dated 20th Jan. 1766).

2. *Bālāghāt* (*Bālā* = above and *Ghāt* a mountain pass) range of hills in the western half of the Hyderabad State. The country enclosed by the range, and its two spurs forms a plateau locally known as *Bālāghāt* (see *Imp. Gaze. Hyd. State*, pp. 2 and 90) and *Bombay Gaz.* XIII, Pt. I, p. 2.

3. *Udaji Chavan Himmat Bahadur*. The Bombay Gazetteer calls him a 'plunderer'. He joined the side of Tarabai of Kolhapur against Shahu Maharaja I. All his plundering activities are fully reflected in the letters about him published in the *Peshwa Daftar No. 11* (*Shahu's relations with Sambhaji of Kolhapur*) which contains a Map referring to the activities of Sambhaji and Udaji Chavan. He played a prominent part for about 60 years in the affairs against three Panta Pradhmanas. He captured the fort of Bettis Shirale and was granted the *Chauth* of Shirale (Karhad). He levied a tax called *Chavan-patti*. He died in A.D. 1762 (12th November=Kartika vadya 11 of Śaka 1684). His Jahagir was confiscated and given over to one Nāgo Rām by the Peshwa Mādhava Rao I (1761-1772) on 28th Feb. 1762 (vide *Pesh. Daftar* No. 39—letter No. 9) Udaji was given a *Saranjam* (=a military grant) of Rs. 1,05,000 by Ramaraja of Satara on the 15th April 1750 (see *Pesh. Daft.* No. 26

made arrangements with him for a job and then returned home, when his father (Rāyaji) died. Having stayed at home for a year he returned to Vishalgad in Śaka 1667 (= A.D. 1745). He then requested Shrimant Gangadharant Pratinidhi to give him some emoluments instead of the fixed salary (*vetan*) and informed him that he had a mind to continue in the service of the State provided the emoluments were adequate to meet the expenses of the family; otherwise if permitted, he would proceed to Bāleghāt. Shrimant Gangadharant promised to give him some money for his expenses and asked him not to leave the State. The promised money was accordingly paid to him. About a year later in Śaka 1668 (= A.D. 1746) Shrimant Shripatrao Pratinidhi who was ruling at Satara died. No sooner this news reached Angre, he began to molest the territory under the government of the Vishalgad State¹ and captured 12 villages in the Rajapur Mahal. He then marched with his troops up the Ghats via the Anuskura Ghat and established a fortress called Muḍāgaḍ and thence he began to enforce his rule. This created an impediment for the government of the Vishalgad State. The Pratinidhi, therefore, called an assembly of all classes of his subjects and sought their counsel as regards the remedial measures to be taken (against Angre). None responded to this appeal, whereupon Nāro Rāyaji made the following request:— 'If he received orders from the Pratinidhi, he would collect 5000 troops and capture Muḍāgaḍ and would drive away Angre's men. Shrimant Gangadharant was very much pleased at this answer but inquired as to how he (Nāro Rāyaji) was going to collect 5000 troops. Nāro Rāyaji replied that the relations of Vadikar Savant² and Angre have been spoiled and that they were then on hostile terms. He (Nāro Rāyaji) was intimately acquainted with Vadikar Savant. He would,

Letter No. 56). He was warned by Raghunathrao Bajirao to cease his depredations which he carried on by making Bijapur province the base of his operations (See Pesh. Daf. 26 No. 282). He deserves a special monograph at the hands of the historians of the period as there is a wealth of material regarding his activities in published and unpublished records.

1. See Letter No. 156 (Rajwade : *Sources of Maratha History Khand* 8) addressed by Balaji Bajirao Pradhan to Tulaji Angre (छत्र मोहरम). The Peshwa gives a serious warning to Tulaji not to molest the *vetan* villages of Krishnarao Pandit Amatya as also the villages under the jurisdiction of Gagangad (=Bavada?). Tulaji appears to have levied on these villages a tax called *kaṣhipaṭṭi*. The Peshwa prohibits in the present letter the exaction of this tax.

2. See Letter No. 158 (Rajwade : *Khand* 8) pp. 181-182 dated 5th April 1738. Nag Savant grants to the Pant Amatya of Bavada (Bhagawant Ramschandra) the Deshakulkarni vatan of Kudal in commemoration of their first meeting and as a token of cordiality between the two families.

therefore, collect 2000 troops from Vadikar Savant..... Rājebahadar¹ (Vādikar Savant) gave 2000 troops and presented a good necklace (Kañthi) to Nāro Rāyāji. These 2000 troops and ...combined with the troops of the Pratinidhi made up 5000 troops. Nāro Rāyāji proceeded with these troops to Muḍāgaḍ and fought a big battle. Angre's men were completely routed, some having been killed in action, while others ran away. Those who ran away were driven below the Ghats. The fortress itself was completely demolished and a plough² with an ass was dragged over the site. Nāro Rāyāji then returned to Vishalgad. The Mānkari of Vadikar Savant were then duly rewarded and Nāro Rāyāji escorted back to Raje Bahadar (= Vadikar Savant) his 2000 troops and reported to him the successful termination of the battle. He then took leave of Raje Bahadar and returned to Vishalgad. In this battle Nāro Rāyāji had one of his fingers wounded. He then requested the Pratinidhi (Gangadhar Krishna) as follows :— "I have carried out as ordered by your honour the business entrusted to me. Your honour should, therefore, grant me a village as a reward (*inām*).” The Pratinidhi replied to the above request as follows :— "I shall immediately increase your present salary of Rs. 100 (per year) by Rs. 200 more. A village also would be granted but at present I am physically indisposed. As soon as I feel well a village also would be granted (as *inām*).” Nāro Rāyāji was displeased at this answer and requested the Pratinidhi as follows :— "I am offered a big job³ (*thor rojgar*) by Himmat Bahadar (Udāji Chavan) and I mean to accept it, but I shall keep my younger brother Viso Rāyāji in your employ with a request that the service should remain with him and that his marriage should be arranged for and brought about by your honour”. The Pratinidhi agreed to this request. After some time Shrimant Gangadharpant Pratinidhi died and Shrimant Amritrao became Pratinidhi. Bhavanrao, the son of Gangadharpant, and his

1. *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. X, p. 441—In 1763 Khem Savant III (1755-1803) married Lakshmibai the daughter of Jayaji Sindia and half-sister of Mahadji Sindia and through their influence received from the Emperor of Delhi the title of *Raje Bahadar*. According to Grant Duff (40) the Savants got this title from Bijapur Kings in whose wars against the Portuguese they distinguished themselves as commanders of infantry.

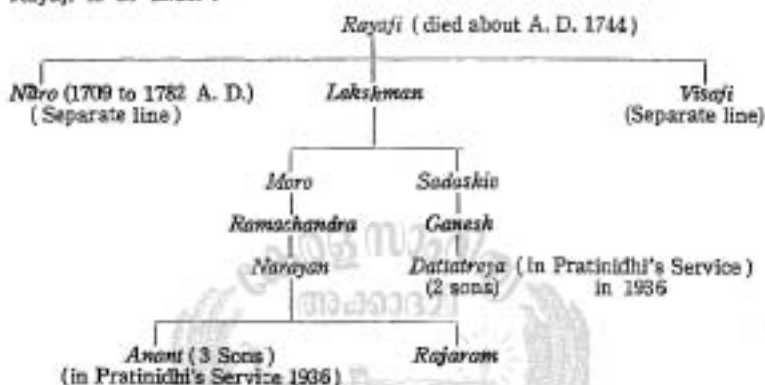
2. The *Panta Pratinidhi Bakhar* uses the term "*vakhar-kavadi*" as a symbol of the desertion of a place. Vide note of Mr. Parasnis recorded by us from his Notes to the *Panta Pratinidhi Bakhar*.

3. As a relic of this service a village called Kipi in the Alta subdivision of the Kolhapur State still continues as an *Inām* to the descendants of Nāro Rāyāji's brother Lakshman Rāyāji. The village Kipi is 13 miles north of Kolhapur on the Poona Belgaum mail road. "It is held in *Sarvanāms* or military grant by Sardar Himmat Bahadar (see

mother were on inimical terms with Amritrao and hence there was a cleavage among them. In the opinion of Amritrao, Nāro Rāyāji belonged to the party of Bhavanrao."¹

The above extract from the *Gode Bakhar* makes Nāro Rāyāji as the leader of the expedition. The *Bakhar* also refers to the promise of Gangadhar Krishna Pratinidhi to Nāro Rāyāji to grant a village as a reward (*inām*) for his successful expedition against

Bombay Gazetteer, Kolhapur, p. 303). The line of descent of Lakshman Rāyāji is as under :—



1. The full significance of the entire extract from the *Gode Bakhar* could be gathered only if the Genealogy of the Satara line of the Pratinidhi is known. This Genealogy as recorded on p. 113 of Part I of the *History of the Sardesai Family* is, therefore, given below :—

A. D.

- | | | |
|---------------------------------|-------------------------------------|----------|
| 1. Parashuram Trimbak 1700-1708 | Naro Shankar Raje | |
| Gangadhar Pralhad 1708-1710 | Bahadur | 7 months |
| 1. Parashuram Trimbak 1710-1711 | 4. Shrinivas Gangadhar 1763-1764 | |
| Narayan Pralhad 1711-1712 | 5. Bhagawantrao | |
| 1. Parashuram Trimbak 1714-1718 | Trimbak 1765-1773 | |
| 2. Shrinivas Parashuram | 4. Shrinivas Gangadhar 1774-1777 | |
| or Shripatrao 1718-1747 | 6. Parashuram Shrinivas | |
| 3. Jagajivan Parashuram | alias Thotopant 1777-1848 | |
| or Dadoba 1747-1754 | N. B.—Persons marked by numbers | |
| 4. Shrinivas Gangadhar | in this genealogy are the ancestors | |
| or Bhavanrao 1754-1761 | of the Present Ruler of Aundh | |
| Bhaskarrao Raghnath 4 months. | State. | |

Bhavanrao towards whose party Nāro Rāyāji was suspected to have some inclinations is, therefore, identical with *Shrinivas Gangadhar* (or Bhavanrao 1754-1761). The *Gode Bakhar* states that in A.D. 1753 Nāro Rāyāji was deputed to Satara to bring 10,000 troops against Tulaji Angre who had then laid siege to Vishalgad. Dadoba or Jagajivan Parashuram (1747-1754) responded to this appeal for help. A complete account of this siege forms the subject of another paper by the present writer. It appears that Nāro Rāyāji was on friendly terms with Dadoba Pratinidhi.

Angre, but the fact of such a grant has not been mentioned therein. That Nāro Rāyāji did play an important part is proved by a reference to him in the *Panta Pratinidhi Bakhar* and by the fact of the Gode family's enjoyment of the *Khoti* rights of two villages viz., Devada and Bhakamba in the Sangameshwar Taluka of the Ratnagiri District. These villages are situated at the foot of the Vishalgad fortress and formerly they belonged to the Pratinidhi of Vishalgad. Family records in the possession of the present writer prove that the Khoti rights of these villages have been enjoyed by the Godes for about 185 years. Then again references to the hereditary service¹ of the Godes with the Pratinidhis of Vishalgad from A.D. 1772 or so upto A.D. 1906 or so are on record. In view of these facts it appears that Gangadhar Krishna Pratinidhi must have kept his promise to Nāro Rāyāji and granted these villages to him sometime before his death in A.D. 1750. This conclusion though not supported by any contemporary document available at present with me is to a certain extent corroborated by the statement made by the grandson of Nāro Rāyāji Gode before the Kārbhāri of the Vishalgad state on 6th August 1846, i.e. about a hundred years after the battle of Mudāgad (1748 A.D.). This statement is as follows :—

"I, Damodar Daji Gode,² caste Karada Brahmin, age 52 years, resident of the village of Bhadkambe, taraf Devale, Gherā Vishalgad declare on oath (*Suru Sam Saba arben mayaten va alaf*) before the Kārbhāri, Vishalgad state as follows :—The Khoti village Bhadkambe belongs to the Pratinidhi. It was granted as *Khoti Vatan*³ by the late Srimant Gangadhar Krishna Pratinidhi to our grandfather Nāro Rāyāji 95 years ago. I am not aware if any *sanad*-

1. *Gode Family Papers*, No. 57 dated 1875 A.D. contains a list of references (दाखले) from Pratinidhi Records proving this hereditary service of the Godes with the Pratinidhi of Vishalgad. Daji Narayan, son of Nāro Rāyāji, served in the years 1772, 1774, 1790, 1804, 1810, 1813, 1814, 1815, 1823 while Babaji Daji, the grandson of Nāro Rāyāji served in 1842. A succession list of the holders of this service so far gathered is (1) Nāro Rāyāji (2) Viso Rāyāji (3) Daji Narayan (4) Babaji Daji (5) Govind Babaji and (6) Daji Govind.

2. *Gode Family Papers* No. 28—This is a copy of a deposition of Damodar Daji Gode, son of Daji Narayan Gode (1761-1831) who was the son of Nāro Rāyāji Gode. This deposition was put as an exhibit in a dispute about the Khoti rights which was conducted for not less than 47 years. As a result of these proceedings much information about the family history of the Godes has been preserved.

3. The *Khots* were "village renters" who in course of time acquired hereditary rights by grant or prescription (see p. 137 of *Bombay Gaz.* Vol. XI). Their rights have been fully defined in *Khoti Act I* of 1880 (see pp. 204-5).

patra was then issued in connection with this grant but we have been enjoying the Khōti rights of this village for about 95 years, etc."

Deducting 95 years from A.D. 1846, the year of Damodar Daji's deposition, we get A.D. 1751 as the year when the grant of the village may have been made but as Gangadhar Krishna Pratinidhi died in 1750 A.D. it is not clear whether he made good his promise before the year of his death or left it to his successor for being given effect to. That Nāro Rāyāji did play an important rôle in the expedition of Muḍāgaḍ against Tulāji Angria has been proved by three different documents, viz., (1) the Panta Pratinidhi Bakhar, (2) the Gode Family Bakhar and (3) the deposition of the grandson of Nāro Rāyāji. It is further corroborated by the actual enjoyment by the descendants of Nāro Rāyāji of the Khoti rights of the two villages Devada and Bhandkamba for over 180 years.

We now come to the question of the exact time of the expedition. The evidence on this point gathered so far converges round the date of Ramachandra Bawaji's letter referred to above, viz., "10th February 1748" though the Editor of the *Peshwa Daftar* has put a sign of interrogation against the year 1748. This evidence may now be stated as follows :—

(1) Bhagavantrao Pant Amatya of Bavada, who was personally present in the battle of Muḍāgaḍ as stated in Ramachandra Bawaji's letter, ruled upto A.D. 1750. Secondly Gangadhar Krishna Pratinidhi who was also present at the battle ruled upto A. D. 1750 (See Genealogy of the Pratinidhis given above). The demolition of Muḍāgaḍ by Nāro Rāyāji Gode must have, therefore, taken place before A.D. 1750, which year furnishes one terminus to the date of the expedition.

(2) Another terminus is furnished by the statement of the *Gode Bakhar* that Angre began his molestations after learning the news of the demise of Shripatrao Pratinidhi in *Saka* 1668 (= A.D. 1746). The date of Shripatrao's death as recorded in the Genealogy of the Satara Pratinidhis quoted above is A.D. 1747. Whatever be the exact date of his death the fact remains that Angre established the fortress of Muḍāgaḍ about A.D. 1747 which, therefore, provides us with another terminus to the date of the expedition.

(3) The *Gode Bakhar* on Folio B, line 1 records the death of the Maratha King Shahu at Satara in *Saka* 1671 (= A.D. 1749) and in the same context refers to the fall of Muḍāgaḍ brought about by Vishalgadkar (i.e., the Pratinidhi of Vishalgad) as a past event. On folio ii of Part II (lines 52-54) of the *Gode Bakhar* it is stated that Nāro Rāyāji returned to his native place (i.e., Hadpīḍ in the

Devagad Taluka of the Ratnagiri District) one year after the fall of Mudāgaḍ. He had, however, to run back to Vishalgad for safety for Angre had sent his own men to capture him because Angre thought that Nāro Rāyaji was responsible for the Mudāgaḍ campaign. Just at this time Shahu died¹. As Shahu died in A.D. 1749 one year before this date gives us A.D. 1748 as the year of the Mudāgaḍ expedition, which, therefore, harmonizes with the date 10th February 1748 mentioned in Letter No. 25 of the Peshwa Daftar Selection (No. 24).

We think the above analysis of the evidence before us leads us to believe that the expedition of Mudāgaḍ took place in A.D. 1748 between January and June, at any rate before the rainy season for the year set in, as military operations in the Western Ghats are difficult during the monsoon. Even Aurangzeb's siege of Vishalgad² in A.D. 1702 lasting for about six months had to be finished before the June of that year. This general conclusion regarding the termination of the battle is to a certain extent particularized by a letter dated 13th March 1748 from the same person who wrote the earlier letter regarding the Mudāgaḍ battle, viz., Ramchandra Bawaji³. He reports in this letter to Sadashiv Bhai that "Tulaji Angre is making preparation to visit Satara. It is rumoured that he wants to present Govalkot (to Shahu)." This letter seems to prove that Tulaji was much harassed by the present expedition and that he wanted to see King Shahu at Satara with a view to pour oil over troubled waters by presenting Govalkot to Shahu. He wanted to see the Peshwa on the *Varṣapratipaddā* or New year day as reported in the last line of the letter dated 1st April 1748 already quoted in this paper.

The foregoing discussion regarding the duration of the battle appears to indicate that the expedition being a vigorous one did not last for more than 2 months. Tulaji had to fight against odds in spite of his best resources and hence the battle or rather the siege was of a comparatively short duration as will be seen from the dates of the reports about Tulaji's activities referred to so far, viz.,

1. We quote the exact words from the Gode Balhar :— "मुहम्मदचे राजकारण केले त्याजमुळे त्याजला घरचे आले तेन्हा पळोन गढास आले इतक्यांत श्रीमन्महाराज शाहूराजे यांचा काल जाहल्यावर etc."

2. Vide an exhaustive account of the siege of Vishalgad in the *Pratinidhi Bakhar* published by Shrimant Balasaheb Pant Pratinidhi, B.A., Raja of Aundh. This is a history of the Satara line of Pratinidhis and is different from the Pant Pratinidhi Bakhar published in *Bharatavarze*, Khapda I referred to in this paper.

3. *Peshwa Daftar Selection* No. 26—(Letter No. 25) dated 13th March 1748. From Ramchandra Bawaji to Bhausaheb (Sadashiv Bhai).

- (1) 10th February 1748—Battle in progress.
- (2) 13th March 1748—Tulaji intends to visit Shāhu and present Govaikot.
- (3) 1st April 1748—Account of the battle as a completed event given to the Peshwa.

We think, therefore, that the battle began about the 15th of January 1748 and ended about the 15 of March 1748—a period of 2 months.

We shall now discuss the question of the exact location of the fortress referred to as "*Mudāgaḍ*" in the *Gode Bakhar* and the *Panta Pratinidhi Bakhar*; "*Mudyaḡgaḍ*" in Ramachandra Bawaji's letter to the Peshwa and "*Mudāḡongar*" in the letter of Brahmendra Svami of Dhavadshi referred to above. Śrī Brahmendra merely includes it among the list of fortresses usurped by Angria such as Govaikot, Bankot, Maṇḡagaḍ, etc., but no information about its exact location is given by him because the letter does not furnish any occasion for such a description. The *Gode Bakhar* states that the fortress was established above the Ghats by the Angria and his access to the place was via the Aṇuskurā Ghāt. This description also does not give us the exact location of the fortress above the Ghāta though it indicates that the fortress must have been somewhere in the vicinity of the Aṇuskurā Ghāt.

The most accurate description of the location of the fortress is, however, furnished by the *Panta Pratinidhi Bakhar* which states that the name of the ridge of the Sahyādri mountains where the fortress was established was called the Mudāḡongar (cf. Brahmendra Svami's mention of 'Mudāḡongar') or Muḡā mountain and consequently the fortress itself, which must have been perched on the summit of this mountain, came to be called by various names, viz., *Mudāḡongar*, *Mudāgaḍ*, *Mudyaḡ Muḡā*¹ all of which being used indiscriminately with reference to one and the same fortress, which had some strategic importance for Angria's plundering activities above the Ghats. The *Panta Pratinidhi Bakhar* also states that the fortress is situated in

1. Vide p. 85 of *Shivaji Souvenir* (ed. G. S. Sardesai, 1927) where Mr. D. V. Kale in his list of *Maratha forts* (pp. 48-94) makes the following entry:—"Mira ūri Muḡā, ḡongar—to the east of Peṇ. Here Shivaji attacked the Mogul Sardar Nāmdārkhān". I am not aware on what authority Mr. Kale equates "Mira" with "Muḡā" as the list is not documented. It is very likely that historians of the Maratha period not knowing the history of the Mudāgaḍ fort which was demolished 188 years ago confused its name with other names of forts in the Deccan. My personal inquiries with many students of the Maratha period have revealed that the name Mudāgaḍ was unknown to them and this is natural for the reason that the episode connected with this fort has not been hitherto studied and recorded.

the Malkapura Taluka near the Village Pisātri Parasāli.¹ On looking to the map we find the village Kājirde situated below the Ghats in the present Devagad Taluka of the Ratnagiri District. Before 1830 the Vijayadurga Taluka comprised the entire territory, now covered up by the Rajapur and Devagad Talukas of the Ratnagiri District. The village Parasāli is found located opposite the village Kājirde but above the Ghats. The height of the Sahayadri mountain range between these two places is 2,260 feet above the sea level as recorded on the Map, while at the Anuskurā Ghāt and thereabout it is 2,445 feet and consequently Angria must have found it easy to push his troops at the former place. Secondly the position is much nearer Vijayadurga, headquarters of the Angria, than the Anuskurā Ghāt.

Before A.D. 1830 the province of Ratnagiri included five Talukas, viz., (1) Suvarnadurga, (2) Anjanvel, (3) Ratnagiri,² (4) Vijayadurga, (5) Malvan. Each Taluka was divided into *tapās* or *Mahāls* or *tarfs*. The Vijayadurga Taluka had four Mahāls, viz., (1) Kharepatan, (2) Rajapur, (3) Saudal and (4) Vijayadurga. The Ghats in the Vijayadurga Taluka were three only, viz., (1) Anuskurā, (2) Fonḍā and (3) Kājirā.

The Panta Pratinidhi Bakhar states that about 400 of Angria's men were killed in an action below the Ghat in the Saudal Mahāl and that the Mudāgaḍ fortress was situated near the Kājirā Ghat, which then was included in the Vijayadurga Taluka. We have in these statements the exact location of the Mudāgaḍ, viz., its situation

1. See p. 102 of Graham's *Kolhapur Report*—List of villages in Kolhapur State—Possibly the following entries refer to the very villages mentioned in the Panta Pratinidhi Bakhar :—

"724—*Pesoli*"—Peta Panala—24 miles from Kolhapur 33 houses—population 165.

"725—*Pudsalee*"—Peta Panala—30 miles from Kolhapur 47 houses—population 266.

"779—*Pudsalee*"—Bavada Peta—33 miles from Kolhapur 47 houses—population 249.

2. Vide pp. 58-59 of the *History of Sardesai Family*, Part I.

3. One Parashurampant has been mentioned as the Subhedar of Ratnagiri in a letter dated 6th December 1790 (Vide Khare : *Aitihāsik Lekha Samgraha*, Part VIII, 1915, p. 4397). He was instructed by Parashuram Bhau Patwardhan to attend upon the two British battalions requisitioned by the Marathas for the siege of Dharwar. These battalions landed at Sangameshwar and went to Dharwar via the Amba Ghat, situated on the northern side of the Vishalgad Fortress. Lt. Edward Moor describes the Sahayadri range of mountains at this Ghat as "indeed a tremendous pass", "their stupendous height really exceeds anything that can be imagined by strangers" (Vide p. II of Moor's *Narrative of the Operations of Capt. Little's Detachment* etc. London, 1794, p. 526).

at the top of Kājirdā Ghat, which was then included in the Saudal Mahal of the Vijayadurga Taluka. In view of this specification of the location we cannot connect Muḍāgaḍ with the Aṇuskurā, though Angria may have brought his troops above the Sahyadri range by both the Ghats in the then Vijayadurga Taluka, viz., the Aṇuskurā Ghāt and the Kajirda Ghat.

It appears then that the Muḍāgaḍ fortress had a special strategic importance for the Angria as it was on the border of the then constituted Vijayadurga Taluka. We are not aware of its being known in earlier Mogul or Maratha history like many other fortresses in the Maharashtra. It would, therefore, be interesting to trace the exact time in the history of the Angria when this place assumed strategic importance. We have seen above that Letter No. 154 from Shri Brahmendra Svami of Dhavadshi to Bhagavantrao Pant Amatya of Bavada which contains a reference to Muḍāgaḍ and its usurpation by the Angria is dated A.D. 1739. Two years earlier, i.e., in a letter dated 25th July 1737¹ addressed by Sambhaji Angre to Shri Brahmendra Svami he reports the detention of one Visaji Pant² by the men residing in the Muḍāgaḍ (*Muḍāgaḍgarī*) through treachery and requests the Svami to show his powers by bringing about the release of this Visaji Pant so that Visaji Pant should visit the Svami personally. He also complains that the men of the Muḍāgaḍ are molesting the adjoining territories. A still earlier reference to Muḍā and Muḍkaris is traced in Letter No. 151 which is dated 1st June 1736.³ It is addressed by Sambhaji Angre⁴ to Bhagawant-rao Pant Amatya of Bavada with a view to win him over to his side. In this letter Sambhaji Angre complains that Bajirao Pandit Pradhan, i.e., the Peshwa gave him certain assurances on oath (*bel bhākar*) but contrary to them he behaved treacherously by demolishing Muḍāgaḍ. Further, the people of Muḍāgaḍ (*Mudkaris*) also behaved treacherously towards him.

1. Rajawade : *Sources of Maratha History*, Khaṇḍa 3, p. 270—letter No. 278 dated 25th July 1737.

2. Ibid, p. 336—Letter No. 368 is written by Visajiram to Svami and in Letter No. 369 which is a supplement (to No. 368 ?) the writer asks the Svami not to refer to Muḍāgaḍ in his letters and confide in anyone ("मुदागडचा वख्त देख करून कोणाचा विश्वास न घरावा").

3. Rajawade : *Sources of Maratha History*, Khaṇḍa 8.

4. Raghunath Prabhu, the minister of the Angria is referred to in this letter [see also *Peshwa Daftar* No. 40 (letter 18) dated 1739] Sambhaji Angre writes to Svami in letter No. 151 of 1-6-1736—"Raghunath Prabhu has behaved treacherously but will reap the fruits of his treachery by the grace of God etc."

It would appear from the foregoing references that every time Angria attempted to occupy Muḍāgaḍ, a place of some strategic importance, his attempt was thwarted by other powers. It would, therefore, be interesting to investigate the question of the demolition of Muḍāgaḍ by Bajirao Pant Pradhan referred to in the present letter. Angria must have realized the importance of this strategic position much earlier than 1736 A.D. and if Bajirao Pant Pradhan took the credit of demolishing it for the first time much to the chagrin of the Angria, Nāro Rāyaji on behalf of the Pratinidhi of Vishalgad and with the willing and active co-operation of Raje Bahadur Vadikar Savant, Bhagawantrao Pant Amatya of Bavada and Apaji Angre¹ demolished it finally. At any rate Muḍāgaḍ ap-

1. Apaji Angre's name has been disclosed to us only in Letter No. 20 received on 1st April 1748 by the Peshwa (Peshwa Daftar Selection 24). He appears to have been a Pro-Peshwa rival brother of Tulaji Angre and must have secretly worked against Tulaji. Mr. G. S. Sardesai in a foot note to the above letter in the *Peshwa Daftar* suggests that he must be identical with Yesaji Angre but puts a sign of interrogation against this identification. On a closer search in the published Maratha records I have been successful in tracing the following letters of Apaji Angre which might help historians to prove the identity of this rival brother of Tulaji :—

- (1) Letter No. 60 (in Pingulkar's History of the Savantwadi State) from Apaji Angre to Pandurang Vishram and Jivaji Vishram (Sabnis). In this letter Apaji styles himself as "आपाजी आंगरे सरसेल" and states "Be ready for immediate action. You know already that the present opportunity would never appear again. The Pant Amatya (of Bavada) has already written to you about this matter. You must hurry up in view of that request also".
- (2) Letter No. 61 (Pingulkar's History of Savantwadi State) From Apaji Angre to Pandurang Vishram Sabnis. In this letter also Apaji calls himself सरसेल.—"You have made preparations. The invasion will take place very shortly."

Both these letters contain in the margin circular seal stamp impression containing the words "श्री बाहूनुपहर्षण सरसेल समुच्चते आपाजी आंगरेण भद्रेय समुल्लसविराजित"

- (3) Letter No. 204 (*Life of Brahmendresvami*, by Parasnis, p. 207) from Apaji Angre to Brahmendresvami
- (4) Letter No. 206 (*Life of Brahmendra*, pp. 207-08) from Apaji Angre to Brahmendra, dated 2nd December, 1744.

In both these letters Apaji Angre does not call himself "सरसेल" or 'Lord of Admiralty.' Possibly Apaji had not received this title from the Peshwa when these letters were written to Brahmendra. This conclusion is further supported by a line in the letter of 2nd December

pears to have loomed large in the history of Angria's activities for over a decade say between A. D. 1736 and 1748.

P. K. GODE.



1744 which reads "शिवा कव्यार देव्यास स्वामी समर्थ आहेत" i.e. Svami is competent enough to give him the 'seal' and 'dagger' which were the symbols of the office of *Sarkhel* or Lord of Admiralty. Presumably Apaji was trying to become *सरखेल* through the influence of Shri Brah-mendra, the spiritual adviser of the Peshwa. If this conclusion is accepted the first two letters with Apaji's seal as *सरखेल* were written some time after A.D. 1744. We have no means of ascertaining whether the title *सरखेल* was conferred on him by the Peshwa after 1748 A.D. in recognition of his services to the cause of the Peshwa in the Mudgud expedition or earlier. This point will have to be examined by ascertaining the exact dates regarding the award of this title to the several persons in the Angre family. As there can be only one *सरखेल* at a time recognised by the Peshwa it would be possible to collect data regarding the use of this title from published records. Mr. Paramis in a footnote to p. 207 of *Life of Brah-mendra* where Apaji Angre's letters have been recorded, suggests with a sign of interrogation that 'Apaji' is another name of 'Sambhaji' Angre. Personally I am not yet convinced as to whether *Apaji* = *Yesaji* or *Sambhaji*.

[N. B.—Since this paper was sent to the press I have written a separate paper proving the identity of Apaji Angre with Yesaji Angre.]

LIFE AND ART IN THE MUGHAL PERIOD.

THE MENTAL BACKGROUND OF MUGHAL PAINTING AND ITS REFLECTION IN ART

Mughal Art cannot be really understood if we consider it only from the æsthetic point of view. It was an integral part of the life surrounding it; it depended on the mentality of the persons who created it or who ordered the execution of these masterpieces. This mental attitude has changed in the different phases of Mughal civilisation as it was influenced not only by the tastes and predilections of single persons, but also by the various fashions in daily life, literature or religion. Neither can we ignore the influence of political events, social and ethnic entities and religious denominations in power. For all these are but the expressions of more comprehensive movements, with old and vital traditions behind them, which inevitably influenced the life of the period. But this life in its turn is governed also by its own laws, which are reflected in the fashions, in the artistic style, in the themes and in the way of expression of literature and painting. Thus, the mentality of the various periods of Mughal civilisation is the key to the history of its art; but at the same time an analysis of those expressions of the mental life in art will reveal to us many new sides of the spiritual history of the Mughal Empire.

The manner of this expression is a double one, direct or through the medium of intellectual interests and spiritual ideals. The direct way, this is every sort of style in art, literature, fashion. Simplicity and refinement, repose and nervousness, monumentality and playfulness are betrayed by the outlines of costumes, buildings, paintings in the same way as in the characters of writing or in the timbre of language. Creative originality, conventionalism or imitation, good manners or vulgarity are indicated by the way of treating an artistic or literary theme, sensitiveness or coarseness by its quality. The particular character of the disguise affected by dress betrays the ideal which people of different times seek to imitate, frankness and reserve, joy of life and puritanism, refinement and brutality or effeminacy. The selection of artistic and literary themes is an outcome of the fancies and inclinations of artists and connoisseurs, of the delight in the pleasures of country life, hunting, war, or in ridiculous or voluptuous scenes, of the sense for the realities of this world or romantic fairy-

dreams, or the mystic exaltation of the secluded religious man ; the joy of life, of activity or study, of the negation of life, the reminiscence of a by-gone golden age, the hope for better, peaceful times or even the Divine glory in another world.

And behind the veil of these sentiments the spiritual counter-parts of those great cultural movements take shape. For all these features, seen from a more elevated point of view, are not purely accidental, though we must concede a considerable margin to the individuality of the different persons who in a group constitute the society of the period. Thus it is not one singular expression but the coincidence of many similar features that may be taken as the spiritual ensign of a special historical period. It is, for instance, not merely accident, that in the reign of Shahjahan pictures and illustrated books relating the history of the earlier Mughals are numerous. Of course similar paintings are also found in other times, for instance during the reign of Akbar I or Akbar II. But the reasons are not the same. Under the first of these emperors it was the expression of the beginning of a new age, under Shahjahan that of the legitimism of the empire at its zenith, in the 19th century the reminiscence of a vanished glory. This difference is to be felt in the different manner of historical painting during each of these periods. In the art of Akbar's reign it is the memory of the adventures of Babur and Humayun, not differentiated from the exploits of Akbar himself ; it is the pleasure taken by active men of the adventurous life of their predecessors. In the works of the Shahjahan school this is different : not the exploits, but the glory of the dynasty are important ; not the adventurers but the mighty ancestor, the conqueror Timur in all the state of his sovereignty awakes the interest of the court : Timur humiliating Bayezid, the ancestor of the sultans of that Ottoman Empire which almost overshadowed the lustre of the Great Mughal. And finally the art of Akbar II : it dwells on the glory not of Timur or Babur or Akbar, but of the whole period of Mughal prosperity, especially of its most splendid phase during the reigns of Shahajahan and Aurangzeb ; yet it is a sentimental evocation, without temperament, without dignity. On the other hand the legitimism of Shahjahan is evinced by other features, for instance the predilection for durbar scenes, for the emblems of sovereignty, such as the sun, the phoenix, the lion, canopies held by angels, etc. Other features of the life in his time are in full correspondence with this attitude. There is a certain affectedness in the manners of Shahjahan's contemporaries, a reserve and an accentuated dignity, a dissimulation which are all obvious from the habits of the persons portrayed in the miniatures. The same artificiality is to be seen in the fashions : The preference

given to white or quiet colours, the refined but unobtrusive cut of the dresses, the growing use of make-up with women. Or in the style of art: The same selection of white or soft colours, the quietness of outline and of poses, the dignity and slowness of actions, the delicacy but also the stylization and even occasional stiffness of the drawing. After this brief digression, intended to demonstrate how the interrelations between art, culture and history may throw some light on the spiritual attitude of the period dealt with, let us follow the great outlines of Mughal civilization. Let us observe its changing mental aspect in the mirror of its art, literature etc. The reign of Akbar saw the birth of the Mughal civilisation in all its different forms, political, material, artistic, literary, religious. But in fact, all these were only different aspects of one fundamental phenomenon, the remarkable change in the mental sphere. Before his reign, we have the late Timurid civilisation of Turkistan, amidst an Indian environment; now, there is Mughal civilisation, a mixture of Indian and Muhammedan elements, but more than both of them, a new civilisation of its own.

Babur, the founder of the Mughal empire, is still the typical prince of the declining Timurid Empire. A semi-nomad of a country where oases with artificial irrigation are interspersed between deserts and wild mountains. His is a life in the saddle, military expeditions, hunting and polo, almost always in the open air. Repose is life in a garden with all the joys of flowers and murmuring rivelets, birds and tamed animals. Politics are feuds and clan-affairs between knights and their retinue, administration the distribution of a conquered country into fiefs. But it is at the same time the life of a declining empire, without the seriousness and the greatness of those ages which saw the beginning of a new epoch in human history. It is the spirit of a policy of petty feuds between relatives and co-nationalists, even when the situation grows serious; it is a warfare, where there is not so much at stake as to prevent foolish caprices of chivalrous generosity. And in spite of the semi-nomadic habits of this aristocracy, urban civilisation is already refined enough to produce a very luxurious and even extravagant style of life. The fashions are those of cavaliers, suited for riding and life in the open air; but at the same time a fantastic extravagance of their shapes and a profuse luxury in their materials are obvious, high hats and long scarves, loose sleeves and turned up coat-tails, costly jewellery of diadems, buttons and belts, gay colours and costly brocades with large ornaments. Architecture exhibits the same characteristic features. A minimum of solid buildings, mostly fortifications. Stone-built houses are not so much intended to live in, but

to be the nucleus of a series of more lofty structures, gardens, tents, wooden pavilions, decorated with carpets and mats. There is no difference between the commodities of urban or nomadic life. Life in the house is but the luxurious form of tent-life. Air-dried bricks and wood are the perishable materials of architecture, but its forms are extravagant and over-intricate, pavilions of several storeys, built on a hexagonal or octagonal ground-plan, trimmed with gilded bronze-rings and ornaments, wood-carvings, ornamental paintings and gaily-coloured enamelled tiles. And painting also is of the same parentage. A detailed study of nature is still unknown; or, more correctly, there is a very good observation of nature, but this observation does not aim at a photographic exactness. It sees all things in a very summary, conventional way, an immense quantity of bright, joyous, active types but almost without individuality, without a life of their own. What a wonderful landscape, what elegant gentlemen and ladies, what charming birds and deer and horses and flowers. But such a landscape has never existed in real life, it is rather a carpet with wonderful designs; such figures are not men, they are rather Chinese puppets of an exquisite elegance. In spite of all its refinement it is still the art of a nomadic civilisation, the offspring of the more simple work of the carpet-weaver in front of his tent on the Transoxanian steppe. Just like poetry, which still breathes the spirit of the Beduin Qasidas and Ghazals, or of the ancient Iranian epic. Separated from nomadic art by a long and brilliant urban development, they have not yet put away their ancestral garb; they are the last, the most refined offshoots of a nomadic Central-Asiatic civilisation full of the germs of a new age to come; but nevertheless, they are still irrevocably tied to that more primitive past.

This Chagatai civilisation remained dominant until the times of Akbar, up to the beginning of the last quarter of the 16th century. But it lingered on until the first years of Jahangir's reign, when it was definitely absorbed by the new Mughal civilisation, then near the zenith of its development. The relations with the Persian court during Humayun's disturbed reign only influenced it superficially, as Safavian culture, refined as it has been, was but a twin sister of the Chagatai one, sprung from the same Timurid mother. The revolution came with Akbar's change of Mughal policy. It was the end of a foreign Chagatai rule in India, it was the beginning of a mixed Indo-Muslim empire. Akbar has not Hinduized Chagatai civilisation, because he did as much to teach his Indian subjects Persian and Turani culture. But he gave both nations, both religions, both civilisations the same start in the creation of a new culture. In the writings of his historian and eulogist Abu'l-Fazl there is the same spirit of a new

Aeon, of the beginning of a new age, as in the poems of Horatius in honour of the Augustean age, or in the Christian gospels. Tradition was set aside and its place was filled by other ideals, efficiency, truth, justice and nature, which, of course, were familiar also to other times, but which hitherto had been unhesitatingly identified with existing conventional conceptions. Conventions, however, are deep rooted in the human mind not because men are generally so prepossessed in favour of any idea or custom, but because it is so difficult to learn that there are also other possible ways of life and thought than those they are accustomed to. And therefore, the effects of Akbar's reforms became a reality only in the reign of his son Jahangir, when the ideas underlying it were more and more forgotten.

Though at the first sight there seems to be no wider gulf possible than that between the Hindus and the Muhammedans of Akbar's time, a close inquiry reveals certain routes of approach towards a common understanding. Mughals as well as Rajputs were feudal aristocracies with similar ideals; their outward manners of life were not absolutely different because the latter had accepted some elements of earlier Timurid culture; between both religions there was the common bond of mysticism, the belief in the unity and universality of God behind the veil of different rites, and even in art quite a number of affinities were to be found between the architecture and pictorial art of both nations. Wall niches, *chhayyas*, *chattris*, many storeyed pavilions, etc. were common features of building; strongly outlined, unmodelled, vehemently agitated figures in a decorative landscape without any suggestion of space were the characteristics of Mughal as well as of Rajput miniatures. A part of the Rajputs had adopted Timurid-Pathan dress, though, with some modifications; literature had a predilection for heroic and romantic epics and mystic love poetry.

Thus a new empire, a new civilisation found their origin. Mughal and Rajput feudal lords were given equal rank, but the outcome was the overthrow of feudalism and the creation of a semi-modern bureaucratic administration under an absolute emperor. In the same way the manners of life, art, literature and religion were reconstructed on a base mixed from Hindu and Muhammedan elements. In all these cases the first constituted the basic elements, the latter produced the general conception of the whole. The outcome, however, was the new civilisation of the Mughal empire, as both constituents lost so much of their creative characteristic particularities that they ceased to be Rajput or Chagatai. The spirit moulding this floating mass of debris, therefore, had nothing in common with both these traditions, but was the idea of the new Aeon, the coming age,

It was a spirit of activity and joy of life, humanism and soberness. In the same way as in the administration and policy an efficient, objective spirit replaces the chivalrous follies of the preceding period, so fashions lose their extravagances of cut and material, and plain, though gaudy materials are used for simple dresses of mainly Rajput origin, improved by additional pieces of Turkestanl or Persian type. Architecture, though constructed in the Indian manner and designed on half Rajput, half Chagatai conceptions, tends to this same simplicity and effectiveness of outline and colour, in spite of an exuberant mass of wonderful decorative details. Literature, mostly in Persian, gets interest in the new themes of its Indian surroundings, by translating the most famous epics of Hindu literature, and by a scientific survey of the new empire. Or it glorifies the exploits of the emperor and his contemporaries in epic poems or extensive historical works. Poetry, somewhat neglected, adds a new note to mystic lyricism by the adoption of the new Hindu-Muslim syncretism. Painting, finally, of Indian outline and Persian composition, becomes more and more a new art, as the study of nature tends to overcome the conventions of both styles, and creates a wonderful realism of the detail and an impression of space in the landscape. Less elegant than the Persian art of its time, it excels by its realism and vitality, its enjoyment of the beauties of all things, beasts and flowers, mountains and rivers, the joy of life full of exciting adventures and heroic exploits.

But the new age never did come. It is true that a magnificent new empire, a brilliant new civilisation had come into being ; but they were never completed. With Akbar's death his new conception of life vanished. Akbar's son Jahangir was a sceptic without the enormous activity of his father. He maintained his policy, but he did not fulfil it to an end. Thus Akbar's reforms remained a fragment. His policy was generally followed during the whole of the 17th century. But the spirit of Hindu-Muslim reconciliation was replaced by that of a "Realpolitik" of religious indifference, and during the reigns of Shahjahan and Aurangzeb the earlier ideas of Muslim rule in India regained their ground. His administrative reforms had reached the stage of European improvements in the 16th century ; but the complete absorption of military and economic feudalism which was accomplished by Western absolute royalty in the 17th century, was never attempted. His "Din-i Ilahi" was replaced first by a tolerant, later by more and more orthodox forms of Islam. And only in the field of fine arts, Mughal civilisation reached the zenith of the possibilities inaugurated by the great emperor.

It would, however, be unjust to ignore the great cultural achievements of Jahangir's reign. If the new forward tendencies of Akbar's

time were not continued, it cannot be denied that the new civilisation which sprung up during the late 16th century became refined and accomplished to the utmost degree. Seen from a cultural point of view the reign of Jahangir was the zenith of Mughal civilisation. The amount of new cultural elements to be assimilated was unimportant. Rajput influence was still strong, though of less importance than in Akbar's times. It had also changed somewhat of its character by the increasing importance of the Western hill rajas, especially of Nurpur-Kangra, during the long stay of the court at Lahore; this is to be felt chiefly in female court dress. The influence of Safavid Persia under Shah 'Abbas the Great is of far more interest. Already during the years of rebellion against his father, the then crown-prince had cultivated Persian taste, fashions and manners among his retinue. Although after his accession to the throne he generally resumed the policy of Akbar, Persian taste continued because of the influence of the empress Nur Jahan, a born Persian, and her family. However there was no direct copying from Persian models. Mughal civilisation had now found its own expression. Its various ethnic components still to be distinguished even during the last years of Akbar, got amalgamated into one single, and very accomplished style of life. No doubt, its Muhammedan accent was somewhat more emphasized; nevertheless it was really Indian and had nothing more in common with contemporary Persian or Turkish culture. But on the other hand it began to differentiate itself more and more also from Rajput life. It is, however, difficult to ascertain the exact reasons of this phenomenon. The new spiritual attitude of Akbar's time is, of course, still to be felt in the independence from any ethnic or religious tradition in the orientation of taste by a direct criticism of beauty, efficiency, truth, etc. As such a proceeding wholly depends on the individual character of the leading persons, the changed attitude of Jahangir and his wife towards life is of the greatest importance. Jahangir's realism missed the creative activity of his father; he is contemplative and likes to enjoy the beauties of life, full of interest, cultivated, critical. Though not creative himself, he knows how to appreciate and to encourage the work of other persons. Thus his policy saw no important innovations, but it continued the good traditions inaugurated by Akbar, under efficient administrators. His influence was most felt in art, especially painting, for which he had much predilection. He encouraged the study of nature and portraiture, and took interest in extraordinary beasts and flowers, European watches and pictures, etc.; he liked hunting scenes and representations of refined court life. But book illustration and warlike themes fell into abeyance. Less vital than Akbari art, the style of the Jahangir school is more uniform and

delicate. The same realism is obvious in Jahangir's literary tastes; he was fond of biographies and memoirs, but epic and romantic poems such as the Persian liked, bored him. And there we have to discuss the part played by the empress Nur Jahan. No doubt, the considerable number of well illustrated manuscripts of Persian epics and fable books which have come down to us, must be due to her orders and those of her Persian surroundings. Also the new fashion of soft colours on a white ground obvious in the dresses and the art of this period may be a product of similar tendencies in contemporary Persian civilisation. But I doubt whether this explanation is sufficient. Are we justified in discovering a more direct evidence of the influence of Nur Jahan? She was herself a good artist, her costly embroideries made a strong impression on the emperor's mind. There is a specific feminine note in the art of these years. The fine dresses of thin, translucent muslin, adorned by gold bands and embroideries, the white marble buildings with inlaid ornaments, the decoration resembling embroidery work trimmed up with jewellery. The refined luxury of toilet articles, perfumes, fine jewellery, household goods, etc., all these show the influence of a highly cultivated lady, or of men under the spell of such a woman. And we must not forget that Nur Jahan was probably the most powerful, the most influential woman India has ever seen.

The age of Jahangir's son and successor, Shahjahan, has a double aspect. On the one hand, it seems to be the ostensible zenith of the Mughal empire, the period when it reached its greatest power and brilliance. But on the other hand the real climax has already been passed, the foundation of the empire and of its civilisation laid by Akbar are undermined to prepare the final downfall of all this splendour. The cracks in the building are, however, still almost invisible. A new imperialism got the upperhand in Mughal Policy which during the reign of Aurangzeb was to extend the frontiers of the empire over almost the whole of India, and to spread its fame over the whole world. Aggressive wars are waged in every direction, against the Ozbegs, the Persians, the Portuguese, Assam, Bijapur and Golconda. Behind this aggressiveness there was a new spirit of greatness, the renaissance of the old tradition of the Muhammedan conquerors in the midst of heathen countries. And as the Mughal Empire was well able to vie with that of the Ottoman sultans, Shahjahan aspired also to a certain degree the rank of the Khalifa, the one legal head of the Moslem world. Never before had such a splendour been displayed by any other Mughal ruler, such wealth, such luxury. Never had the might of the dynasty been so emphasized by every possible means, the gigantic army, the fairy palaces at Agra, Lahore, etc., but chiefly

at New Delhi-Shahjahanabad; by the extensive historical and eulogist writings, the paintings illustrating the majesty of the ruler, the valour of his predecessors, their descent from the great conquerors Chinghiz-Khan and Tamerlane, their claimed supremacy over the heretic king of Persia and the Sultan of Rum once humiliated by Tamerlane. But it is this very conception of greatness that weakened the foundations of the empire laid by Akbar. The increasingly exhibited Muhammedan character of the Mughal state was bound to endanger the good relations between Mughals and Rajputs, which gave to the dynasty its firm hold over India and the equilibrium between both parties which gave to the emperor his autocratic independence above his nobles. The aspirations to superhuman greatness were to estrange the emperor from his subjects, to emasculate the court, to exhaust the financial and cultural resources of the country. It must be said that such disastrous consequences were not yet to be felt during this reign.

But the first symptoms became evident already in the midst of this apparent splendour. In daily life there are a few changes. The new luxurious style developed during Jahangir's reign becomes general everywhere. But the Rajput element is eliminated in dress as well as in architecture. The common people, a favourite theme of painting in Akbar's and Jahangir's days are more and more ignored; rural scenes assume the unreal idyllic character they have preserved until the end of Mughal painting. Court life, which in spite of many excesses was frank and healthy during the previous reigns, begins to exhibit isolated, but undeniable morbid aspects. The pleasure in sport and bodily exercises slowly vanishes, that in alcoholic and sexual debauches is in the ascendant. The paintings of this period show a rapidly diminishing number of hunting scenes, and even these are only of the less dangerous and tiring type, betraying the first indications of lasciviousness. The position of women has changed. Babur's and Akbar's wives and concubines were healthy housewives, firm in the saddle, and interested in domestic work. Nur Jahan was the first refined and cultivated lady in the modern sense of the word and still her type is predominant at the Mughal Court of the 17th Century. But in the days of Shahjahan there first appears that luxurious zenana lady, only interested in love affairs and toilet vanities. Another evidence of this decline is art. No other buildings or paintings have been so accomplished, so marvellous as those of Shahjahan's reign. But a closer view is disappointing. The masters of these marvels are aged men who had been brought up in the service of Jahangir! The proper artists of the Shahjahan period were far inferior to them, splendid mannerists elaborating well-tested formulae. Babur and

Humayun, Akbar and Jahangir had taken a personal interest in their artists, they were critical connoisseurs and benevolent patrons; Shah-jahan wished for the pomp and the glorification of his splendid rule. But this splendour was paid for with the slow exhaustion of the political and cultural capital hoarded up by his predecessors.

During the reign of Aurangzeb, the blunders of Shahjahan became still more obvious. The Muhammedan imperialism of the new emperor made the Mughal Empire from the paramount to almost the only political power in India. But when he died the foundations of the empire were de facto destroyed, the Hindus wholly estranged, the state dependent on an inefficient and unwieldy, yet the more egoistic and ambitious military aristocracy, the lower classes impoverished, the arts and culture in rapid decline. The whole extent of these disastrous consequences did not, however, become apparent before the reigns of Jahandar Shah and Farrukhsiyar. The increasing importance of the Deccan army may be observed chiefly in the change of dress. The fine fragile costumes of the two previous reigns are completely ousted from masculine fashion, and are supplanted by a military attire, to a certain degree approaching the style of the Golconda court the nobles of which had been incorporated into the Mughal army. Feminine fashion on the other hand did not change. In all the other fields of culture no dominant tendency can be distinguished. The court of a Puritan, mostly far off from the accustomed residences, could not be the centre of luxury, art, literature etc. Thus the official buildings are on the whole but deteriorated imitations of the master-pieces of the first half of the century. Official painting was still excellent in the beginning of the reign, still concentrated on the glorification of the Grand Mughal. Later official works are rare and somewhat lifeless and showy. Yet the Imperial Court had ceased to be the centre of Indian artistic life during this period. Other centres were in the making. There are at least one, but probably two other schools of Mughal painting which I should assign to the particular establishments of the prince Shah Alam and perhaps of the princess Zeban-Nisa Begam. Both preserve the pompous style of Shahjahan's time in a more conventional, but also more harmonious form. The first group, however, is rather eclectic and betrays strong influences from Deccani, Persian and Western art which partly may be associated with the painter Muhammad Zaman, and are still obvious in some works of the period when Shah Alam had become the emperor Bahadur Shah I. The other is more uniform and gracious, of a distinctive feminine taste, well suited to a poetess and learned lady as was that famous princess. Other centres were the Rajput courts where the hitherto lingering art tradition of the 16th century begins

to breathe a new, individual life which was to attain fulness in the 18th century. And there also architecture, still hampered by wars and persecution, begins to assume a new, national aspect of the Mughal-Rajput imperial style. And finally there was the great mass of artists removed from the imperial *kar-khanahs* who in the bazars sought to earn a poor living by the production of base, cheap drawings. Thus in cultural life all the disruptive tendencies are conspicuous already before the break up of the empire became a fact.

The history of Indian civilisation in the 18th century, therefore, was not an abrupt disastrous decline, its psychological forebodings are distinguishable already under Shahjahan, the outlines of its new grouping can be traced as early as during Aurangzeb's reign. But there was still the scrupulous energy of the old Puritan, the experienced routine of the administration and the inherited loyalty of most of his subjects. Only when the sore did affect these principal pillars of the state, was the empire to break asunder. Twenty years were sufficient for this work of destruction. Under the brief reign of Bahadur Shah I the imperial princes became state prisoners, effeminate, often cowards, without any experience of public life and any followers of their own. Such emperors were puppets in the hands of wily courtiers, distributing their favours as fancy or fear changed. The administration soon became a resort of speculation and extortion. The government, squandering its rapidly vanishing revenues on insensate follies, faithless favourites and bribes for greedy nobles, saw no other way of keeping up its control over the provinces than by playing out one governor, *diwan* or general against the other. At the court the grandees intrigued and in the provinces they fought against each other, each extorting from the poor country as much as he could, appealing for help even to robbers and foreign enemies. As late as the middle of the 18th century a number of well-defined Federated States had developed, the history of which was but a reiteration of the break-up of the Mughal empire.

The civilisation of this time is merely the luxury of a small, mostly amoral aristocracy amidst a depopulated and ruined country. Of course, there were exceptions, even of a high standard, in almost every part of India; but they were ephemeral and rather enhance the gloomy spectacle. In the Rajput states or the Maratha *Swaraj* the level soon became higher than in the Mughal provinces and the latter soon surpassed the Imperial court which lost more and more of its treasures and revenues. There are marked differences in the dress, the architecture, the painting, the literature of every *subah* or Hindu principality. There is now a characteristic style of Rajputana, of Bengal, of Oudh, of the Deccan or of the Punjab. Nevertheless, cer-

tain features are common to all these schools, because the great outlines of cultural life were identical. An enormous gulf gapes between the life of the courts and the impoverished country. Court life itself exhibits two opposite aspects. The world of the nobles : brutal and suspicious visages, pompous military dresses, showy jewellery. And the world of the zenanas and of the princes retired into the company of their favourite ladies. It is a curious mixture of refinement and morbidity. Dress has become highly artificial, jewellery is applied everywhere, paint is used not only on the face, but also on the hands, feet etc.; even horses, elephants and tame deer are made up in the same way ; music, dance, poetry are cultivated. But on the other hand the physiognomies are undeveloped, the characters childish and without sense for responsibility ; opium, drinks and sexual pleasures have acquired fatal influence. In the art of this time scenes of princes, nobles and ladies in a drunken state and shameless positions are not rare ; it is but the artistic counterpart to the historical accounts of the dissolute private life of Jahandar Shah and Lal Kunwar, Udham Bai, Muhammad Shah, and many other persons. Of course, this is only the worst side of the picture. Most of the architectural, pictorial and literary documents of this period show a very good taste. But here also the same weak, sentimental note is to be felt : The soft outlines of the buildings with their flowerlike pillars, cornices, roofs etc. ; the soft, warm romantic paintings of enamoured heroes and heroines, melancholy and playful ladies, fairy princes and princesses, the Ragas and Raginis ; sentimental poems and fairy tales full of tears and lamentations. But probably the most accomplished creation of this late Mughal civilisation was the garden. Now, when hunting and travelling had lost much of their former attraction, the garden grew in importance as the open-air resort for ladies and even for princes. It was an artificial and complicated combination of the Persian Char-Bagh and the Indian garden, tanks and stone-bordered rivulets, natural lakes and artificial islands, flower-beds and meadows, straw-huts and costly marble bhavans. The gardens of Dig or the islands of Udaipur Lake are among the surviving monuments of this art which was far more developed in the 18th century than at present. All these creations are expressions of a very refined culture, but of a culture which is not a part of real life, rather a fairy land, a refuge from the miseries of this earthly life. There is, however, another aspect of this evasion from secular depravations, i.e. religion. After the years of religious eclecticism and scepticism under Akbar and Jahangir, after the more extraverted bigotry of Shahjahan and Aurangzeb, the 18th century saw a revival of a deeply-felt piety, an introverted devotionism. The undisturbed peaceful life of the ascetic,

Muhammedan or Hindu, was one of the ideals of the harassed people of this troublesome period when even mighty men and spoiled women by a change of fortune could to-morrow be slain, prisoners or beggars. Many persons of a renowned name are known to us who turned to religious life, the hermitage is one of the most beautiful, most appealing themes of contemporary painting, the faqir and the jogini are current literary figures. As in other decadent periods, so also in 18th century India immorality and depravity stand side by side with a religious and moral revival. For it would be unjust to accuse the whole people of India or even the greater part of it of immorality, effeminacy or brutality. As you have, however, seen, the destructive powers got the upper-hand, and bravery, efficiency or morality were forced to resign and to seek their consolation in the hopes of another world. These observations may give but a brief glimpse of a very interesting and complicated question; but they will have shown the remarkable changes in the spiritual and mental style of Mughal civilisation, in its attitude towards life, art, poetry and religion. It is a way from an impetuous, joyous start to a marvellous maturity and finally to a decadence, over-refined on the one hand, on the other depraved or fatigued. There is no doubt, Mughal civilisation was not destroyed by any other power—Hindu or Muhammedan or European. Persians, Afghans, Marathas, English were its heirs, but they would never have been able to annihilate it if the germs of a deadly decay had not already been in the seemingly powerful organism of this empire, this brilliant culture.

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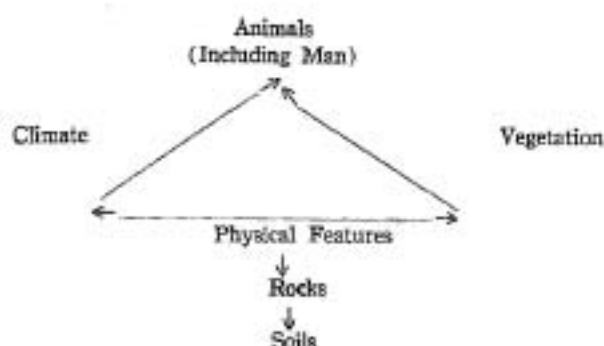
THE LOWER INDUS BASIN (SIND) :
ITS NATURAL VEGETATION, IRRIGATION
AND AGRICULTURE :

INTRODUCTION

Agriculture is the mainstay of the people living in the Lower Indus Basin (Sind). Man has been able to occupy the land and to cultivate it from very ancient times, as has been seen from the archaeological relics dug out at Mohenjo Daro. The system of irrigation, on which a dry region, such as Sind, entirely depends, has also been practised by man for a very long time, both the climatic conditions and the natural drainage of it compelling them to do so. Before the Lloyd (Sukkur) Barrage was opened in January 1932, irrigation was carried out through the annual inundation of the Indus river. In winter, when the level of the river fell very low, cultivation was sparse, and well-water only, wherever available, could be utilised. There were two crops during the year—the Kharif in summer and the Rabi in winter,—rice, Juar and cotton being grown in the former season, and wheat, Bajri, and pulses in the latter. After the Barrage and the system of perennial irrigation, prosperity has returned to the province on many sides, the finest product of the land being Sind cotton, which is considered to be superior to the cotton produced in any other part of India.

Geographical Control :

How far the human geography of Sind depends upon the natural vegetation, and the natural vegetation upon the climate and soil of the basin has to be seen. The natural regions of Sind are controlled by the peculiarities of water supply and of physical features, such as Kohistan, valley plains, delta land and the desert tract. Thus, vegetation and with it the animal and human life diminish as we go from west to east and from south to north. In short, Sind affords an excellent example of geographical control of man's activities in the region, as can be shewn by the following diagram ;—



Soils.¹

There are several varieties of soils in Sind, derived both from rocks, which are mainly limestones and sandstones *in situ*, and from the drifted silt, mud, sand and gravel from distant Himalayan heights. There are belts of sand and silt in a kind of net work spread all over the valley proper, and there are light soils, containing more sand and little clay, while others are heavy soils, containing more clay and little sand. There are also soluble salts impregnated in the soils, making them full of Kalar and uncultivable. In the Western Valley section, the soil consists of old alluvium, while in the Eastern Valley section it is recent alluvium. Besides this, the soils of Sind are classified from the points of view of the crops yielded by them. The main divisions (Statistical Atlas published by Government of Bombay 1925, page 153 ff.) are :—

Kind of Soil	Crops to sustain.	Typical Region.
1. Wariasi (Loose Sand)	Any crop including cotton if manured and watered; ground nuts, <i>sil</i> , and garden roots are common.	Umerkot and Thar Parkar District.
2. Kacho (Flood Silt)	Almost all crops (Kharif and Rabi)	Hyderabad District.
3. Chiki or Paki (Hard baked and submerged).	Rice, Wheat, Jambho etc.	Delta.
4. Rao, Raewari (enriched by hill torrents (Nais).	Rice, Wheat, etc.	Larkana District.
5. Kalar (with excess of salts).	Rice, Cotton.	Khairpur Taluk

¹ See the Author's 'Physiography of Sind', *Proceedings of Indian Academy of Sciences*, B, Vol. IV No. 4 1936. pp. 299-300.

Again, the soil varies as we go into deeper layers, e.g., Deh Theri (Khairpur Taluka) Survey No. 812|1 :

Top layer	..	Clayey loam with Kalar.
2nd foot	..	Sandy loam.
3rd foot	..	Sandy loam.
4th foot	..	Clay with traces of sand.
5th foot	..	Sandy loam.

Sakrand Farm Investigation :

The research work carried out at the Sakrand Research Farm in this connection is valuable. The following are some of the results :—

(1) Water is generally struck at about 30 feet below the surface and in a sandy layer.

(2) The average virgin soil in Sind is not rich in nitrogen content but its nitrifying and nitrogen-fixing powers are great and so the fertility is not lowered by cropping.

(3) There are three main classifications of soils in the valley—Northern, Central and Southern. The soil of a lighter type exist in the north, those of a medium type in the central, while there are very heavy soils in the south.

Those containing more fine sand and silt but little clay are light soils and are well drained (e.g.) the physical properties of the soil at Sakrand are :

Fine Sand	Silt	Clay
50%	30%	14%

The maximum water-holding capacity is low, varying between 40 and 55. The highest quantity of water, found in the soil 24 hours after an 8" irrigation, is 28%.

The hygroscopic coefficient of the soil is also low, viz. 1.5—2%.

(4) There is always a tendency for soluble salts to accumulate wherever the clay proportion is large and fine sand relatively less.

(5) The rate of percolation of water is fairly good in sweet lands (i.e.) without Kalar or soluble salts, while it is generally slower in Kalar soils.

(6) The soluble salts in the soil move from place to place along with water. The rate of movement of water is faster than that of the dissolved salt.

(7) The following is a complete chemical analysis of samples of soil at Sakrand ;—

Contents.	Kalar soil	Good soil.
Loss on ignition	7.00%	5.00%
Insoluble matter	65.00%	70.00%
Lime as CaO	6.00%	6.00%
Potash	0.95%	0.75%
Phosphoric acid	0.18%	0.15%
Nitrogen	0.045%	0.05%
Total soluble salts	1.80%	0.20%

Soil with more soluble salts is considered to be bad and unsuitable for cultivation.

(8) Kalar soils :—

These are common in the valley—some containing as much as 7% to 10% soluble salt. Vast stretches of barren land are covered with salt incrustations. Surface washing does not remove them nor does percolating water drive them down into deeper layers of soil. These saline soils are called "Solon Chaks," and are entirely barren. Such of the salt lands as are found here and there amidst cultivable fields and called the "Solonchaks type," however, bear fairly good crops.

Through such a soil, water percolates very slowly. The injurious salts commonly found are NaCl and Na_2SO_4 ; but they are not so injurious as real alkaline salts, (e.g.) Na_2CO_3 . They do not get easily washed and make the soil sticky and also render it water-logged. Again the nitrogen fixing power of a Kalar soil is much less than that of a soil free from these salts.¹

NaCl produces a powdery, dusty condition, Na_2SO_4 leaves a white incrustation, while Na_2CO_3 makes the soil black and sticky (black alkali). Na_2SO_4 is the least harmful of all the salts.

Soils containing CaCl_2 are also black but are not so bad as Kalar soils.

(Quinquennial Report, Chemical Section, Agricultural Research Station, Sakrand, 1932-1933. Annual Report, Department of Agriculture in Sind., 1933-34, Appendix D).

Climatic Conditions.

The climatic control on vegetation is also remarkable in Sind. In no other region in India are the climatic conditions perhaps

¹ N. B.—On the aspect of nitrogen fixation in the Kalar (Sind) soil, see also Bhaskaran and Subrahmanyam's Studies in the Proc. Ind. Acad. Sci. B. 1936, Vol. IV, No. 2, p. 168.

more unique, irregular and unstable than in the Lower Indus Basin. It is the driest and hottest of all Indian provinces, aridity being its commonest feature (e.g., Jacobabad has a mean maximum temperature of 113°F and mean humidity 41%). The Thermal Equator passes through Sind. These conditions are accentuated by its physical features, the Thar Desert in the east, the Sea in the south and the Hala-Suleiman (Kirthar) Mountains with their peculiar re-entrant angle, in the west and north-west. Thus the temperatures are exceptionally high in summer but in winter they are comparatively low. The diurnal range of temperature is also great (e.g., over 45°F on a single day at Jacobabad). Nearest the sea coast, the daily range of temperature is less. The monthly range of temperature increases from south to north and from summer to winter (e.g., Jacobabad has a summer range of temperature 42°F and winter range 50°F). The greatest humidity at all stations occurs in August, *viz.*, 75, but the least in December, *viz.*, 58 in Lower Sind and 41 in April in Upper Sind. Thus the weather is drier and hotter but more bearable in the north than in the south. The skies are generally clear and frost is not uncommon. While in Upper Sind it is generally calm for nearly half the year, nearer the coast of Sind the wind velocity is about 15 miles per hour in the monsoon season. Dust storms and squally weather are usual in the beginning of both the seasons. The predominant wind direction at Karachi is westerly before the monsoon season begins when it changes to south-west, but in winter the direction is north-east or north-west; in Upper Sind, however, it varies from south-east to north-east in summer and from north-east to north-west in winter.

In the matter of rainfall, the region suffers the most. It is not only precarious and scanty but also the most variable in India, the orography of Sind being mainly responsible for it. What little precipitation it gets, it is often due to cyclonic storms, caused by eastern and western disturbances, particularly the latter. The average rainfall is about 7 inches in Lower Sind and about 3.5 in Upper Sind, with only about 8 rainy days in the whole year, July being the rainiest month. The greatest peculiarity about the rainfall curve is that after gaps of six or seven years of scarcity, there are peaks of good and at times heavy rainfall, though the cyclical period is hard to determine. It is a question whether there is any real progressive climatic change in Sind, as the history of the province shows that there might have been greater rainfall in the past and forests existed. It is equally difficult to say whether Sind, after the Sukkur Barrage, would receive greater rainfall. Even with perennial irri-

gation, afforestation and continuous evaporation it is not certain whether Sind would see wetter days.

I. NATURAL VEGETATION

Lying within the passage ways of the two monsoons and yet missing the benefits of both, on the border-land of the tropical and the extra-tropical regions, Sind has a vegetation peculiar to its soil and largely indicative of its hot and dry climate noted above. Tropical fruits and grains do grow in summer, while in winter, which is, on the whole, a bracing season, extra-tropical grains and vegetables thrive. Here the date tree first begins to ripen from the equator northwards, the balsam family of plants starts yielding gum resin (*Gummiphora*), useful in medicine and art, the apple producing an eatable fruit, and the pomegranate blossoming for the first time. Among other fruits are dates, mangoes, oranges, peaches, plums and melons. Thus it is a stage intermediate between tropical India and temperate Iran. The desert type of vegetation, with the prominent plants being (1) Phog (Sindhi *Toh*), (2) Bhui (Bahusa), (3) Lana and (4) Mart, still persists. They are low and herbaceous plants with small or no leaves of the cactus (*Euphorbia nerieifolia*) kind and some grasses, (e.g., Bruit after rains), growing in the sands of the arid parts, while trees such as the *sal* and the long-leaved pine thrive in the western plains. Along the banks and sides of the Indus and the canals and far inland in Shikargahs, etc., forests of Babul (*acacia Arabica*) and tamarisk, white poplar, etc., are in full bloom. Within the areas, periodically inundated and yet not cultivated, there are impenetrable thickets of Kandi (*prosopis spicigera*), mimosa and tamarisk, white poplar and rank (*Kaub*) grasses. The sandhills of the desert yield enough fodder and other bushy growth varying, in character, with the amount of salt in the soil, for camels and cattle that happen to live there, while the creeks and swampy parts of the delta are overgrown with deep mangroves, rhizophora, avicennia, ceriops, elephant grass, etc. The plains flooded by the Indus waters are covered with grass, but desert areas, such as the Pat, support only scattered bushes of *lana* (*anabasis multiflora*), etc. The hills of Kohistan, as well as the Kirthar ranges are invariably barren, though sheep and cattle do find grassy patches here and there in the valleys. The wild olive (*olea ferruginea*) Lohiro (*Tecoma undulata*), thorny ber, Farah (*mammorhops vitchicana*) crown some of the mountain tops. The well-known elephant grass is found generally along the banks of the Indus, incidentally binding them fast. Lastly, the indigenous cotton and the indigenous palm are the two prominent North African plants growing in Sind. (Imperial Gazetteer, Vol. I, p. 176.)

Peculiarities of Vegetation.

Though the flora of Sind is, on the whole, poor, it includes a number of species of plants which are not commonly met with in other parts of India. On the contrary, they have an affinity with the Arabian, Iranian or Nubian (African) types, as the climates of these countries and the soil are similar, *viz.*, intense summer heat, scanty rainfall, great winter cold, dry soil and geological formations, and within practically the same latitudes.

The following summary of natural vegetation in Sind has been taken by Hooker and Thompson from the earlier works of Major Griffiths, Major Vicary and Dr. Stocks :—

“More than nine-tenths of the Sind Vegetation consists of plants, which are indigenous in Africa, the desert regions assimilating with that country, and owing to the remarkable identity of soil and climate with those countries, Nubian, Persian, Egyptian and Southern Arabian plants also occur largely in the Flora. At least one half are common Nubian or Egyptian plants, which being indifferent to moisture are also found distributed in various parts of India where the climate is suitable. As examples may be mentioned *Gynandropsis*, *Pentaphylla*, *Abutilon indicum*, *Tribulus terrestris*, *Tephrosia purpurea*, *Glinus totoides*, *Grangea Madraspatana*, *Trichodesma indicum*, *Lippia nodiflora*, *Salanum Jacqini*, *Aerva tenata*, *Achyranthes aspera* and others. A smaller but still considerable number is common to tropical Africa. Among these are found many *Convolvulaceæ*, and some of the commonest Indian weeds, as *Peristrophe bicaliculata* and several species of *Corchorus* and *Triumfetta*. Again, about one-sixth of the whole consists of common Egyptian plants, which are too intolerant of moisture to withstand the climate of the more humid parts of India, but which extend along the Arabian and Persian coasts to Sind and thence to the Punjab and the drier parts of the Gangetic plain, and some even to the Deccan and Mysore, e.g., *Peganum barmala*, *Cocculus leogba*, *Capparis aphylla*, *Alhagi maurorum*, *Fagonia arabica*, *Prosopis spicigera*, *Calotropis procera* and others, which extend to the drier parts of the Peninsula, and *Malcolmia africana*, *Corchorus depressus*, *Cucumis colocynthis*, *Berthelotia lauceolata*, *Heliotropium undulatum*, several species of *Salvia* and *chenopods* which are confined to Northern India. With these occur also a few central European plants, as *Ranunculus excelsatus*, *Convolvulus arvensis*, *Heliotropium Europeanum*, *Rumex obtusifolius* and *Potamogeton pectinatus*. Besides these, Sind contains a considerable number of species, which have not been met with elsewhere in India but which are Arabian or

Nubian plants : such are *Zygophyllum simplex at album*, *Neurada procumbens*, *Azoon canariense*, *Trichodesma Africanum*, several *Barleria*, but *balsamodendron* and *acanthodium hirtum*. *Puneria coagulans*, (Stocks) is confined to Sind and the neighbouring province of Baluchistan. Eastern Species, which find their western limit in Sind, are almost entirely wanting. The following are all that are contained in Dr. Stocks' catalogue, excluding plants manifestly cultivated (such as *Tamarindus*) : *Rhusmyx mysorensis*, *Zizyphus jujuba*, *Hedyotis aspera*, *Coldenia procumbens*, *Salvia plebeia*, *Clerodendron phlomidodes*, *Aristolochia bracteata* and *Zeuxine sulcata*." (Hooker and Thompson, *Flora Indica*, p. 152.)

Dr. J. E. Stocks (Conservator of Forests, Bombay Presidency (Hughes—Gazetteer of the Province of Sind 1876, p. 9) recognised some 88 kinds of vegetable productions as under :—

Grains (<i>Gramineæ</i>)	..	10 kinds.
Pulses (<i>Leguminosæ</i>)	..	7 "
Oil seeds	..	6 "
Greens and vegetables	..	11 "
Gouds (<i>Cucurbitacæ</i>)	..	10 "
Dye plants	..	6 "
Cordage and Clothing	..	3 "
Tobacco and sugar	..	2 "
Intoxicating Plants	..	3 "
Medicines	..	4 "
Condiments	..	5 "
Fruits	..	21 "
		<hr/>
		88 ..

So, on the whole, "Over the region, a low chiefly herbaceous vegetation of plants common to most parts of India mixed with Oriental, African and European types, is spread with thickets of shrubs and a few trees. With a few exceptions most have deciduous leaves." (Imperial Gazetteer, Vol I, p. 179). This affinity of Sind's natural vegetation with that of the neighbouring regions is an indication that what grows in them can be grown with success in Sind. This cannot be said of any other province in India (Sel. Rec. Bombay Gov. No. XVII, 1855 New Series p. 591).

Vegetation Belts.

The Province can be divided into six vegetation belts, which correspond, in general, to the physiographic divisions already made. (See Pro. Acad. Ind. Sci. B., Vol. IV, No. 4, p. 290).

Name of Belt.	Characteristic growth.	Area covered
1. Forest.	Babul, tamarisk, Kandi, Tali, etc. Thorn Forest.	Banks of the Indus and E. Nara.
2. Grassland (Cultivated land).	Trees are scarce. Grasses of different kinds grow.	(a) Between the Indus and the Western Highlands. (b) Between the Indus and the desert.
3. Mangrove Swamp.	Mangroves, sea weeds etc.	Delta proper.
4. Scrub land and desert.	Thorny shrubs and plants acacia and cactus, bushy growth. Scrub land gradually passes into Desert.	(a) Between the E. Nara and the E. boundary (Thar desert). (b) Between the U.S.F. and Jacobabad Dist. The Pat.
5. Barren land.	Devoid of any vegetation.	(a) Parts of Kohistan. (b) Western Highlands.
6. Steep land.	Scanty grass.	Parts of Kohistan.

(See Map, Plate II).

1. *Forest*.—Nearly 1,150 sq. miles of land are covered with this belt. This is not a monsoon or temperate forest, the rainfall being extremely insufficient for such a growth. It consists of narrow strips of land $\frac{1}{4}$ —2 miles by 2—3 miles, submerged about 6 feet during the inundation, along the banks of the Indus from Ghotki to within 30 miles of its north, numbering nearly 100 on both the banks, e.g., Mari, Khanot, Laikpur (largest), Bhorthi (Hyderabad Dist.), Saduja, Andaldal, Shahpur (Shikarpur Dist.), Unarpur, Viran and Buto (Karachi Dist.). Another forest belt lies within the valley of the E. Nara, about 2-3 miles in breadth in the Rohri and Khairpur territories. These are riverain or inundation forests, depending upon the flood water of the rivers for their sustenance and growth. Floods often play havoc with the growth of this vegetation, but they are now artificially protected with *bunds* within whose limits the trees grow well.

As there are extremes of climate and irregular water supply, only hardy trees of the scrub forest type and belonging to very few species grow in these forests, e.g.

- (1) Babul (*Acacia Arabis*)—good for fuel, timber and parts of ships. Very tough and heavy wood. Staple tree for Lower Sind.
- (2) Tamarisk (*Tamarix gallica and dioica*)—Very fair tree. Used for fuel for steamers and wood for agricultural implements,

- (3) Kandi (*Prosopis spicigera*)—good for fuel and furniture. Has a straight growth.
- (4) Tali or Sissu (*Dalbergia Sissoo*)—good for timber.
- (5) Bahan (*Populus euphratica*)—good for rafters, match wood, etc. Light tough wood.

(Statistical Atlas of the Bombay Presidency, 3rd 1925, Ed. p. 154.)

Among other minor trees are Nim, Pipal, Kirir, Ber and Siras. These forests in Sind serve a double purpose—they supply timber, firewood etc., and also protect cultivable fields from being destroyed by the river floods.

A whole scheme of afforestation, following on the Sukkur Barrage scheme, has been adumbrated by Government to meet the needs of the people for forest products, such as timber, lac, fuel, etc. It has also been contemplated to plant some of the Punjab varieties of trees, e.g., mulberry, for sports goods.

2. *Grassland.* (Cultivated land).—This plain is now largely occupied by the area under irrigation and cultivation. As the system is completed, more and more land will be cultivated and prosperity of Sind will be greatly increased. This region is also affected by the periodical inundations of the Indus and occasional floods. Some parts of the grassland, which are not cultivated, remain pastoral and abound in trees, shrubs, etc., useful to camels and goats. Trees, such as Babul, Ber and Khabar, which grow best on Kalar soil are useful to camels. Fodder grasses are also numerous. e.g., Chhabar, Hariali, Karach. Lucerne and guinea grass are cultivated in this belt.

This belt is interesting from the point of a variety of weeds, which grow in particular type of soils and under certain conditions. A *weed survey of Sind* is extremely desirable, as it would help agricultural research in crops, carried on in the Sakrand research farm.

3. *Mangrove Swamp.*—A large part of the deltaic land remains wet and muddy and therefore is covered over with mangroves, having their roots moistened with salt water at every high tide.

4. *Scrub-land and desert.*—As there is some, though irregular, rainfall in this area, it is not entirely devoid of vegetation. There is a bushy growth of rank vegetation having spines or thorns to protect themselves from animals. The plants have their roots several feet deep to suck water and their stems are fleshy to enable them to store water in them for a long time. Eastwards towards the desert proper, vegetation of this kind also gradually disappears, except on the banks of the Dhands or salt lakes.

5. *Barren land*.—There is a little rainfall occasionally on the rocky parts of Kohistan or the Kirthars, but as there is no soil of any kind gathered, no plants grow and the rocks lie entirely barren. The landscape is clear and well-marked by this barrenness.

6. *Steppe land*.—In parts of the Lower Kohistan region, there is some rainfall and scanty soil, allowing the growth of grass.

Natural Vegetation and Animal life.—Sind affords a good example of climatic control also in relation to animals. As the flora of Sind is so limited, its influence on the fauna is evident. Animals, which are natives of a region more favoured with rainfall and moderate heat or cold, are wholly absent. Sheep live on small grass on hills of Kohistan and dry sand-hill pasture, while cattle thrive best in wetter lowlands, where rich, long and juicy grass is available. There being no great forests of the monsoon type, there are only a few mammals, e.g., camels, but no ferocious animals such as tigers or lions. Also, like the vegetation of Sind, some of the animals are allied to those living in extra-tropical regions: "In some respects the fauna of Sind differs widely from that of other parts of India, having members of an Indo-African character, which do not extend far to the south or east of the province, while animals peculiar to heavy forest lands are practically absent. On the other hand, owing to the remarkable similarity of climate and nearly the same average rainfall, the fauna is almost identified with that of the Punjab, N. W. Provinces, Baloochistan, the shores of the Persian Gulf, Rajputana, and parts of the western Presidency south of Sind," (James A. Murray—*The Vertebrate Zoology of Sind*, London 1884, p. viii).

Rats live in burrows formed in farms and fields.

73 species of Mammals live in marshes, deserts, riverain forests and hills, such as hog, deer, wild boar, gazella, etc. Among the cattle class, the milch cows of Sind are well known and are exported to other parts of India. Bullocks are used for irrigation purposes in the interior, while buffaloes live only in the delta swamps. Cow's milk is commonly used. In the salt marshes of the Indus delta, Kohistan and also in Hyderabad district, the one-humped species of camels is the most useful beast of burden.

Reptiles are not so numerous (only of about 11 species), the climatic conditions not being favourable. There are not many venomous snakes too.

The Aves, of which Burns recognised 121 species in 1837, are also analogous to those of the Iran plateau and Africa and even Europe. Among them are storks, geese, duck, partridges, flamingoes and other migrants.

Crocodiles live in some of the Naras and in the Indus River there are some 36 species of fish. Gurkhar and wild ass inhabit scrub land.

The wool derived from the sheep of Sind is of a very good quality, while the cattle supply bones and hides.

Prominent Plants.

The following are among the most prominent plants of Sind :—
(James A. Murray—*Plants and Drugs of Sind 1881*, London and Bombay.)

	Kind of Plant.	Peculiarity and use of product.
<i>Seaweeds.</i>	Manora rocks, etc.	Used in scrofulous cases.
	The broad Green Laver.	Contains gelatinous matter used in Scrofula.
	Sea Silk "Las" or "Lush."	Used in manufacture of iodine. Used for jellies.
	Bladdery Sea-wrack.	
	Irish Moss or Carrageen common Mushroom.	Vegetable.
<i>Fems.</i>	Common Polybody found in forest.	Contains K_2CO_3 used in the manufacture of glass.
	Maiden hair found in wells.	Used as a drug.
<i>Grasses.</i>	Common Rice "Sari".	Contains starch.
	Creeping Cynodon.	Pasture for cattle.
	"Harrialee."	Roots used for Saraparilla.
	"Sary" 10-12 ft. high.	Used for making ropes.
<i>Palms.</i>	Elephant grass "Pun".	Holds banks of rivers or canals.
		Used for ropes, baskets.
		Used for making various articles.
<i>Exogens.</i>	Date palm perfect in Sind (About Khairpur and Sukkur), yields fruit.	
	Sufaida "Bhan."	Used as timber and for lacquered boxes.
<i>Exogens.</i>	Banyan or Indian fig tree.	Gives shelter.
	Poplar "Pipar."	Used for timber.
	Castor oil plant (Common in Thar Parkar).	Used for oil.
	Tamarisk (in jungles).	Firewood.
	Mallow "Bun-pat".	Fibres used for rope.
	Hornbeam-leaved Sida.	Used as a drug for intermittent fever.
	"Aliar" (on lower hills).	Good for hedges.

Kind of Plant.	Peculiarity and use of Product.
Indian or Egyptian Lotus (about Manchar lake).	Tubers used as food.
Garden poppy (in irrigated soil).	Opium.
Lycium — "Ophthalmic Berbery" (an exported article of Barbarike) Common grape.	Remedy for ophthalmic diseases.
Gum resin (rocky ground)	Raisins and currants.
Ash leaved Bead tree "Neem".	Frankincense and Myrrh. Bark, etc., as astringent.
Fagonia "Dhamya."	Drug for fever.
Rhubarb.	Purgine property.
Indigo "Jil or Nil"	Used as a dye.
Sissoo (Upper Sind)	Timber.
Tali.	
Common Tamarind.	Medicine value.
Acacia "Bahool" forest	Gum, lac, etc.
Dhatura.	Medicinal use as a narcotic.
Lycium "Gangro".	Fruits eaten by natives, beasts, etc.
Lassora Cordia.	Fruits eaten by natives.
Convolvulus.	Ropes made of fibre.
Elephant "Crepper."	Used in cutaneous affections.
Mustard tree "khabar". (Lower Sind).	A stimulant.
Ruthunjote.	Cooling plant.
Sweet Basil "Nazbo".	do
Garden Lettice.	Vegetable and narcotic.
Mangrove "Chowree" "Kirree" (Deltaic parts).	Timber.
Pomegranate.	Astringent, dyeing and tanning.
Prosopis "Kundee" (dry ground).	Furniture, firewood.
"Sirris" "Suree" (in forests).	Hard and heavy wood (Girth 7-9 ft.)

Medicinal Plants.

In some parts of Sind, especially on low hills of Kohistan, a number of other plants of great medicinal properties grow well. The following are some of the typical ones :—

Names of Plant	Medically used for
Mameecha (<i>Sesuvia orientalis</i>).	Fever.
Kirbet (<i>guilandina Bonduc</i>).	"
Nuro, Nuree, Kolmeer (<i>gratia</i>).	Disorders from heat.
Dhurrar, Googul, Suray.	Disorders from cold.
Sakun (<i>Tamarix Orientalis</i>).	Disorders of galla.
Saapat (<i>auteritum glaucum</i>).	Nose bleeding.
Aderay-ja-denay (<i>Solanum jacquini</i>).	Cough.
Zamir (<i>Cocculus Villousus</i>).	Pains in head.
Chawn (<i>Cassia absus</i>).	Eye Inflammation.
Gigantic Swallow wort (<i>Calestropis gigante</i>).	Cough, asthma.
Wild Eggs plant (<i>Solanum jacquini</i>).	Cough, pneumonia, fever.
Tooth Brush Tree (<i>Saladora Persica</i>).	Fever, rheumatism, asthma.
Salai tree (<i>Balsamodendron</i>).	Inhalation.
Thorn apple (<i>Datura alba</i>).	Poison.
Goat Foot creeper.	Boils, swellings.
Babul (<i>acacia</i>).	Cough, etc.

II.—IRRIGATION

The human factor now remains to be considered. With such a peculiar type of natural vegetation, trying climatic conditions and very scanty rainfall but good soil, man has practised irrigation in Sind from times immemorial. The prosperity of the province is linked with the supply of water from the Indus, however unstable and uncontrollable the stream is. Its discharge rarely falls below 22,000 cusecs, while the average is as high as 1,10,000 cusecs (Irrigation Administration Report, Pt. II, Sind, 1935, p. 1). Under such circumstances artificial irrigation has flourished. In fact, Sind is one of the largest canalised lands in the world. Fed by snows in the upper reaches and the monsoon rains in the lower, the river has

been a blessing to all cultivators. Even the silt brought down from the whole region has been enriching the soil for cultivation.

(For the Indus river regimen, etc., see the Author's contribution to *Proc. Ind. Acad. Sci.*, B, 1936, Vol. IV, No. 4, pp. 319-344).
Geological Considerations.

The system of irrigation in Sind is unique. It depends largely upon its geology.

(1) Sind is an aggraded valley of the Indus, the river being in its deltaic stage here, i.e., it has reached its base-level of erosion and its plain stage and the valley is filled up and flat, and not a deep well-defined V-shaped hollow. Canals, small and large, cut in such a region can, therefore, be taken in any direction. There is no need of cross drainage works, such as culverts, etc., as in the Deccan.

(2) On account of the changing nature of the river channels, many an old bed of the river has been deserted and left dry. These Dhorees were utilised for cultivation or as parts of new canals. R. B. Buckley—"Irrigation Works in India," London 1893, p. 10.) Some large canals have an elongated and winding course like that of a river, e.g., the Fuleli.

(3) The gradient of the country is low, 7" to 12" in a mile. Therefore, the canals can be carried to any length, e.g., the Rohri canal is 205 miles in length. Such long canals are an impossibility in the Deccan, where the gradient is high and varied.

(4) The bed of the river is always higher than the surrounding country. The river is actually flowing on an elevated ridge formed by itself. There is, therefore, great danger of floods in the country, destroying life and property. Even river *bunds* are breached occasionally during the rainy season and the P. W. D. has to exercise great vigilance.

(5) The limestones and calcareous-sandstones of the sedimentary rock system in Sind are very soft, allowing a good deal of erosion and silt to form and run into the canals.

(6) The sea-shore is low, the rocks are marine and charged with connate saline material and salt and sand are carried from the sea inland. Parts of the Indus valley, especially the various low-level salt lakes and Dhunds, are supposed to be ancient sea bottom. Consequently there are salt deposits in many places and the soil, too, is salty, due to extraction of soluble salts from the younger Tertiary rock system.

(7) Due to the double nature of the Indus flood levels, i.e.,

rising in the early summer due to the melting of the snows in the Himalayas and again the monsoon season due to rains, inundation becomes intermittent and irregular. In Sind itself the rainfall is meagre but there are possibilities of cyclonic storms in both seasons and summer floods due to snow melting are likely. With such a river drainage and in a valley with such deep alluvium and unsuitable catchment area, a dam is an impossibility, as it would not only be very expensive but constantly liable to damage. There are no smaller streams in the dry parts to be dammed and converted into tanks as in the Madras region. If a regulator or barrage were built and gates could be wholly shut or opened out whenever necessary it would be safe. Prior to the building of the Barrage only Khariff crops could be raised with the help of inundation canals, while the river being very low, the Rabi crops were raised by the 'Lift system', i.e., the system of raising water by means of the Persian wheel and other machinery.

(8) In the Indus valley, there is a network of sand belts and clay belts. Therefore canals passing through sand belts cause seepage and water logging, especially when their level is higher than the country, which is not the case in the system of irrigation in the Deccan. Such canals in Sind would require expensive lining, but it is a moot point whether it would be economical and successful.

(9) After the opening of the Barrage the system of irrigation has been changed into a perennial one only within the Barrage Zone, while in parts of Upper Sind and Lower Sind the old inundation system is still in vogue. Due to the low fall of the river, the problem of water supply in Lower Sind, subsequent to the Barrage, has become very acute even in the Kharif Season, and a second Barrage would be a necessity in this locality as well, though its financial success would be doubtful.

History of Ancient Irrigation.

Few records have been preserved to indicate the details of the very ancient irrigation methods practised in Sind. The excavations at Mohenjo Daro have not been carried out over a sufficiently wide area to disclose any definite artificial water channels. It, however, cannot be doubted that the people of Indus valley civilisation utilised the river water for irrigation and cultivation of the soil, upon which their life mainly depended. In such a dry region they could grow wheat and plants such as cotton. That irrigation was also practised by the people of the Indus valley culture has been surmised by archaeologists. An inscription on one of the seals discovered states clearly that "Two canals were constructed in the month of

Kudam (Aquarius) and Mina (Pisces) in the wood pecker (?) country." Another seal records that it took "thirteen months to construct a canal" (Fr. Heras—lecture on the Mohenjo Daro script. Bom. Branch of Royal Asiatic Soc. March, 1936.)

The Iranians were decidedly a people excelling in irrigation and while they possessed the Indus Valley or immigrated into it, they would obviously endeavour to use as much river water and as much cultivable land as possible. The celebrated Persian wheel is their most useful legacy. The Arabs followed in the footsteps of the Iranians and allowed the natives to carry on with the work of cultivation, while they themselves defended and governed the land.

In the 8th century A.D. the Arab conquerors of Sind assessed taxes on lands, (1) watered from public canals and (2) watered privately by artificial means. (Completion Report of the Lloyd Barrage etc. 1934 Vol. I P. 1)

Nothing definite can be gathered about the system of irrigation in the subsequent centuries. The only information we have been able to obtain from the History of Sind is that while at one time the land was very prosperous, at another it fell into disuse or was neglected. Even in the time of the Balooch Talpura, the best of cultivable grounds were used as Shikarghas or hunting grounds. A peculiar system, called terrace-irrigation seems to have been practised in the past from a number of "Sun-drenched valleys" marked by many a relic of former irrigation. "These relics called *Gohar-basta*, often of a great size, are attributed by the Mohomedan Sindhis to infidels. They point also to shells that are formed in numbers and call them the teeth of the infidel giants. Occupation of the hills by the Hindus may have followed upon persecution in the plains at the hands of the Mahomedan conquerors of the Valley." (J. Abbot "Sind" London 1924 P. 11.)

But the system of irrigation was imperfect. The people took advantage of the natural high bed, which the Indus river formed by alluviation and on which it flowed, cut the heads of canals in depressions in the neighbourhood of the main stream or from the branches separated from the river itself, to avoid all flood disasters and silting and after a short distance carried them parallel to the main stream for long distances across the low-lying areas from the marginal ridge. (Irrigation Administration Report, Pt. II, Sind, 1930-1, p. 1.)

Nature of Old Canals.

The canals, on the whole, were irregular in shape, awkward in bends and were choked up with silt from the river or from breaches

of the banks. They were more natural than artificial water ways. These channels, parallel to the main river, were cut at low gradient and waters were allowed to merge ultimately into low ground in a direction oblique to the river so as to secure as great a fall as possible. This fall varied from a foot to a few inches in a mile. They were upto a hundred feet wide and about a dozen feet deep, not enough however to draw off from the river except when in flood. They were tortuous like natural streams, a portion of the fall was destroyed owing to frequent bends and silting was excessive. The trouble of clearing the silt was also great.

Irrigation Administration.

The province was divided into districts, each under an Ameer. He generally used crude maps with lists of names of canals etc. The system of excavation of canals was also crude. They were zig-zag and carried in any direction the cultivators wished. There were no roads or inspection paths along them. During the cold season, especially from November to April, the canals were dry and so they could be cleared of silt or further excavated. The measurements as regards the length, depth and cubic contents of earth were only rough. The unit of measure was the *Gas*, which is equal to 27" normally, but it varied in different districts.

Irrigation Before The British Conquest :—

Postans in his "Observations on Sind" in 1843, refers to two kinds of operations by the natives :

- (1) The use of the Persian wheels by camels or bullocks.
- (2) The construction of drains leading to low land.

The wheels were placed in cuts made on the banks by the river, where the fields lay close by ; but wherever they were far inland, the country was intersected by canals, which frequently got choked up. They were generally cleared by men employed by Jhagirdars by means of large hoes with short handles, called "powrans." (A. W. Hughes—"Gazetteer of the Province of Sind" 1876 P. 86.)

R. F. Burton has also stated in a later memoir of his :—

(1) "Water was drawn off from the river indefinitely and allowed to run down the canal into some pond or marsh at the tail. Such ground was useful for growing paddy, but as the water gradually evaporated, leaving a bog fetid black mud, thickened with decayed vegetation, and exposed to the rays of an October or November sun, a pestilential miasma was the result. Moreover, it is evident from the compound slope of the country (*viz.* the slope from north to south or from Sukkur to the sea, and that from the

river laterally from each bank towards the inland countries) that the waters derived from the river might in many cases have been returned to it in a purified state. Thus some little would be done towards remedying the evils complained of in the Indus—shallowness and an over-deposit of silt."

(2) "The faulty shape adopted by the canals, and the perseverance displayed in adhering to that form: The banks were perpendicular walls of silt or stiff clay and when undermined by the waters, they readily fell in. The excavated earth was disposed of in an immense and ever-increasing spoil bank close to the canal, on purpose to obstruct clearance and give the workmen as much trouble as possible. No judgment was displayed in choosing a position for the head; no attention to prevent the winding of the channel."

(3) "The main trunks, as the Fulailee, Gocnee and other beds, which, generally speaking, are the courses of dried up rivers, were rarely, if ever, cleaned out, on account of the expense and trouble of such works. The consequence was that in cold weather they were choked with drifted sand, and every inundation supplied to them with an additional coat of silty deposit. The effects of this neglect were severely felt at the tails of those streams. In some cases, as in the Rain river, these beds shrank into mere water courses; in others, as in the Phitto, they were utterly ruined."

(4) "Under the native princes, the canal department suffered much from the curious state of misrule in which the people lived. It was not uncommon to see two or even three large watercourses running nearly parallel to each other for probably six or seven miles. The reason of this useless excavation is, that the land to the north might belong to a Rind, that to the south to a Nipzamani and the country at the tail might be Ryot land. Each family would be compelled to dig for its own water, through pride and jealousy of its neighbour; the ryots were of course left to the mercy of Government. Occasionally a Jagirdar of consequence, especially if a Baloch, would throw an embankment across a canal, when the water began to sink, in order to retain it for the irrigation of his own lands." ("Sind or the Unhappy Valley" 1851, pp. 39-41).

Obstacles and Difficulties.

Added to these, were other difficulties and instabilities of the main river channel :—

(1) The fall of the country and the consequent tortuosity of the river as shown below :—

	Direct miles	By river	Ratio
Kashmor to Sukkur	73	109	1 to 1.49
Sukkur to Sehvan	105	169	1 to 1.61
Sehvan to Kotri	76	114	1 to 1.50
Kotri to head of delta	75	118	1 to 1.55

(2) Low and overtopping banks, ox-bow lakes and ultimate cutting out of the narrow neck of land : The result is a considerable shortening of the length of the river, excess of velocity of the current floods and considerable erosion of the banks.

(3) Deposit of silt, reduction of velocity of water and blocking up of beds. The drop of silt between Sukkur and Kotri is even greater than that between Kotri and the coast. Sandy banks and shoals are innumerable.

(4) The river banks in Sind, except at certain places *viz.* Sukkur, Kotri and Jherruk, are not fixed. There is continual erosion taking place. For this reason it is not possible to cut the heads of canals quite close to the natural banks of the river. Often they are left dry or eroded away by the powerful streams at flood times.

(5) Besides the above difficulties the question of the annual inundation of the Indus and the extent to which the country is periodically submerged by the seasonal floods requires consideration. Lt. Wood, who made a special study of this problem, was of opinion that the valley was very unevenly and irregularly favoured by the waters of the river. While in some parts the inundation was general, e.g. Chandkote, the most fertile part of Sind, in others it was partial or obstructed by the Kohistan and other hilly parts of the country e.g. Sehvan to the head of the delta. The maximum width of floods was 20 miles in some low areas, while 12 miles was the most usual measure. On the left bank side, the breadth was not more than 3 miles due to the obstructions of the desert.

Within the delta proper, the lower portions were under water from the tidal bore, while the upper parts were only partially inundated by the river.

Thus while some fields were fertilised, others were left barren or at the time of exceptional river floods, were destroyed due to breaches in the banks or the "bannas", small *bunds*, built by the Zamindars round their own fields.

Besides this kind of irrigation by inundation, the only parts of Sind which were cultivated independently of the Indus river and dependent on rainfall alone were : (1) Kohistan, where there was some good rainfall in certain years periodically and the cultivation

chiefly was Jowari, sugarcane, sesamum, rapeseed, etc., (2) The Thar, where rainfall was much less and the cultivation was of Bazri and Jowari chiefly. (Report on the river Indus—1838 : Selections from Records of Bom. Govt. No. XVII, New Series, 1855, pp. 568-569). This state of affairs continued till the beginning of the 19th century.

Irrigation under the British.

The British were interested in the irrigation of Sind from the very beginning. In 1830 Lt. Burnes had arranged for the distribution of the waters of the Western Nara by canals. In 1851 John Jacob put up his scheme of the Begari canal and the Desert canal, while in 1859 Lt. Fife, who may be called the father of the most modern irrigation works in Sind, stated : "Sind is an alluvial plain, almost every portion of which has at some time or other been swept by the Indus or its branches. In almost every direction, traces of ancient channels are met with and where these are large and can be traced for any considerable distance, they are most useful in indicating the relative levels of the country : for it is an axiom in places like Sind, formed by the deposit from the river, that the land is always highest at the river bank and low the further the bank is receded from." (A. W. Hughes—Gazetteer of the Province of Sind 1876 P. 16.) He devised a cut at Rohri from the Indus to join it with the Eastern Nara and converted this sluggish stream into a perennial canal. A year later, Fife also suggested the possibilities of other canals viz.

1. Rohri—Fuleli.
2. Sukkur—W. Nara.
3. Jerruck—Indus Right bank (to reach Keamari).
4. Jerruck—Indus Left Bank.
5. Mithrao—Wanga Bazar.

The longest canal was the Fuleli. "Originally it was a natural branch of the Indus, which it rejoined about 16 miles below Hyderabad, but the outlet into the river was closed by a dam in the time of the Amirs and the water was sent forward to feed other canals to the south." It was improved by the British in 1856, so that "the area irrigated by it could yield about 300,000 areas of crops every year." (R. B. Buckley—"Irrigation Works in India" London 1893, pp. 10-11.)

Between 1884 and 1899 the works constructed and opened for public use were the Unarwah in North Sind and the Jamrao canal in East Sind.

Some of the subsidiary canals were undertaken within a short time, while others were not started until 1904-05, when the total mileage grew to 7,441, with the cultivated area increased to 29,23,929 acres out of the total available area of 95,37,670 acres. There were ten divisions of irrigation made in 1868 : 1. Begari canals 2. Ghar canals 3. Rohri canals 4. Fuleli canals 5. Eastern Nara. 6. Karachi Collectorate 7. Desert canals 8. Jacobabad canals 9. Sukkur canals 10. Lower and Central Sind canals.

In 1907 there were ten canal districts, created as under :—
1. Begari canal dist. 2. Shikarpur canal dist. 3. Ghar canal dist. 4. W. Nara dist. 5. Karachi canal 6. North Hyderabad canal dist. 7. Central Hyd. canal. 8. Fuleli canal. 9. Jamrao canal. 10. E. Nara districts. (Aitken—Gazetteer of the Province of Sind 1907 pp. 258-264.)

Improved System of Canal Construction.

The canals were generally cut in such a way that they were carried away from the river bank in the direction, in which the water could most easily flow and reach the fields.

Their heads were not placed on any permanent banks, but on a side channel and water was drawn off only during inundation. The heads selected for canals were very convenient. They were based on an ancient system prevailing in the land :—"The native rulers, who originally constructed most of the inundation canals in India, appear to have learnt from experience the necessity of selecting spots for the heads of the canals which were screened from the full force of the current during the inundation." The experiments made by Col. Tremendaere R. E. (Roorkee Professional Papers. Vol. III 1st. Series p. 25.) show that,

(1) Those inundation canals of Sind, which draw their supplies from branches separated from the main river by islands covered with brushwood and long grass, contain a comparatively small amount of material in suspension. The brushwood and grass impede the velocity of the water and clarify it.

(2) Those canals, having their heads in the main stream in the normal way, may be expected to contain silt to the extent of 1/300 by weight and that about one third of this quantity is ordinarily deposited in the canals.

(3) The canals, having their heads on the mainstream in a part, where the channel is restricted and the velocity increased, may contain silt to the extent of 1/200 by weight, of which half may be deposited in the canals.

"These points have always to be considered in selecting a site for the head of an inundation canal, and they explain why a favourite site is a little way above the point where the lower end of a *dund* joins the main stream for, if, as is often the case, the *dund* ultimately silts up at the head, a backwater is formed at the lower end, from which water can be drawn, which is comparatively free from the heavier silt. But such a head would only be a temporary one, as a rule, for the backwater would sooner or later become filled up by deposits."

Thus in Sind the heads were cut in depressions or hollows, taking off from the main stream, which are dry or nearly so during the dry season, but are filled by the annual flood in the river; these are generally old courses of the parent stream which have been abandoned by the river; they are called Dunds in Sind and Sotas in Bengal. (See Sketch Plate VI.).

"These depressions are frequently used in Sind as the sites for the heads of inundation canals; one of the arguments used in their favour is that, as they are much larger than the canals they feed, the velocity of the water is less in the *dund* than in the canal, and consequently the silt which would otherwise be deposited in the canal is deposited in the *dund* and the labour of the annual silt clearers of the canal is reduced." (R. B. Buckley "Irrigation Works in India and Egypt," London 1893, p. 18.).

But after all, the level of the canal water was all important. Even with the Persian wheel it was difficult to supply water to the fields situated far from the canal banks in the interior. A water course, taken in from the canal, would supply a very limited quantity and for a very short period of time.

The system of rotational working of the canals by means of regulators, fixed across the canals at certain distances, gave some relief, as the water level could be raised to some extent thereby. But here, too, the quantity mattered much and as the velocity of water was reduced, more and more silting took place.

Construction and Preservation of Bunds.

In order to protect the fields from being washed out at the time of extraordinary floods, a system of protective *bunds* or dykes have been in existence and maintained at considerable cost. "The history of Sind irrigation is bound up with that of these *bunds*. Prior to 1869 all *bunds* in Sind were Zamindari, and they were maintained by the Zamindars themselves, but in that year Government constructed a *bund* near the head of the Sukkur canal, this being the first Government *bund* ever constructed." (Completion Report of the Lloyd Bar-

rage, etc., 1934, Vol. I, p. 3.). Since then a number of such protective *bunds* have been built along the course of the Indus. When a *bund* is likely to break, a loop is added behind it and the land protected from total destruction. The following are the chief :—

Right Bank	Length in Miles.	Left Bank	Length in Miles.
Kashmor Bund	73	Narch Bunds	34
Sukkur Begari Bund	45.5	Kasimpur Bunds	10.5
Ghar Canals Bunds	45.8	Small Bunds (N. Sukkur)	28.25
Nara canals Bunds	77	Naolakihi Bherti Bund	8.92
Manjhand Bunds	5.75	Fuleli Bund	35.01
Karachi canals Bunds	56	Karachi canals Bund	98
Total	304.05		214.68

In addition to these there are flood diversion *bunds* e.g. (1) On the left bank, protecting the Eastern Nara canal and (2) on the right bank, protecting the Manchar—Aral Drainage System.

British Success.

But although there were inherent defects in the old irrigation system, the British were successful in several directions. They improved upon the old inundation canal system, constructed new canals, suggested ways of occupying cultivable lands in hitherto uncultivable areas and, above all, created confidence among the Zamindars and Haris. For well-nigh three-quarters of a century, there was continued progress, in spite of occasional set-backs.

The following tables show the situation in 1924, which they had been able to create since 1851 :

Irrigation Work Canal system	No. of Works	Milage in Operation		Cost. Rs.
		Main	Branches	
Productive	28	5,677	788	3,64,94,392
Unproductive	6	950	286	70,23,448
Total	34	6,627	1,074	4,35,17,840

Sources of Irrigation	Area irrigated in Thousands of acres	Percentage of Total area.
Government canals	3,080	93.7
Private canals	25	0.8
Tanks	$\frac{1}{2}$	..
Wells	43	1.3
Other sources	,138	4.2
Total	3,286 $\frac{1}{2}$	100.0

(G. R. Ambekar—"The Crops of Sind," Bombay 1928, pp. 24-25 and 33.)

Methods of Irrigation before the Barrage.

There were three methods of irrigation existing before the Sukkur Barrage was opened in 1932 : *viz.*, (1) Gravity intermittent flow irrigation (*Mok*) (2) Lift irrigation (*Charkho* or *Hurio*) or irrigation by well-water (Larkhana Dist. mainly), (3) Combination of lift and flow irrigation.

(1) In this, the peculiar slopes or lie of the land and the river was taken advantage of by the natives, whenever the waters in the river and canals were high enough.

"The slope of the land in a direction parallel with the river is about the same as that of the river surface; but the land also has a slope away from the river. If, therefore, a canal is cut diagonally away from the river bank and the water surface of the canal has the same slope as the river, the surface of the water in the canal will gradually become at a higher level than the land at some distance from the head of the canal. Hence the river water, which, at the river bank, is not high enough to flow on the land, will be sufficiently high to do so over other lower lands further inland, if carried to them in a canal. Moreover, in a large canal, the surface slope of the water may be made flatter than that in the river and hence a further gain in level compared to that of the land, can be gained for every mile the canal is carried."

(A. A. Musto "The future of Sind : Sukkur Barrage scheme" 1923 p. 3.)

This advantage of the slope or lie of the land is a great peculiarity of rivers such as the Indus, the Mississippi etc., the river actually flowing along the top of a ridge formed by itself and not in the bottom of a deep valley, as has been stated above. On the right bank of the Indus between Sukkur and Sehvan the gradient is still higher than on the left and consequently some of the oldest canals in Sind exist in the Larkana district, and the flow system was closely followed.

(2) and (3) In other parts of Sind when the water level was low, water was lifted from the canals and wells near by, by means of the Persian wheel, especially during the dry months of the year. Where the lands rose higher and higher, more than one Persian wheel were provided in turn, and, in this manner, crops of sugar-cane and other garden produce were secured in winter.

Further improvement necessary :

But these inundation canals, depending upon the annual flood of the river, with its characteristic fluctuations and variations in supply, lay dry for nearly 8 months. Only from 15th June, to the

15th September, when the Sukkur gauge read 12 feet and more, was it possible to have a full discharge and full level of water for the field. 18th June was the latest day for a forecast for a fair or bad season. During the season of the swell, at the same time, these canals were quite useless. Even with the head regulators a moderate level could not be maintained for all times. The waters in the winter season, though very low in level, largely ran to waste in the sea "at times 20,000 cusecs" (G. R. Ambekar, "The Crop of Sind" 1928, p. 23). At other times the inundation came too late when half the season was over and the water itself was too much or too little. There were losses and delays even in the lift system, which was very expensive. The supply of water was, besides, affected by dangerous slit bars, formed at the mouth of each canal under certain conditions. Extravagance of water at one time, great scarcity of it at another, a Kharif season in full swing followed by another of idleness for labourers, plentiful crops in one season and starvation in another—with all this, "Agriculture in Sind was more a gamble than a systematic industry."

Thus the valley was very unevenly and irregularly favoured by the waters of inundation from the Indus. While in some parts the inundation was general, in others it was partial. Again, while some fields were fertilised, others were destroyed in the same season due to breaches in the *bunds* etc. Irrigation, though independent of rainfall in Sind, thus suffered and fluctuated, as the following table shows :—

Year	Highest Sukkur Reading in feet	Highest Kotri Reading in feet	Area Irrigated	Rainfall
1921	16.8	22.1	3,250,593	General and Beneficial.
1922	15.5	20.4	3,631,105	Scanty.
1923	14.1	21.9	3,427,266	Scanty.
1924	16.6	23.6	3,725,283	Heavy and damaged early grown crops.
1925	15.7	22.1	3,296,139	Average.
1926	15.3	22.7	3,507,028	Above average and well distributed.
1927	15.3	21.5	3,352,973	Scanty in Upper Sind. Torrential in Lower Sind.
1928	14.2	19.3	3,580,764	Scanty.
1929	17.7	24.1	3,805,038	Heavy and late.
1930	16.9	23.1	3,247,305	Below the average ; rain fell when canals full flowing.
1931	13.9	19.3	3,060,051	Very poor.
1932	16.7	23.7	3,497,229	Good and timely.

(Triennial Review of Irrigation in India—1921-1932).

Demand for Perennial Irrigation :—

The inherent defects in the methods of irrigation by means of inundation canals led to a demand for perennial irrigation. According to a report, "The cultivation at present dependent on river inundation is principally Kharif, and even this is subject to the detrimental effects of fluctuation in the river water levels; the low water supplies in the winter season can be tapped only to a small extent, and that too under very favourable conditions. Besides liability to poor crop out-turns and even distress from loss of harvest arising from vicissitudes of supply, there is a limit to expansion of cultivation. The success of new undertakings can be purchased only at the expense of those already in operation." (Report of "Lloyd Barrage and canals project in Sind."—Visvesvaraya and Ali Nawaz Jung Bahadur, pp. 4-5. Irrigation Administration Report 1930-31 p. 57-60).

History of the Barrage Project :—

This demand for perennial canals was continuous and some means of a certain supply of water during the whole year was to be provided. A scheme for a solid dam was put forth as early as 1846 by Col. Walter Scott, Superintendent, Canal and Forest Department. But it was abandoned. In 1855, Lt. Fife next made a report of the irrigation requirements of Sind and devised other great canals, depending upon the natural level of the river. He was, however, doubtful whether a solid dam was possible.

The High Court of the East India Co., authorised a survey of Sind in 1857. In 1866 Col. Strachey, Inspector of Irrigation, was much impressed by a possibility and necessity of perennial canals system in Sind. In 1870 Col. Le Meaurier prepared the Rohri-Hyderabad canal system, which has been consolidated in the present Rohri canal, the longest of the Barrage canals.

In 1890 Lord Reay, Governor of Bombay, appointed the Joyner Committee to investigate into the question of Sind Irrigation but a couple of years later Sir Evan James recommended abandonment of perennial irrigation scheme as too expensive and uncertain.

From 1901-1903 an Indian Irrigation Commission sat to investigate into the possibilities of building a weir at Sukkur.

In 1909 Dr. Summers, Superintending Engineer, Left Bank, was convinced of the eventual need of a dam but not as an urgent necessity. The Government of Bombay then issued orders for the submission of a project for a barrage across the river at Sukkur. In 1910-12 the Government of India considered this. Then the Secre-

tary of State appointed a Committee of experts to examine Dr. Summer's Report, but even they called the scheme "A premature project." They suggested a site alternative to the one proposed by the Bombay Engineers, that is, *above* the Sukkur gorge and not below it. The London Committee also suggested it should be constructed on the sands. Among others, who resuscitated the project, were Messrs. A. Hill, H. S. Beale, F. St. John Bebbie and Sir T. R. J. Wood.

In 1916 a complete scheme was submitted by the Bombay Government for a barrage with canals on both sides and in 1918 it was seriously taken up by the then Governor Lord Lloyd. By 1920 Mr. A. A. Musto under the able guidance of Mr. Beale, Chief Engineer for Irrigation, Bombay, presented the completed project for consideration by the Government of India and the Secretary of State.

At last, in 1923 the Secretary of State sanctioned the works. Construction was actually commenced on 1st July 1923, and the Lloyd Barrage, the greatest of its kind in the world, was formally opened on 13th January 1932. Irrigation actually commenced in June 1932. The whole scheme has cost over 20 crores of rupees.

The following were among the objects of the Barrage :—

- (1) To keep out silt from canal mouths.
- (2) To maintain in the canals a steady flow.
- (3) To enable higher duties to be realized and better out-turn of crops than the older canals.
- (4) To convert large areas of 'lift' irrigation into 'flow' irrigation.
- (5) To render possible the cultivation of more valuable or useful crops.
- (6) To enable a larger proportion of land to be irrigated.
- (7) To provide agricultural employment for the population all the year round. ("Report of the Lloyd Barrage and Canals Project in Sind" Visvesvaraya and Ali Nawaz Jung Bahadur, p. 4-5.)

Location of the Barrage

The location of the Barrage was about 3 miles below the Sukkur gorge where the stream has more or less a fixed bed. Above and below this position the course is found to fluctuate. (See sketch map Plate VI).

The Lloyd Barrage and Canals

The following works are included in the project : (1) A Barrage with a bridge-way across the River Indus and below the gorge at Sukkur, fitted with 66 sluice gates capable of holding water up to R. L. 194.6 ft.

(2) A group of 4 canals on the left bank, including 2 Khairpur State ones :

- (a) Rohri Canal.
- (b) Two Feeder Canals (Khairpur State).
- (c) A new cut to the Eastern Nara.

(3) A group of 3 canals on the right bank :

- (a) N. W. Canal.
- (b) Central Rice Canal.
- (c) Southern or Dadu Canal.

The two groups of canals and their distributaries together are to be over 6,400 miles in length with nearly 2,000 bridges and regulators and are to irrigate some 55 lacs of acre of cultivated land every year. They are designed to absorb or include all the old canals within the zone.

(4) Works for rapidly draining the Manchar lake and preventing it from overflowing for a long time.

(5) Drainage and protective bunds, etc.

The head regulators of all the new canals are immediately above the Barrage which can completely control the river level and keep the approach to the canals clear of silt.

Thus large parts of the Upper Sind Frontier, Sukkur, Larkana, Dadu, Nasirabad (Baluchistan) on the right bank and Nawabshah, Thar Parkar, Hyderabad as well as the Khairpur State are yet to be brought under cultivation. (See Map Plate I).

Manchar-Aral Drainage System

One very important feature of the Barrage scheme is to take advantage of the presence of the Manchar Lake, for accumulating a large quantity of water in the flood season and allowing it to cover vast areas of cultivable land. The Aral then flows from the Indus inwards towards the lake. Then allowing this huge volume of water to be drained into the Indus through the Aral stream flowing backwards in the off-season, the lands get sufficiently irrigated and are in a fit condition to receive seeds for crops. The flood waters of the Gaj and other Nais are also herein diverted. (C. G. Hawes—Bombay Engineering Congress, 1932, Paper 136, pp. 3-4.)

The Barrage Zone and Canal Commands

The following information re : the Barrage Zone and Canal Commands, has been obtained from the Lloyd Barrage Completion Reports, Vols. IV, V and VI :—

Item	N. W. Canal	Rice Canal	Dadu Canal	Eastern Nara	Rohri Canal	Khairpur Feeders	
						West	East
1. Area Commanded (acres)	1,027,066	547,885	597,464	2,140,000	2,837,000	8,00,000	
2. Cultivable (acres)	933,098	480,979	498,682	2,070,000	2,541,000	8,40,000	
3. Final Area of cultivation (acres)	720,200	420,600	394,400	1,521,300	2,025,000	5,00,000	
4. Max. discharge at head (cusecs)	5,042	10,215	2,837	13,602	10,887	1,940	2,094
5. Bed width at head (ft.)	161.5	243	32.5	346	247	79	82
6. Length of Main canal (miles)	36	82	131.6	512.7 (Includes Jamrao)	208	45	13
7. Length of branches (miles)	171	174	48	202.1	276	200	
8. Length of distributaries (miles)	700.7	215	406	1,188	1,887	800	
9. Length of water courses (Old and new) (miles)	8,367	6,500	2,919	9,712	20,246		

Barrage Expectations

The ultimate area of annual cultivation is 5,041,800 acres, excluding Khairpur cultivation and Nasirabad Tahsil. The following are the area and tonnage of cultivation of different crops :—

	Acres	Tons
Wheat	2,451,300	11,33,000
Cotton	822,200	96,000 Lint.
Rice	682,300	447,000
Jowar and Bajri	635,000	271,000
Other Crops Pulses	41,000	15,000
Oil seeds	410,000	117,000
Total acres	5,041,800	
iv M		

These expectations of the Barrage out-turns are for a period of 30 years after its first opening in 1932. But it is such a great success that in some parts of the province, e.g., the Eastern Nara circle, crops have been doubled within these 3-4 years. The Rabi crops of wheat and the cotton crops in the Khariff season have a marvellous growth. At the same time crops in some areas have not risen steadily due to the new conditions and local adjustments in the transition stage.

Safety of the Barrage

Except for a weak point, now protected by a *bund* a few miles on Rohri side, the Barrage is now safely lodged below the gorge. Two powerful flood seasons of 1929 and 1930 have tried its stability and its safety can now be assured to the province.

Hopeful conditions under the Barrage

There is no doubt that the irrigation conditions have greatly improved since the opening of the Barrage as the following statement clearly indicates.

Productive and unproductive works and costs

	1931-32	1932-33	1933-34	1934-35
PRODUCTIVE				
Main Productive ...	5014.40	4580.46	4473.63	4343.95
Distributaries ...	151.16	4605.88	4712.22	4794.51
UNPRODUCTIVE				
Main Branches ...	1873.07	430.73	436.57	439.06
Distributaries ...	769.12	101.00	109.43	109.25
TOTAL MILEAGE				
Main Branches ...	6887.47	5011.19	4910.50	4783.01
Distributaries ...	920.28	4706.88	4821.65	4903.76
GRAND TOTAL ...	7807.75	9718.07	9732.15	9686.77
COST				
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	
Productive ...	22,81,46,055	25,21,41,586	26,47,84,333	—
Unproductive ...	2,62,68,625	2,62,75,684	2,65,20,468	—
Total ...	25,44,14,680	27,86,17,270	29,13,04,801	—

(Irrigation Administration Reports III P. W. D. Bombay Government
1931-32, 1932-33, 1933-34, 1934-35).

The reports also show that the supply was satisfactory throughout the year. Even the cultivators are now getting accustomed to the new conditions. "The great increase in the areas under both cotton and wheat during the year is evidence that advantage is being taken of the improved conditions of water supply." (W. T. Jenkins—"Annual Report of the Department of Agriculture, 1933-34, p. 5.)

Conditions on the Right Bank.

The Dadu and N. W. Canals commenced early in April and the Rice canal at the end of May,—a circumstance never dreamt of in the past. Not only was the Kharif irrigation supply satisfactory but "during the Rabi season it was abundant and later new areas of wheat and Rabi crops were brought under cultivation." (W. T. Jenkins—"Annual Report of the Department of Agriculture," 1933-34, p.5.)

Conditions on the Left Bank

Here also the canals functioned successfully. "On the whole, it may be stated with confidence that the working of the Barrage canals during the year was successful and that when the cultivators became more educated to the utilisation of early water supplies, both at the commencement of the Rabi and Kharif seasons, the full advantage of the new and improved irrigation conditions in the Barrage area will be more apparent." (W. T. Jenkins—"Annual Report of the Department of Agriculture," 1933-34, p. 6.)

Disadvantages of the Sukkur Barrage.

As of old, everything in the non-Barrage Zones depends upon the period of inundation of the Indus, especially the time of rise of the river early or late. But the conditions in the Upper Sind area is not as bad as in that of Lower Sind, where the period of inundation hardly comes to 30 or 40 days, as the canals recede from about the middle of August and irrigation in the Fuleli, Tando and Karachi tracts has been greatly reduced, as more and more water is drawn out at Sukkur for virgin soil. The canals are as dry as the desert in the Rabi season. Before the Barrage these parts were prosperous with fertile agricultural fields, rice specially, and also good gardens. The remedies suggested are a widening of the canals, control of water, distribution at the head and tail-end; but even these have proved to be of little avail during the past few years at a critical period of low inundation or heavy fluctuation of water supply. A second barrage at Jeruck would possibly solve the problem in Lower Sind but this project is unthinkable, till the Sukkur Barrage itself becomes a complete financial success. Meanwhile, a

feeder from the tail-end of the Rohri canal near Uderolal has been suggested, which during the Rabi season would irrigate about 20,000 acres. Another suggestion is certain varieties of rice and other crops which would grow in less than sixty days or so.

Danger of Over-irrigation and Seepage

Even within the Barrage Zone, the danger now in Sind is over-irrigation. In areas where the water supply is too great, seepage of the sub-soil water rising in level to only a few feet below ground level through porous soils and formation of Kalar are apprehended, e.g., Mirpurkhas. Other parts affected by seepage and water-logging are the Rice Canal area due to the persistent upward trend of sub-soil water, and the Rohri Canal area (Khairpur) due to seepage through a sand belt and the higher level of the canal bed itself. With increasing irrigation, the situation is getting worse.

(See the Author's discussion : *Proc. Ind. Acad. Sci. B.* 1936 Vol. IV No. 4 pp. 299-300).

Tube-well Irrigation

One of the solutions of this problem is to stop canal irrigation and to organise tube-well irrigation, as has been recommended also by the Khairpur State Engineers.

III. AGRICULTURE

Though Sind depended upon its old but defective inundation canal system centuries before the Barrage, its agriculture was considered to be in a rather flourishing state, all the conditions of good agriculture being generally fulfilled, *viz.*, water supply, soil culture, climate and labour.

In fact Sind was, in the olden days, a most precious granary of the world. Sind cotton and wheat were well-known even at Mohenjo Daro. During the hot summer season, only tropical grains and fruits grew well, while during the cold and bracing winter season with little rainfall again, extra-tropical and European grains, vegetables and fruits thrived. Thus the economic resources of the province were hybrid.

Defects of the old system

Defects also there were many. The crops, in the rainless season, were wholly dependent on the strength or height of the inundations of the river. They were often washed out by high flood waters when unprotected by river embankments. In the cold season, on account of a very low level of the Indus water, fields far removed from the

river or main canal, could not secure a supply of water by flow method. Consequently, the crops produced in one season were nearly seven times more than those in the other. Under the old system of agriculture, there was always a long interval left, between two consecutive crops, a period of two or three years, called 'Sind Fallow.' It was a dilute system of cropping, independent of any manure and so agriculture in pre-Barrage days in Sind was a simple affair.

Lt. J. G. Fife has given a very appropriate picture of Sind in 1855 :—

"With the cultivator exposed to so many risks arising from the capricious nature of the water supply, it cannot be a matter of wonder that the people should look upon cultivation as a species of lottery. They are successful one season, bankrupts the next ; no one who sows can tell what he will reap. Too little or too much water, the supply coming too soon or too late, and the blight arising from sowing at the wrong time, combine to render speculation on the result of the cultivation a riddle which none can solve."

Seasons of Cultivation

There were two seasons :—

1. *Kharif*—June to October (Height of inundation) ; seeds were sown in spring and harvest was reaped in autumn. Rice, Juari, and cotton were cultivated, as they required heat.
2. *Rabi*—October to March (Winter), in which wheat, barley, oil seeds, opium and tobacco were grown in certain areas only.

Products of Agriculture

Cereals.

1. *Rice*—Most extensively grown crop in Sind. (Requiring well drained alluvial soil, solar heat, and good water supply.)

Best crops of rice were grown in

- (1) The Delta, (Karachi district) annually inundated. Cooler and moister climate. Adopted to deep water conditions.
 - (2) Larkana and Upper Sind Frontier district, watered by Nais and canals.
 - (3) Hyderabad and Thar Parkar District in Dhands. Mostly irrigated crops from June to September.
2. *Bajri and Juwari*—(Grown in drier parts even without irrigation). These were the principal food of the people and

grown in Hyderabad, Nawabshah, Thar Parkar, (Bajri) ; Larkana, Sukkur and Upper Sind Frontier districts (Juwari).

3. *Wheat*—(requiring moderate water supply, winter crop and loamy soil, more retentive of moisture). Grown in Larkana, Upper Sind Frontier, Sukkur and Thar Parkar in Dhands. Intermediate between Bombay and the Punjab, but superior to Bombay wheat in its soft white forms.

4. *Barley-Maize*—(grown in the same area as wheat.)

Pulses

Gram and Matar grew in Larkana, Sukkur, and Upper Sind Frontier districts.

Oil Seeds

These were Jambo, Sesame and Rape. Grown in Hyderabad, Larkana and Upper Sind Frontier.

Cotton—(requiring less rainfall and sandy soil).

Grown in Hyderabad, Nawabshah and Thar Parkar districts. There are several varieties—Sind Cotton (short stapled), Egyptian and American cotton (long stapled and requiring irrigation).

Best fibre crop in India essentially Kharif. Though grown from most ancient times, it was not an extensive crop before the British conquest. Sind soil (loamy or sandy and loamy) is best suited. Before the Barrage, cotton suffered from damage by frost due to late flow canals.

Others.

Among other agricultural products were indigo, tobacco and Bombay hemp. It must be remembered that broadcasting of seeds is the most common feature of Sind agriculture.

Vegetables

Greens, hibiscus (*bhendi*), brinjals, guards, melons, tomatoes, lettuce, beetroot, cauliflower, peas, chillies, mustard, guava, grape, plantain and *papai*.

Stock Farming.

Cattle thrive well in grassy lands and alongside wheat farming e.g., milch and plough cattle and bulls are among the best in India.

Buffaloes lived well in the delta land and on river banks.

Sheep and goats lived in scrubland, and hilly and eastern parts of the province.

Camels, asses and poultry also thrive, while horses were imported from Baluchistan and Khorasan.

Mixed Farming.

The system of "Rotation of crops" was not known in the pre-Barrage days.

Nathan Crow on Sind Agriculture.

Nathan Crow, Political and Commercial Agent to the East India Co., in Sind towards the end of the 18th century, gives a somewhat exaggerated account of agriculture in the province :—

"The fertility of the country, where it is exposed to inundation, is as great as that of Egypt and subject to less variety and uncertainty, the waters being regular in their return, departure and quantity, beginning to rise about the latter end of April and to subside early in September. The breadth of the swell varies according to the nature of the country, through which the river passes ; in general, I believe, it is felt at least five miles from the banks on either side, and in many parts much more particularly in the delta, where the land is flat and the intersections of the stream many and in Sewistan likewise where the country is of the same description and the waters courted and retained by more industry and art than is practised in any other parts. Those parts of the country of Sind, which lie out of the reach of the benefits of the inundation, depend for their fertility upon the firmament which is as precarious as the river is constant.

"In the parts far removed from the river, grain is less cultivated, but they produce a very superior kind of grass and various herbage for the pasture of horses, camels and horned cattle, of which latter the number is so great that the poorest people possess enough for the support of themselves and families ; but in years of drought which often occur two to three in succession, the mortality amongst these animals is very great and the distress of the lower part of the inhabitants proportionately severe." (Journal of the Sind Historical Society, Vol. I, Pt. 2. pp. 42-43).

Failure of Crops and Famine.

Whatever may be the value and truth of the above statement, the very fact that Sind does not depend upon rains but on irrigation for its crops, shows that it is the least likely province in India to suffer from famine.

There are, however, certain parts of Sind, viz., the Kohistan area and the Thar Parkar Desert which cannot be irrigated by any means

and which suffer from scarcity of food and water occasionally. The famine of 1899-1900 was the worst. Since then, the seasons of 1911-12, 1915-16, 1918-19 have been marked by failure of rains and crops especially in the Desert. Even in the irrigated parts of Sind, there are dangers of floods and short periods of inundations of the river.

Pre-Barrage progress of Cultivation.

Lt. Fife has shown in a report that the total cultivation on canals, wells, flood, etc., in 1853-54 was 9,97,303 acres. Nothing definite is recorded for other years but the average annual income on which revenue was collected was Rs. 14,00,000 for the period 1853-54 to 1863-64 and Rs. 15,00,000 for the period 1863-64 to 1873-74. (Completion Report of the Lloyd Barrage, 1934, Vol. I, p. 4). Later still there were fluctuations in irrigated lands and crops. For some later years, definite figures are available :—

Year	Area in thousands of acres.		Percentage of canal irrigated area to net cropped area
	Net Crop Area	Area Irrigated by canals	
1885-86	1,470	1,238	84.2
1895-96	2,655	2,009	75.7
1904-5	3,357	2,802	83.5
1915-16	3,254	2,935	90.2
1925-26	3,946	2,840	72.0

Thus the seasonal variations definitely affected the areas of irrigated lands and of crops during all these decades.

Irrigation and cultivation in the whole of Sind before the Barrage were as follows (1924-25) :—

District,	Area in thousands of acres.		Percentage of irrigated area to net cropped area.
	Net cropped Area	Irrigated Area	
1. Karachi	408	334	81.9
2. Hyderabad	663	663	100.0
3. Thar Parkar	964	391	40.6
4. Nawabshah	532	484	90.9
5. Larkana	808	586	72.5
6. Sukkur	514	296	57.6
7. Upper Sind Frontier	536	533	99.4
	4,425	3,286	74.3

The best districts were Hyderabad and Upper Sind Frontier, where irrigation was more or less perfect, while the poorest results

were in Thar Parkar, where there was practically no irrigation by inundation.

(G. R. Ambekar—"The Crops of Sind" 1928, pp. 26 & 30.)

Pre-Barrage Crop conditions.

How crops in Sind suffered before the Lloyd Barrage was established, can be somewhat gauged from the following summary prepared from the Statistical Atlas of the Bombay Presidency (3rd Edition 1925). Not only heavy rains and floods, but deficient inundation, absence of every occasional shower of rain, and failure of hill torrents affected the condition of agriculture now and then.

Year	Conditions of Inundation.	Conditions of Crops	Remarks
1904-5	Low inundation	Severe frosts damaged Rabi Crops	Insufficient rain in Thar Parkar
1905-6	Floods in Upper Sind	Crops damaged by insects in U. S. F. Narn Valley and by locusts in the desert Nawabshah etc.	Hail storms in Larkana
1906-7	River low at first and rapid next, high river and heavy rain followed Breaches	Locusts etc., in Upper Sind, Hyderabad and Thar Parkar	
1907-8	Inundation poor	Crops suffered through shortage of water	
1908-9	Floods in Karachi district destructive	Severe frost damaged winter crops in Upper Sind and Hyderabad.	
1909-10	Deficiency of water in Upper Sind and Nawabshah, Floods in Nawabshah and Larkana	Locusts etc., in Upper Sind and Nawabshah Locusts in Karachi and U.S.F.	
1910-11	High inundation, abnormally heavy floods. Rainfed hill torrents in Larkana. Floods also in Nawabshah and Hyderabad.	Rabi Crops suffered from adverse winds and insufficient flooding. Slight injury by frost in Larkana, Thar Parkar and Sukkur	Heavy Rainfall
1911-12	Inundation very unsatisfactory. Absence of rain and failure of hill torrents—Upper Sind suffered most	Locusts in Upper Sind	Rainfall poor
1912-13	Late rise and early fall of the river. Floods and hill torrents	Crop damaged in Larkana and Karachi by floods and locusts	Rainfall heavy

Year.	Conditions of Inundation.	Condition of Crops.	Remarks.
1913-14	Heavy rainfall in low lying tracts. Breaches and floods in Larkana, Hyderabad, Karachi	Insects and adverse winds destroyed crops in U.S.F. Frost in Sukkur	Rainfall heavy
1914-15	High inundation and abundant rainfall. Breaches and Floods damaged Kharif Crops. Hill torrents in Larkana	Adverse winds and insects destroyed crops in U.S.F.	"
1915-16	Inundation unusually low	Locusts etc., in U.S.F. and Nawabshah	Rainfall scanty
1916-17	Floods in Larkana, Nawabshah, Hyderabad, Karachi	Frost damaged crop in Larkana	Rainfall heavy
1917-18	Heavy floods	Heavy and untimely rains in Thar Parkar destroyed Bajri crops	
1918-19	Low inundation	Insects etc., in U.S.F.	Rainfall scanty
1919-20	Excessive rain and floods Karachi, Hyderabad, Larkana	Frost damaged crop in U.S.F. and Larkana	Rainfall heavy
1920-21	Unfavourable inundation	Insects etc., in Hyderabad and Karachi	Rainfall inadequate
1921-22	Belated rise of the river. Floods in Karachi and Larkana	Insects etc., in Thar Parkar, Nawabshah and Hyderabad	"
1922-23	Floods in Larkana.	Want of grain in Thar Parkar	"

Thus canal cultivation in Sind fluctuated from year to year and from season to season, as the following data for nearly half a century show :—

(In lakhs of acres.)

Year.	Kharif	Rabi	Total	Jagir	Total
1873-74	11.96	2.23	14.19	Included in Kharif & Rabi Figures	14.19
1874-75	12.24	3.73	15.97		15.97
1875-76	11.39	2.51	13.90		15.61
1876-77	12.91	4.19	17.10		18.46
1877-78	10.94	2.02	12.96		14.19
1878-79	13.33	5.62	18.95		20.16
1879-80	11.15	2.28	13.43		14.54
1880-81	11.73	1.56	13.29	1.64	14.93
1881-82	12.60	1.59	14.19	1.83	16.02

Year.	Kharif	Rabi	Total	Jagir	Total
1882-83	12.82	2.26	15.08	1.65	16.73
1883-84	11.97	1.65	13.62	1.79	15.41
1884-85	13.54	2.32	15.86	1.97	17.83
1885-86	12.69	2.44	15.33	2.07	17.40
1886-87	14.08	1.86	15.94	2.21	18.15
1887-88	14.38	2.15	16.53	2.18	18.71
1888-89	16.49	2.39	18.88	2.31	21.19
1889-90	17.22	3.68	21.10	2.40	23.50
1890-91	15.97	3.58	19.55	2.48	22.03
1891-92	15.14	4.36	19.50	2.16	21.66
1892-93	16.33	5.35	21.68	2.31	23.99
1893-94	16.68	4.72	21.40	2.46	23.86
1894-95	16.21	7.72	23.93	2.43	26.36
1895-96	15.22	3.19	18.41	2.56	20.97
1896-97	18.79	3.65	22.44	2.53	24.97
1897-98	19.95	5.30	25.25	2.81	28.06
1898-99	18.03	3.73	21.76	2.80	24.56
1899-1900	19.45	3.42	22.87	2.82	25.69
1900-01	21.68	5.45	27.13	3.31	30.44
1901-02	19.83	5.26	25.09	2.99	28.08
1902-03	19.39	3.85	23.24	3.02	26.26
1903-04	21.68	6.11	28.09	3.43	31.52
1904-05	20.90	5.24	26.14	3.10	29.24
1905-06	23.60	6.31	30.11	3.37	33.48
1906-07	23.77	7.85	31.62	3.24	34.86
1907-08	20.82	4.34	25.16	2.56	27.72
1908-09	23.61	6.68	30.29	3.16	33.45
1909-10	21.61	4.83	26.44	2.63	29.27
1910-11	22.87	5.45	28.32	2.90	31.32
1911-12	21.02	3.98	25.00	2.33	27.33
1912-13	23.34	4.40	27.74	2.65	30.39
1913-14	23.58	5.12	28.70	2.77	31.47
1914-15	23.02	7.32	30.34	3.15	33.49
1915-16	21.31	6.20	27.51	2.81	30.32
1916-17	25.29	5.86	31.15	3.13	34.28
1917-18	21.88	7.16	29.04	2.56	31.60
1918-19	18.85	3.34	22.19	1.98	24.17
1919-20	23.08	5.88	28.96	2.59	31.55
1920-21	22.21	3.05	25.26	2.37	27.63
1921-22	20.96	5.87	26.83	2.55	29.39
1922-23	22.75	6.56	29.31	2.94	32.25
1923-24	22.53	5.19	27.72	2.88	30.60
1924-25	23.65	6.35	30.20	2.92	33.12
1925-26	23.16	3.99	27.15	2.83	29.98
1926-27	23.02	5.87	28.89	2.68	31.57
1927-28	23.16	4.02	27.18	2.55	29.73
1928-29	23.95	5.07	29.02	2.69	31.71
1929-30	25.60	5.29	30.89	2.73	33.62
1930-31	23.67	6.18	29.85	2.62	32.47
1931-32	22.06	5.96	28.02	2.58	30.60

(Completion Report of the Lloyd Barrage etc. 1934, Vol. I, pp. 4-5).

Prospects under the Lloyd Barrage

Agriculture after the completion of the Barrage canals system is expected to be more widespread and intensive. The old basis of agri-

culture in Sind, namely, "Sind Fallow" will practically disappear. On the left bank of the Indus the country side will be converted from an essentially Kharif tract into an essentially Rabi tract. The cropping intensity will be more than doubled, thus making manure or its equivalent a *sine qua non* of Sind agriculture. A steady supply of water throughout the year at the rate of one cusec per 370 acres of land will be provided to the agriculturists to enable them to grow 100 acres of Kharif and 200 acres of Rabi crops, leaving 70 acres fallow every year. It is designed that the increase in the intensity of Rabi crops from the present 7 per cent to the final 54% will be gradual within twenty to thirty years after the opening of the Barrage canals.

(Agriculture in Sind under the Barrage canals system. Bom. Department of Agriculture, Jan. 1929 p. 42)

Barrage Improvements.

As soon as the Barrage was opened on 13th Jan. 1932, and the seven perennial canals began to operate, the conditions (Irrigation Administration—Report 1932-33, Pt. II, Sind, pp. 4-5) improved considerably. The irrigated area included parts of the Upper Sind Frontier Province, Sukkur, Larkana and Dadu districts, Nasirabad Tahsil (in Baluchistan) on the right Bank and those of Nawabshah and Thar Parkar and Hyderabad districts, as well as the Khairpur State.

The total area commanded by the Barrage in the British territory is 7,406,000 acres; as of this 5,042,000 acres are expected to be cultivated when the Barrage and its canal system are fully developed and as the area cultivated within the Barrage Zone before the Barrage was 2,037,000 acres, the increase should be 3,005,000 acres.

The progress for the first year's working (Irrigation Administration Reports 1931-32 and 1932-33.) of the Barrage is shown as under:—

	Acres of cultivation 1931-32	Acres of cultivation 1932-33	Increase or Decrease
Kharif season	2,408,604.	2,478,289	+ 69,685
Rabi season	651,447.	1,018,940	+367,493
Total	3,060,051.	3,497,229	+437,178

The result of the second year is also very satisfactory (Irrigation Administration Reports 1932-33 and 1933-34):—

	Acres of cultivation 1932-33	Acres of cultivation 1933-34	Increase
Kharif	2,478,289	2,469,636	— 8,653
Rabi	1,018,940	1,848,813	+ 829,873
Total	3,497,229	4,318,449	+ 821,220

Non-Barrage Area.

While such is the happy state of affairs within the Barrage Zone, parts of Upper Sind and Lower Sind lie outside the Barrage Zone and its influence, and therefore, they are now undergoing hardships. As the inundation is at times poor and low and the river as usual rises late in June and falls as early as in September, the crops in Lower Sind are especially affected. The damages due to floods are also great. The following systems of irrigation works are in this area :—

Lists of irrigation systems in non-Barrage Zone.

I.—North of the Barrage Zone.

1. Desert canal ; 2. Uner wah ; 3. Begri canal ; 4. Sukkur canal ; 5. Canals in Rohri Taluka ; 6. Sind canal ; 7. Rajib canal ; 8. Chitti canal ; 9. Garang canal ; 10. Kashmore Bund ; 11. Bunds in Rohri Taluka ; 12. Sukkur Begari Bund ; 13. Kasimpur Bund ; 14. Flood diversion ; 15. Naich Bund.

II.—South of the Barrage Zone

1. Canals from right bank of Indus in Karachi canals ; 2. Canals from left bank of Indus in Karachi Canals ; 3. Pinyari canal ; 4. Baghar canal ; 5. Sattah canal ; 6. Sarfaraz canal ; 7. Kari Suwali ; 8. Nasiwah ; 9. Fuleli canal ; 10. Other canals in Fuleli division ; 11. Nahi wah ; 12. Kairi canal ; 13. Hassanali canal ; 14. Arai canal ; 15. Canals north of Kotri ; 16. Bunds in Karachi canals division.

It must be noted that as a result of the very unsatisfactory conditions in non-Barrage areas, there is movement of population into the Barrage area.

Precautions for the Non-Barrage Lands.

Government have, therefore, taken precautions for all the non-Barrage lands :—

Upper Sind.

There will be remodelling of the existing canals and extension of facilities for irrigation in the "desert" (Pat) area will be made. Canals, such as the Desert, the Unarwah and the Begari will be

flowing and irrigable lands under their command fully supplied with water. On the left also, there will be improvement and greater distribution of water supply. The Ghotki canal project is a part of the Barrage Scheme.

Lower Sind.

As this area is in danger of losing a great deal of its water supply, especially at the critical period of the Kharif season, Government have given assurance of special precautions and arrangements made for the area :—

1. "Straightening of the old tortuous inundation canals.
2. Taking new branches and distributaries
3. Controlling draw-off and equalisation of distribution of supplies at a higher level." (Sind and The Lloyd Barrage, 5th Ed., 1933, p. 14.)

On the Fuleli itself, the estimated cost of improvement is 113¼ crores of rupees.

The Karachi Canal Division is also to be improved. It has been suggested that a supplementary Barrage at Kotri or Jheruck would solve the difficulties of Lower Sind once and for all. It is feared however, that it may not be a financial success. Had this scheme been taken up, along with the Lloyd Barrage scheme, it would have been done cheaper, as all the machinery etc., would have been utilised for it.

Re-distribution of Crops under the new regime.

The new system of perennial irrigation in the Barrage area has caused a certain amount of re-distribution of crops and their improvement by the Agricultural Department.

(1) *Cotton.*

It is mainly a dry region money crop and grows very well in some parts of Sind. The soil being not only sandy but silty and also deep, irrigation water runs off easily and the air needed for its growth can enter the inner layers. The cotton is the best grown in India now.

In 1933-34, Kharif cotton was cultivated on 4,86,000 acres against the average of 3,15,500 acres of the previous ten years.

The area may expand to 1,000,000 acres, spreading over the following districts :—Dadu district, (Kharif) in which cotton was non-existent before the Barrage and Thar Parkar district (Kharif) (Annual Report of the Dept. of Agriculture in Sind, 1933-34, p. 7-8). More and more of other crops, such as rice, are replaced by cotton within the Barrage Zone.

On the right bank of the Indus alone the growth of cotton is remarkable.

Year	Area under cultivation
1931-32	25 acres
1932-33	150 "
1933-34	1500 "
1934-35	4000 "
1935-36	16000 "

(W. J. Jenkins—Sind Agriculture "Daily Gazette" 6 Dec. 1935)

The following varieties of cotton are grown in Sind :—

1. *Sind Deshi*—Whitest and roughest variety— $\frac{3}{8}$ " staple—chiefly grown in the Khairpur State. Used for surgical bandages etc., and is suitable for mixing with wool.

The Deshi variety here is capable of resisting severe climatic conditions. It is sown late in June and cropped early. The improved Sind Desi, 27 W. N., evolved by the Agricultural Department now is the standard Desi crop.

2. *Sind American*—Most popular variety is 4 F. 98, grown in Thar Parkar, Hyderabad and Nawabshah districts. The growth in Thar Parkar alone was 1,93,803 acres out of 7,03,290 acres in 1934-35. Staples $\frac{7}{8}$ " $\frac{13}{16}$ " (4F 98) and spins 34 warps. Is creamy white and softish and gives a high yield.

N.B. This is the most suitable type for cotton cultivation in the new cotton areas on the Indus right bank. (Bombay Cotton Annual, 1934-35, p. 226.)

Another variety is 289 F. 1. It has the longest staple $1\frac{1}{16}$ " and spins 40 warps, has a ginning percentage of 30, resists red leaf disease, jassid attacks and seasonal variations, is practically suitable for extension on the Left Bank area and is now termed *Sind Sudhar* (Karachi Cotton Annual, 1934-35, p. 14.)

3. *Imported Egyptian and Sea Island cottons.*

These are acclimatised in Sind and staples vary from $1\frac{1}{8}$ " to $1\frac{1}{4}$ " and are suitable for spinning 50 to 80 warps. They grow well in East Sind, but are susceptible to white ant attacks. "They require better cultivation than Sind American or Desi Cotton and should be grown on the best portion of the area to be put under cotton" (Karachi Cotton Annual, 1934-35, p. 14.)

(2) *Wheat.*

Wheat will be by far, the most important Rabi crop (flooding the fields in October and sowing in November-December) and will be spread over a total area of two million acres. As it is mainly a winter crop, it can be grown in irrigated areas, where rice is grown

in summer, the soil factor being common. The increase is on the right bank especially; during the year 1933-34 Rabi wheat was cultivated to the extent of 1,188,000 acres against the average of the last 10 years of 487,000 acres only. The chief improvement is in the field per acre.

The chief wheat areas are :—

Upper Sind Frontier, Sukkur, Khairpur State, Nawabshah, Hyderabad and parts of Thar Parkar districts.

The following are the varieties :—C. Ph. 47 (Phandani), A. T. 38 (Thoree) G. S. 25 (Boojri) 'Pusa' 12,114 and 80/5, Punjab 8-A and Punjab 11, Manitoba 1, Bina (N.W.F.), Pusa 114. As the prices of wheat fall, the temptation of farmers is to grow cotton instead.

(3) *Rice.*

Rice grows well in the tracts of N. Sind (Rice canal area), especially in the Larkana district and the yield per acre is also increased. Water is plentiful here, the hill-torrents often wetting the soil, which is sufficiently sandy. The rice canals flow for some six months and superior rice is now grown. Other rice areas are :—The delta (good for red rice), and Begari canal area.

(4) *Millet.*

This includes Juwar and Bajri, which thrive with little moisture and are the staple food of the people in the drier parts. The range of varieties is great.

(5) *Other Crops.*

Oil seeds and pulses—as alternative money crops to cotton, (Kharif season) and Bajri, sugar-cane, potatoes, onions, tobacco as Rabi crops.

Soya (Manchurian) beans and Berseem, a leguminous crop from Egypt help to reclaim Kalar lands and to add to the fertility of the soil and improve its texture—also a valuable fodder for potatoes and onions.

If the farmers take advantage of the early irrigation supply now available in both the seasons, there would be still more improvement in the crops and in the maturing of corn. (Annual Report of the Department of Agriculture in Sind, 1933-34, p. 35.)

Pre-Barrage and Post-Barrage Comparison.

Acres of cultivation in the whole of Sind
(excluding the Khairpur State)

Crop	1931-32	1932-33	1933-34	1934-35
Wheat	367,703	778,550	1,144,837	989,357
Cotton	253,266	344,112	519,600	619,249
Rice	1,059,487	1,090,684	1,099,447	1,102,110
Juari	463,548	465,876	375,120	352,101
Bajri	435,314	476,809	361,763	290,098
Other crops including pulses	608,156	580,054	611,986	545,493
Oil Seeds	185,387	187,342	174,474	127,698
Total of all crops (Kharif and Rabi)	3,081,724	3,935,139	4,318,449	4,040,573

(Irrigation Administration Reports III P. W. D. Bombay Government 1931-32, 1932-33, 1933-34, 1934-35.)

The slight set-back in the year 1934-35, in connection with crops other than cotton, is due to the new conditions of irrigation and cultivation, insufficient inundation in non-Barrage areas and also trade conditions e.g., for wheat in Europe and Egypt.

More Post-Barrage Statistics

The following statistical tables show how crops are now increasing enormously in both the seasons :

Statement showing Rabi crops in thousands of acres in Sind

Serial No.	Name of System	Wheat			Barley			Oil Seeds.				Other Crops.			Remarks
		1932-1933	1933-1934	1934-1935	1932-1933	1933-1934	1934-1935	1932-1933	1933-1934	1934-1935	1932-1933	1933-1934	1934-1935		
I. Barrage Area.															
1	Rohri Canal system	176.7	385.6	351.1	1.0	1.4	1.6	1.4	21.7	8.5	27.0	21.2	24.3		
2	Eastern Nara "	262.0	339.4	296.7	0.4	0.5	0.6	6.7	7.9	4.9	8.5	11.2	12.0		
3	N. Western Canal system.	92.2	143.7	133.9	...	0.1	0.1	0.1	41.0	35.1	41.5	56.6	52.2		
4	Rice canal "	25.0	23.4	17.9	0.2	0.1	0.4	15.9	14.4	13.8	93.9	101.9	102.7		
5	Dadu canal "	76.0	106.7	106.5	0.9	0.5	2.5	3.4	4.4	8.4	27.7	29.2	29.8		
6	Manchar Drainage system	12.2	10.3	8.7	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.6	1.6	1.2	0.5	0.1	0.3		
II. Non-Barrage Area.															
1	North of Barrage Zone	93.4	79.0	84.1	0.2	...	4.7	46.1	57.2	55.5	248.5	262.2	235.1		
2	South of " Zone	40.9	53.9	53.9	5.8	5.2	...	43.6	37.6	34.7	34.7	38.9	38.9		
III. Khairpur State															
		64.78	94.94	85.90	0.93	1.15	1.22	12.50	16.78	13.68	29.01	27.85	24.40		

(Statement No. III E. Irrigation Administration Report Part III Published by P.W.D. Bombay Government 1932-33 and 1933-34)

Statement showing Kharif Crops in thousands of acres in Sind.

Sl. No.	Name of System.	Rice			Juwari & Bajri.			Cotton.			Other Kharif In- cluding Sugarcane.			Remarks.
		1932- 1933	1933- 1934	1934- 1935	1932- 1933	1933- 1934	1934- 1935	1932- 1933	1933- 1934	1934- 1935	1932- 1933	1933- 1934	1934- 1935	
I. Barrage area —														
1	Rohri canal system	4.0	2.6	4.3	240.6	248.7	26.09	84.4	210.9	298.6	21.2	20.5	24.9	
2	Eastern Nara "	80.8	87.9	90.3	150.9	102.5	94.61	233.0	303.0	310.6	17.2	16.5	18.7	
3	North W. Canal "	59.2	92.7	93.5	102.4	74.9	59.4	...	0.4	1.4	10.8	4.7	6.1	
4	Rice Canal "	349.6	257.8	255.5	10.0	5.8	6.9	...	...	...	2.4	2.7	3.1	
5	Dada canal "	49.4	53.7	54.0	41.4	37.3	39.5	0.2	0.8	3.0	4.1	4.1	4.2	
6	Manchar Drainage System	0.3	0.3	1.2	0.7	0.4	8	...	...	...	...	0.1	1	
II. Non-Barrage Area														
1	North of Barrage Zone	191.0	210.0	603.0	248.9	181.7	242.8	0.1	0.2	5.3	27.9	27.3	35.3	
2	South of Barrage Zone	456.1	394.6		147.7	106.5		26.1	4.3		18.0	14.9		
III. Khairpur State.														
		7.94	6.02	5.09	81.75	91.76	80.68	130.3	20.79	31.10	14.05	18.10	17.44	

(See Maps: Plate III for Kharif and Plate IV for Rabi crops and their distribution)

Latest Statistics

The summary table (given below) of the area under the various irrigated crops in 1934-35 has been obtained for the whole of Sind, district by district. These have been published by the Department of Agriculture with a view to place all agricultural statistical work relating to Sind on a much more adequate footing than in the past for the sake of commercial bodies, private firms etc., and also for crop forecasting in future years after the Barrage. Some of the figures do not tally with those published by the Irrigation Department, and it is difficult to say which are more accurate.

Compared to the Barrage expectations given on page 34, these figures are amazingly satisfactory. An average of about ten years' progress after the opening of the Barrage would only show whether this progress is going to be steady and the fertility of the land is to be maintained for all times. So far the cotton and wheat crops have increased to 400% and 200% respectively. In 1935-36 cotton has increased to 899,000 acres and there is a tendency to concentrate on this commodity even at the cost of wheat and other food crops in the whole province and on both the banks of the river Indus.

Problem of Soil fertility, etc.

Now that the question of perennial irrigation has been satisfactorily solved for Sind, other problems arise. Among these the problem of soil fertility is the most important. Under the old system of inundation, the fertility of the soil was regularly maintained by letting fields lie *fallow*, as noticed above. The waters carried much silt, which also helped the fertility of the soil under cultivation. Both are not possible now. The dividing walls on the up-stream side of the Barrage prevent much silt from passing downstream. The agricultural department has, therefore, stressed the necessity of adopting the system of "fertility" crop rotations, to enable the soil to retain its fertility, as crops of wheat and cotton exhaust the soil. Also, mixed farming is developed and restorative crops or green manure, such as Berseem, Guar, groundnuts and pulses are grown in the fourth year rotation area and are ploughed under manure on maturity. Light or hungry soils are treated with compost manufacture of manure, and lastly chemical and manurial correctives are tried, *viz.*, calcium chloride, calcium or ammonium sulphate, superphosphates and organic manure.

Reclamation of Kalar Lands.

In the reclamation of Kalar lands, *leaching* has also proved successful. The lands are leached with heavy doses of irrigation

Areas in acres under irrigated crops in 1934-35.

	Rice	Wheat	Barley	Jowari	Bajri	Maize	Other Cereals	Sugar Cane	Other food Crops	Cotton	Other non-food crops	Total crops irrigated	Product from more than once	Net irrigated area
1. Karachi	a 178,972 b ...	268 11,349	3 7,004	1,515 15,259	13,663 486	1,585 ...	949 19,608	1,291 ...	11,019 2,897	2 ...	7,148 70,483	210,416 127,046	4,543 18,377	211,968 108,659
2. Dacca	a 108,268 b ...	97,545 22,148	2,884 1,035	69,145 37,808	4,064 ...	...	7,181 49,071	78 ...	3,388 870	3,605 ...	10,435 27,762	306,593 138,694	49,252 ...	257,341 138,694
3. Larkana	a 289,490 b ...	111,903 2,104	293 31	48,401 ...	29 ...	...	87,246 37,283	127 ...	8,931 ...	963 ...	38,545 2,334	586,528 41,752	121,586 15,380	464,742 26,172
4. U.S. Frontier	a 130,695 b ...	9,630 63,880	7 77	82,583 133	31,437 662	34 ...	2,020 145,706	8 ...	2,528 315	627 1	12,049 12,869	271,588 223,643	959 90,498	270,629 133,145
5. Hyderabad	a 220,843 b ...	141,659 2,607	496 190	7,138 24	103,691 649	221 ...	3,724 2,214	692 ...	6,759 195	173,391 ...	22,617 20,821	681,141 28,700	17,803 ...	663,338 26,700
6. Thar Parkar	a 88,918 b ...	25,159 1,462	825 ...	9,644 ...	68,031 ...	660 ...	3,065 210	635 ...	3,611 ...	279,218 ...	15,147 ...	717,816 1,672	12,759 ...	705,057 1,672
7. Nawabshah	a 924 b ...	242,991 11,075	1,601 307	82,296 753	69,552 533	151 ...	12,753 11,005	958 ...	3,500 825	182,109 2	32,362 3,904	300,197 98,104	20,811 62	579,386 28,042
8. Sukkur	a 111,169 b ...	52,567 49,084	409 299	89,112 2	9,567 4	14 ...	5,240 130,688	317 ...	14,873 1,277	2,729 63	6,122 9,854	299,159 176,271	7,448 70,293	291,711 105,978
Total Sind	a 1,129,279 b ...	914,622 158,709	6,221 8,943	387,105 53,979	290,944 2,334	2,665 ...	122,278 385,745	4,106 ...	54,549 6,179	622,644 66	144,825 147,527	3,679,338 763,882	235,166 194,810	3,444,072 569,072
Total of (a) and (b)	1,129,279	1,073,331	15,164	441,084	293,278	2,665	468,023	4,106	60,728	622,710	292,752	4,443,120	429,976	4,013,144

a = area irrigated both before and after sowing. b = area irrigated only before sowing.

(Table IV A, Season and Crop Report of Sind 1934-35, pp. 44-45)

Re-arrangement of Districts and Future Possibilities.

The Barrage system has also necessitated a re-arrangement of districts of which there are 9 now. The progress of irrigated and cultivated lands is shown in the following table. In some districts the areas of cultivated land has exceeded even the estimated ones:—

Statement showing cultivable, irrigable and irrigated areas in Sind.

Names of district.	Total area in acres.	Cultivable area in acres.	Cultivable area Commanded by Irrigation works.	Area irrigated in acres.					
				1932-33			1933-34		
				Kharif.	Rabi	Total.	Kharif.	Rabi.	Total.
1. Kalat Territory ...	4,96,840	5,03,158	4,19,160	72,651	27,957	1,00,608	57,481	43,869	1,01,350
2. Upper Sind Frontier ...	13,52,948	10,45,545	8,81,322	2,80,068	2,53,829	5,33,917	2,74,517	2,81,363	5,55,880
3. Sukkur Collectorate ...	36,12,172	7,25,764	7,43,675	2,35,047	1,86,354	4,21,401	2,29,576	2,06,268	4,35,844
4. Larkhanna "	9,82,075	6,10,601	4,64,435	3,18,253	2,68,567	5,86,820	3,30,427	2,99,577	6,30,049
5. Dadu "	41,23,896	17,48,426	3,93,726	1,52,063	1,39,612	2,91,575	1,47,472	1,68,796	3,16,206
6. Karachi "	44,84,638	10,57,184	6,33,165	1,98,382	25,456	2,23,838	1,73,953	27,427	2,01,420
7. Thar Parkar "	87,28,187	42,59,630	16,56,343	4,24,485	2,35,286	6,59,771	4,44,127	3,08,000	7,52,127
8. Nawabshah "	24,53,353	16,01,025	15,97,088	3,15,726	2,14,207	5,29,933	3,22,169	2,73,273	5,95,442
9. Hyderabad "	29,65,341	22,51,944	23,14,048	4,81,594	1,05,582	5,87,176	4,89,701	2,40,440	7,30,231
* Khairpur State ...	38,72,000	7,12,152	7,12,152	1,16,767	1,11,498	2,28,265	1,36,667	1,36,442	2,73,109

(Irrigation Administration Report III Published by the P. W. D. Bombay Government 1932-33 and 1933-34. Khairpur State Administration Reports July 1933, and July 1934).

* NOTE—For further particulars about the Khairpur State see the Author's "A Geographical Analysis of the State—A Post-Barrage Investigation," 1935.

water, which would carry away all the injurious salts into the deeper layers of soil. The process consists in a judicious concentration of the irrigation water for leaching or washing purposes and the subsequent cropping of the areas thus leached with a suitable system of crop rotation.

Such Kalar lands are to be cropped, "under a system of rotation, which includes high percentage of crops known to be resistant to Kalar and which have a beneficial effect on the physical texture of the soil and on the maintenance of dressings of certain chemical substances to the Kalar land with the object of improving its physical texture and thus increasing the rate of percolation and facilitating the washing out of injurious salts or of neutralising and offsetting the effects of such injurious salts on plant growth." (Sind and the Lloyd Barrage, 5th Ed., 1933, p. 53.)

But the greatest success in this connection has attended "the adoption of combination of mechanical and agronomic methods or reclamation as practised on the Sakrand Salt Land systems." (Annual Report of the Dept. of Agriculture in Sind, 1933-34.)

Attempts are also made to prevent conditions, which give rise to Kalar formation in fertile tracts, such as unlevelled lands, badly constructed *bunds* and water courses, excessive flooding of cultivated or waste areas, etc.

Horticulture.

A new line of horticulture has been inaugurated in the Government Farm at Mirpurkhas, after the Barrage, in the form of fruit orchards and vegetable gardens. The possibilities of fruit growing on a large scale in Sind are great. The geographical situation of Sind as has been noticed in Section I, allows the cultivation of fruits, such as dates, bananas, oranges, pomegranates, figs, mulberry, melons, chikoo, mango, etc.

Fruit growing has its best chances under perennial irrigation. Given the necessary protection from hot winds, close periods and cold winds, fruits grow very well, especially grapes thrive in Sind. They are the best produced in India, as the conditions are ideal : (1) deep alluvial soil for the roots to suck moisture, (2) very little rain, (3) very few pests. The following are types of fruits already grown :—

<i>Kind of Fruit.</i>			<i>Localities.</i>
Grapes	..	..	Karachi, Hyderabad, Sukkur.
Mango	..	..	Karachi, Hyderabad, Sukkur, Larkhana.
Date	..	..	Karachi, Sukkur, Larkhana.
Guava	..	..	Karachi, Hyderabad, Thar.
Orange	..	..	Hyderabad, Sukkur, Nawabshah.
Pomegranate	..	..	Sukkur, Hyderabad, Karachi.
Plantain	..	..	Karachi, Sukkur, Hyderabad, Thar.
Fig	..	..	Hyderabad.
Mulberry	..	..	Upper Sind.

Of these mango trees occupy the largest area of cultivation (G. R. Ambekar—"The Crops of Sind" Bombay, 1928, pp. 89-100).

Dry Crops.

Dry crops are also now possible within the Barrage Zone of irrigation. (*Vide* Agriculture in Sind, 1933-34).

Comparison with the Punjab.

<i>Sind.</i>	<i>Punjab.</i>
1. Soil—Less and less light lower down and impregnated with salt.	Stiff and compact and less salty.
2. Gradient 9" per mile (average).	12" per mile (average).
3. Lift systems of irrigation in winter.	Almost all canals flowing during the year.
4. Embankments to prevent floods; not much river training.	No embankments; floods are welcome. Elaborate river training works.
5. Problem of water-logging acute.	Water-logging less troublesome.

IV—SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Sind affords an excellent example of the geographical control of the land on its natural vegetation and animal life. Man has also played his part worthily in the region from times immemorial, witness Mohenjo Daro, its mainstay being agriculture by means of irrigation throughout. But for the Indus waters, the land would have formed part of the Thar desert. Though dependent largely on the rich and varied drift soil, natural vegetation in Sind has been influenced not only by its climate, which is the driest and hottest in India, but also by its position on the globe as the borderland of the tropical and the extra-tropical zones. Tropical fruits, flowers and grains grow well in summer, while extra-tropical grams and vegetables and trees thrive well in the bracing season of winter. There is a large number of species of plants not commonly met with in other parts of India,

but having affinity with those growing in Arabia, Iran, Nubia and Europe. This affinity of Sind with the other centres indicates that what grows in them can be easily cultivated in Sind.

Six vegetation belts, including the riverain forests along the bank of the Indus and the E. Nara, swamps in the delta, scrubland in parts of the Desert province and steppe land in Kohistan, have been noticed and mapped by the author. Among the several varieties of plants are noted many medicinal ones, used by native physicians for curing diseases.

The system of irrigation in this dry region is perhaps the most ancient in India. What the province has lost by way of rainfall, it has luckily gained by the annual inundations of the Indus, which is the very life of the land. This river is well-known for its vagaries and has caused havoc as well, in many parts of Sind. Its floods are proverbial and yet Sind has become, to-day, one of the largest canalised lands in the world through the Lloyd (Sukkur) Barrage, which was opened early in 1932. Before this date, irrigation was irregular, unsteady and also imperfect, there being many drawbacks and difficulties. The British have been very successful in their numerous schemes in the region. What with the many improvements, new works and projects, scientific appliances and, last of all, one of the most remarkable irrigation schemes in the world, the Barrage, the progress of irrigation of Sind under the British has been steady from the very beginning and very rapid in recent years. The river-training works, such as the construction of *bunds*, are also introduced side by side with canal works, until by 1935, almost the whole length of the river banks on both sides was protected by *bunds* and 5,011 miles of main canal works with 706 miles of branches, costing over 25 crores of rupees, were constructed,—and all this from a river that runs through only about 300 miles of Sind. The Rohri Canal alone is 206 miles long. With the coming of the Barrage, irrigation has become perennial, and especially in the Rabi season agriculture has grown rapidly. In certain directions the expectations for the 30 years' forecast have been reached within the past 4-5 years; e.g., cotton and wheat crops are more than doubled as in the Khairpur State. Cotton has come out to be the best in India and is replacing other crops of less value. On the right bank alone, the cotton crops have already been increased to 16,000 acres of land under cultivation.

Precautions have been duly taken for lands situated outside the Barrage zone. While N. Sind has not and cannot be affected adversely by the Barrage, except for the vagaries of the river itself, S. Sind has distinctly suffered for want of enough water in the

Rabi season, and another Barrage for Lower Sind seems a possible solution of this problem. For the present at least there is fluctuation of population on this account. Communications are very defective in the whole of Sind and unless these keep pace with the growth of irrigation and cultivation, the best fruits of the Barrage will not be achieved. There are only a few trunk roads and canal paths and fewer railways, though Karachi is on the high way of Asian trade routes and air routes. (See Map. Plate V.)

Progress at Sakrand and other research stations has been rapid in the directions of reclamation of Kalar lands by leaching etc., soil fertility, rotation of crops, etc. Horticulture is another new line of culture in Sind and, all round, the province has been immensely benefited by the Barrage. It is left to economists and others now to find outlets for whatever is grown in excess in the Province.

The author is indebted to the Public Works and Agriculture Departments of Sind and the Khairpur State for facilities afforded to him for collecting the necessary data from published and unpublished records and to Professor E. P. R. Taylor and Dr. A. M. Mathews of the University of London for their guidance. His thanks are also due to the University of Bombay for a Research Grant awarded by it in connection with his Survey of Sind in 1933-34.

MANECK B. PITHAWALLA.

Description of Plates, etc., accompanying

**"NATURAL VEGETATION, IRRIGATION AND
AGRICULTURE"**

PLATE I.

Map of Sind showing : Thermal Springs ; Hill Ranges and Water Channels ; Manchar-Aral Drainage System ; the Indus and the Barrage System.

PLATE II.

Map of Sind showing : Natural Regions and Vegetation Zones.

PLATE III.

Map of Sind showing Kharif Cultivation.

PLATE IV.

Map of Sind showing Rabi Cultivation.

PLATE V.

Map of Sind showing Communications : Air routes, Existing railways ; Proposed railways, Motorable roads ; Cart roads ; Camel paths ; and Trade routes.

MAP OF SIND

- REFERENCES—
- 1. Hill Ranges
 - 2. Barrage Zone
 - 3. Hot Springs

- LEGEND—
- 1. THERMAL SPRINGS
 - 2. HILL RANGES & WATER CHANN
 - 3. MUNICIPAL DRAINAGE SYSTEM
 - 4. INDUS & CANAL SYSTEM

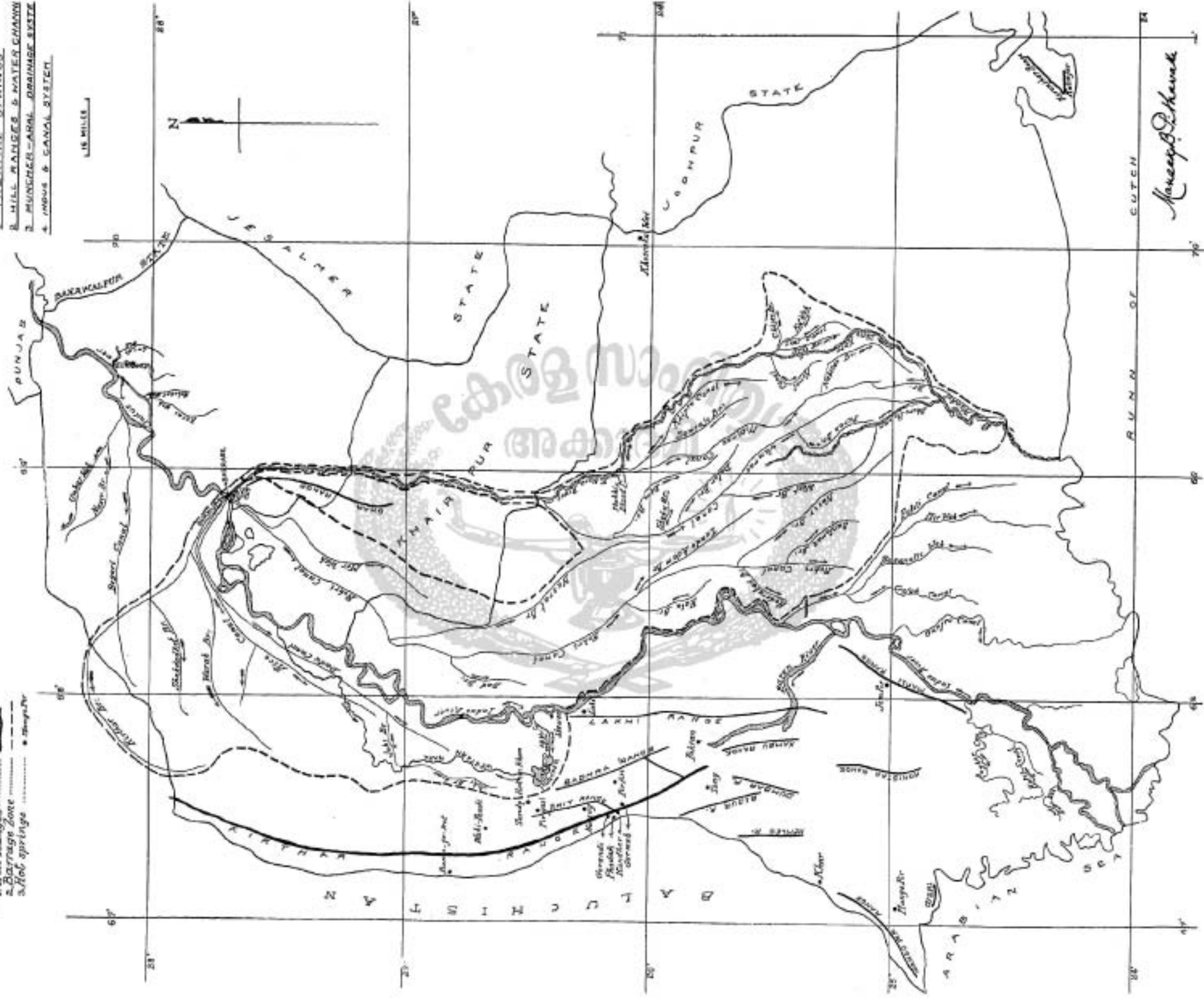


PLATE I.

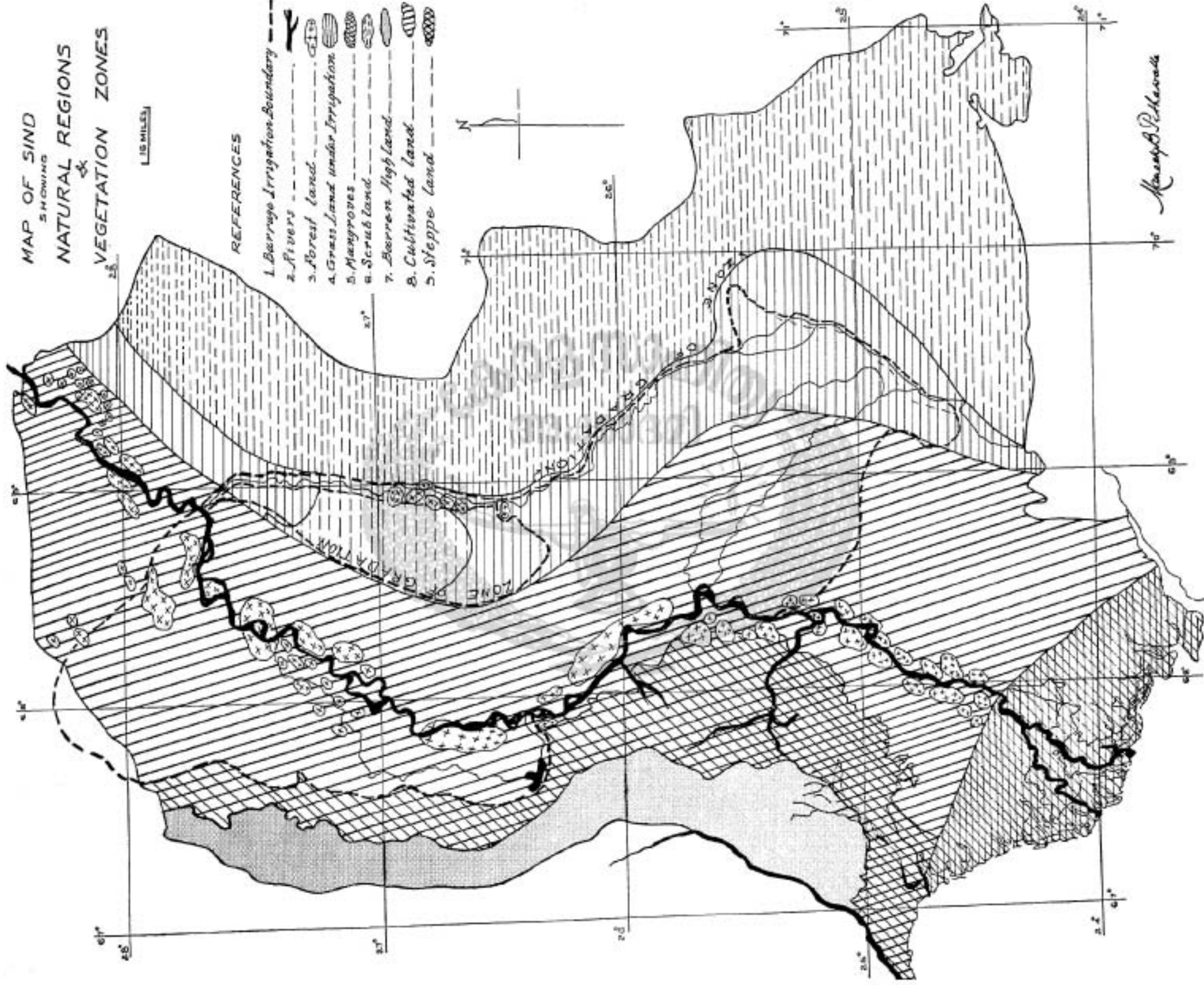
Manoj P. D. Khanna

MAP OF SIND
SHOWING
NATURAL REGIONS
&
VEGETATION ZONES

110 MILES

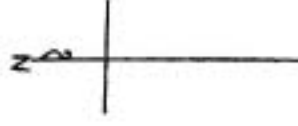
REFERENCES

1. Barroo Irrigation Boundary ---
2. Rivers ---
3. Forest land ---
4. Grass land under Irrigation ---
5. Mangroves ---
6. Scrub land ---
7. Barren High land ---
8. Cultivated land ---
9. Steppe land ---



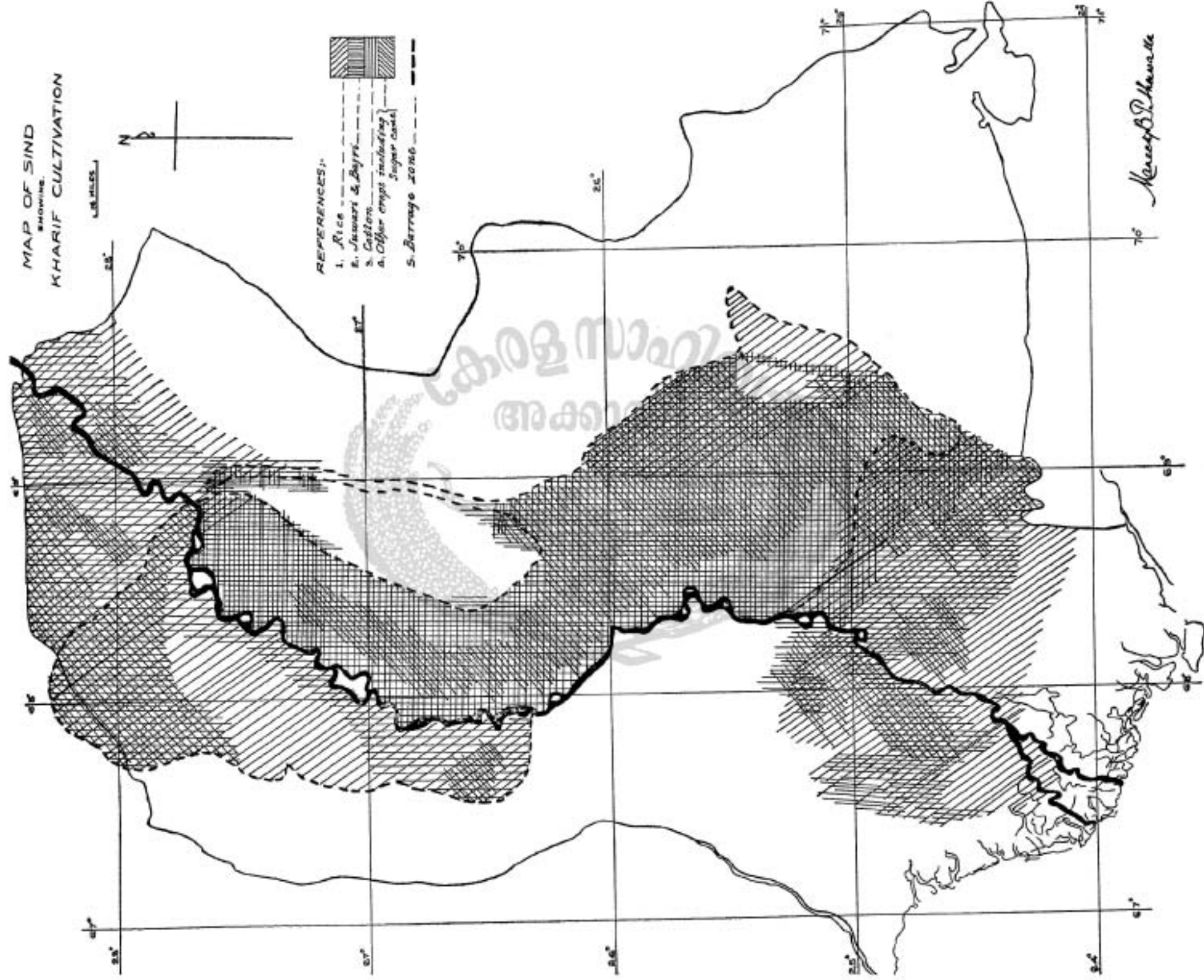
MAP OF SIND
SHOWING
KHARIF CULTIVATION

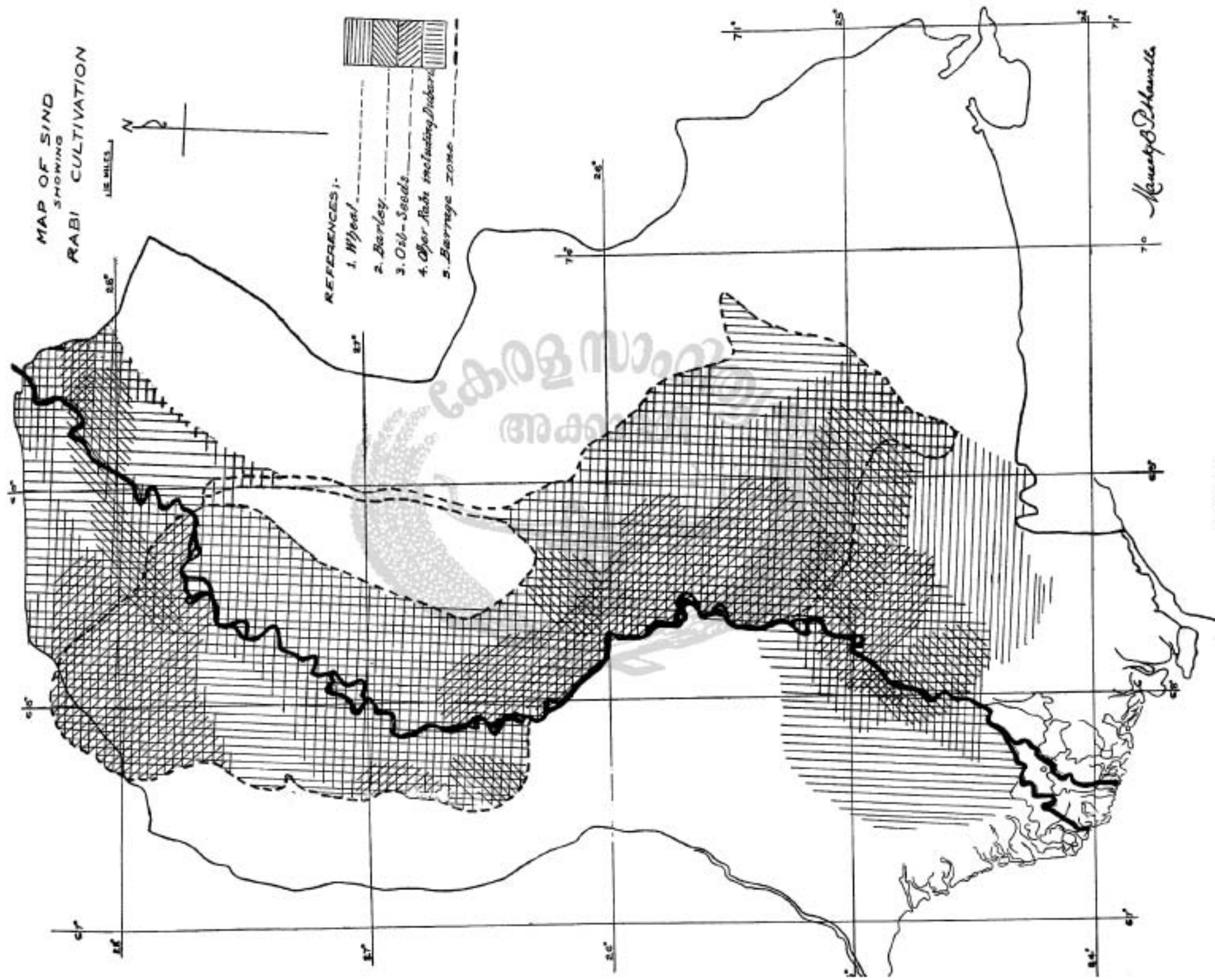
10 MILES



REFERENCES:-

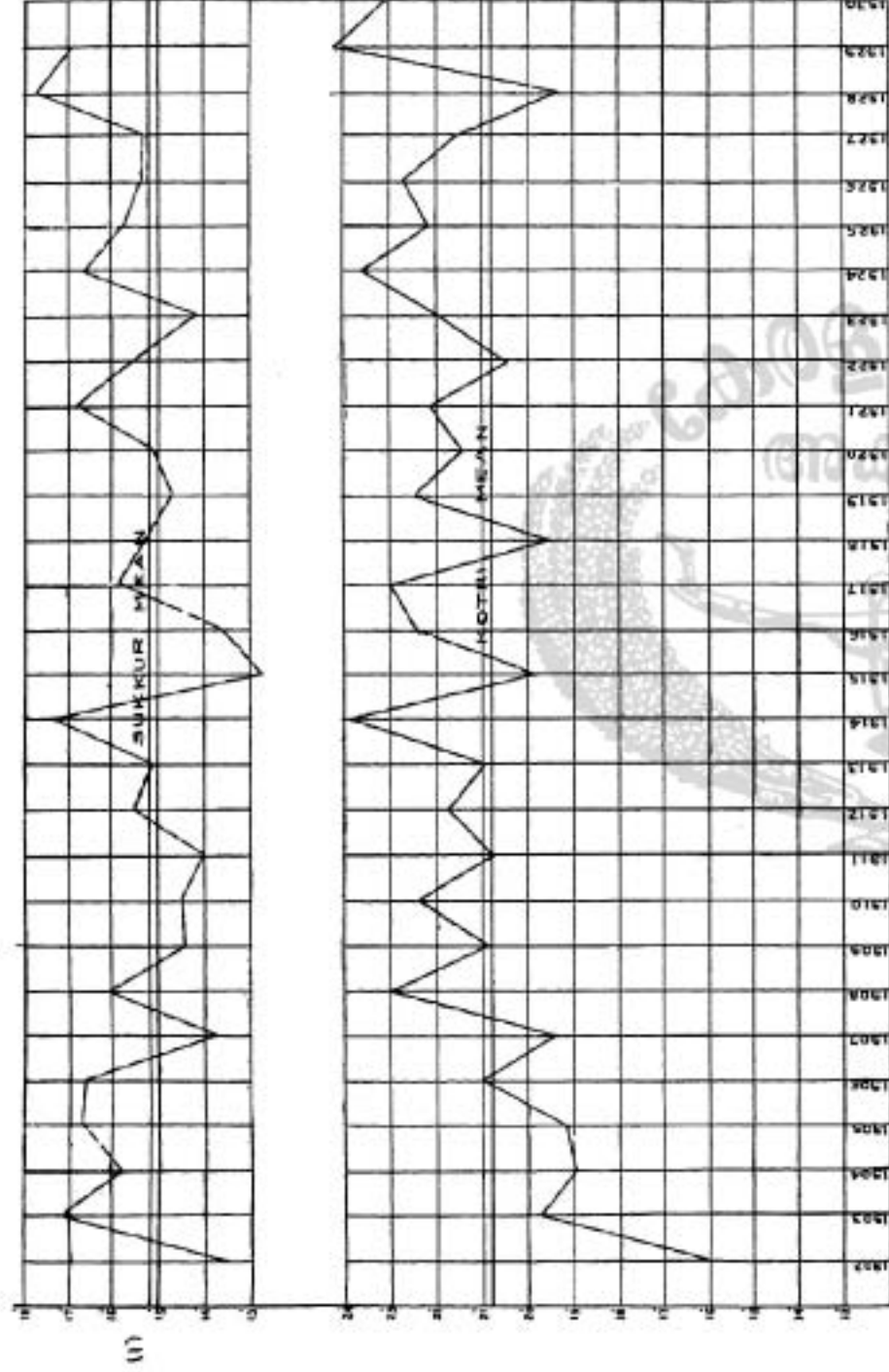
1. Rice
2. Sugarcane & Bajra
3. Cotton
4. Other crops including
Sugarcane
5. Barrage zone



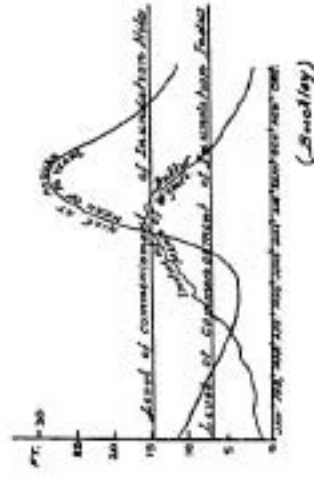


MAXIMUM YEARLY READINGS

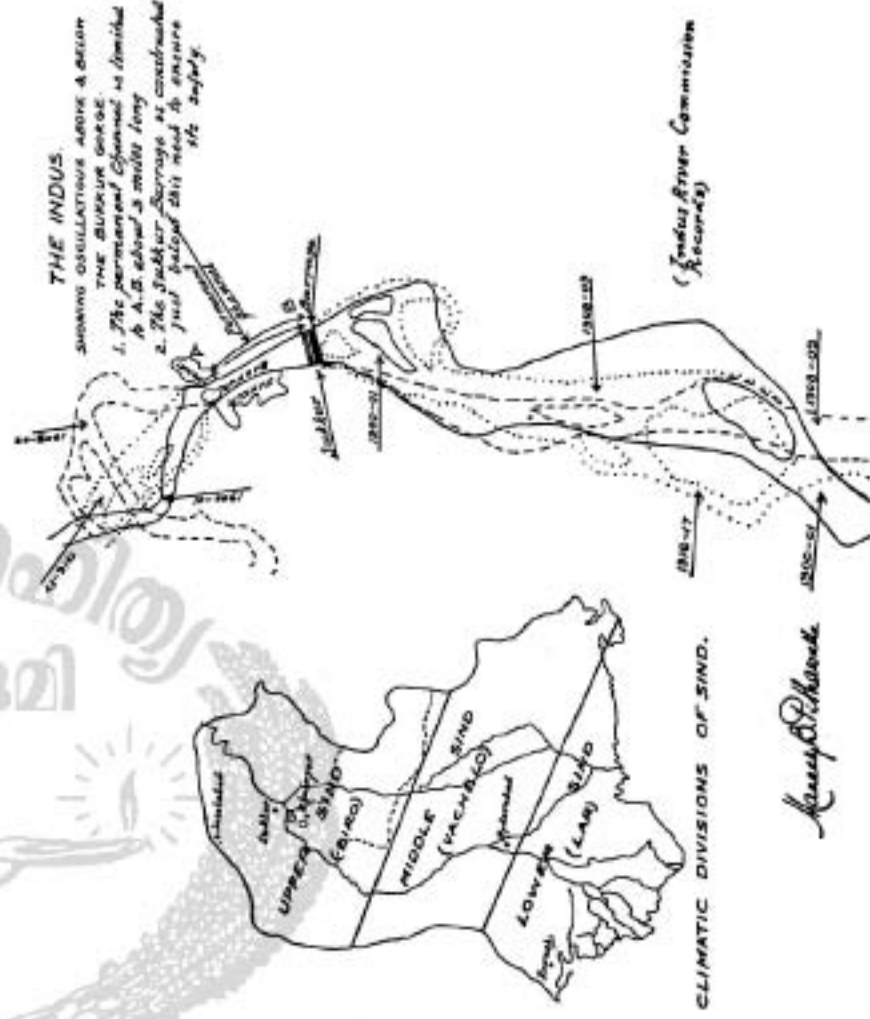
- (1) Sukkur Gauge
- (2) Mafra Gauge



(Indus River Commission Records)

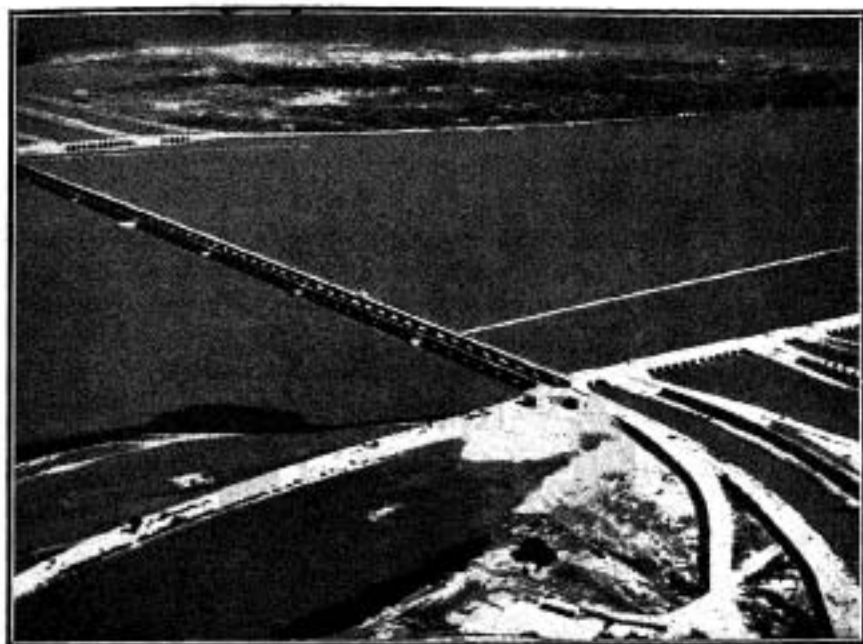


OFF-TAKE OF INUNDATION CANALS
IN SIND
(Buckley)



(Indus River Commission
Records)

K. P. D. D.



Crown Copyright Reserved

Photo: Royal Air Force (India)

PLATE VII

(Reproduced by permission)

The Sukkur Barrage, Sind, 4,725 ft. in width ; cost of Barrage 6 crores of rupees ;
of canals, 14 crores ; 6 million acres to be brought under cultivation.

PLATE VI.

1. Maximum Yearly Readings (1902-1930).
A.—Sukkur Gauge.
B.—Kotri Gauge.
2. Levels of Inundation, the Nile and the Indus.
3. Off-take of Inundation Canals in Sind.
4. Climatic Divisions of Sind.
5. The Indus showing oscillations above and below the Sukkur Gorge.
Position of the Lloyd Barrage.



INCREASING RETURNS AND INTERNATIONAL TRADE

I.

There have been two branches of economic theory in which noteworthy developments have taken place in recent times; one, the theory of international trade and the other the theory of imperfect competition.¹ It is natural to expect that when these two are correlated new light will be thrown on the theoretical as well as the practical aspects of tariff-making. Economists have often wondered at the remarkable unanimity with which free trade has been accepted in theory as the best way of utilising the differences in factor-equipment between countries, while protectionism often of a very rigorous type has been followed in practice over a large part of the globe. May it not be that after all the traditional manner of envisaging the problem is responsible for this curious disparity? Troubled with this thought the economists have often tried to see if their assumptions are not perhaps too unrealistic. The classical theory based on the law of comparative costs has therefore been subjected to considerable criticism. As a result, the classical statement of the theory framed in terms of real costs and based on the assumption of a single, homogeneous factor of production has been re-formulated in terms of opportunity costs; the assumption of constant costs has been given up and allowance is made for imperfect mobility of factors within the same region and some mobility even as between regions. As soon as capitalistic production is assumed, the relevant hypothesis to take is that of increasing costs with increasing output. This in fact is a very simple procedure. It enables us to explain not merely which country will specialise in which particular commodity; it indicates the exact limit at which such specialisation will cease to be profitable. Clearly, there is no need any longer for each country to specialise completely in the commodity for export. A country may meet its demand partly by home production and partly by imports. All this is clear and well-known.

1. For international trade, reference may be made to Ohlin: 'Inter-regional and International Trade,' Hsberler: 'Theory of International Trade,' Whale: 'International Trade,' Harrod: 'International Economics.' For imperfect competition we have Joan Robinson's 'Economics of Imperfect Competition,' Chamberlin's 'The Theory of Monopolistic Competition,' Stackelberg's 'Marktform und Gleichgewicht' and the well-known articles by writers like Harrod, Shove, Sraffa, Yntema and Hotelling.

II.

But with the admission of increasing costs with increasing output, the possibility of decreasing costs with increasing output needs at once to be faced. There arises an obvious necessity of formulating the conditions of equilibrium in international trade under the assumption of decreasing costs. And this problem has presented considerable difficulty. Professor Graham¹ for example, took the view that specialisation along the lines of comparative advantage was not always desirable; that if a country having a comparative advantage in increasing costs industries traded freely with another having a comparative advantage in diminishing costs industries, then, specialisation would tend to impoverish the former. And since, agriculture is mainly an increasing costs industry and manufactures in general are likely to be subject to diminishing costs, there is a case, he argued, for protection not merely for infant industries, but also for infant capitalism. It is a view which would delight the heart of an Indian Protectionist but since Professors Knight² and Viner³ have criticised this argument and have pointed out the fallacies in it, it is not necessary here to go into it in detail. It is only necessary to examine the theoretical possibility of decreasing costs and to inquire regarding the consequences thereof.

III.

The recent discussions about the Laws of Returns and specially about the possibility of competitive equilibrium with falling supply price indicate clearly the very narrow scope for increasing returns under perfect competition.⁴ Internal economies—the economies of large scale production—must obviously be ruled out. Shove contends that the only kind of internal economies incompatible with competitive equilibrium are the 'economies of concentration,' while the 'economies of large scale industry' and the 'economies of indi-

1. 'Some Aspects of Protection further considered,' Q. J. E. Feb. 1923; 'The Theory of International Values Re-examined,' Q. J. E. Nov. 1923.

2. 'Some Fallacies in the Interpretation of Social Cost,' Q. J. E. Aug. 1924.

3. 'The Doctrine of Comparative Costs,' *Weltwirtschaftliches Archiv*, Oct. 1932.

4. The discussion began with Dr. Clapham's complaint regarding 'Empty Economic Boxes' in E. J., Sept. 1922 and Prof. Pigou's reply to the same, E. J., Dec. 1922. The summing up has been done in the 'Symposium' by Robertson, Sraffa and Shove, E. J., March 1930.

vidual expansion' may still be positive at the point of equilibrium.¹ But his mention of the costs of transport and of marketing as obstacles to a firm's growth and Mr. Robertson's picture of the demand price 'rushing down the road traced out for it by diminishing utility' show that competitive conditions spoken of here are not synonymous with perfect competition. With a horizontal demand curve for each producer, the firm is already of optimum size and the economies of scale have all been exhausted at the first point of competitive equilibrium. The very hypothesis of perfect competition rules out costs of marketing—all costs, in fact, which aim at raising the demand curve for the product.²

Can we then throw the whole burden of increasing returns on the possibility of external economies? These were invented by Marshall to escape the necessity of a monopoly developing in any industry encountering increasing returns. They are economies depending not on the size of individual factories but some 'on the aggregate volume of production of the kind in the neighbourhood' and some on 'the aggregate volume of production in the whole civilised world.'³ But even external or 'external-internal' economies have no scope if we postulate perfect competition for the system of industry as a whole.⁴ To have diminishing cost with increasing output, we must clearly have some indivisibilities somewhere. Economies external to one industry, as Knight argues, are bound to be internal with respect to some other industry, and we are driven to ask the question what is an industry. It is, however, quite possible, without going into this elusive methodological issue, to postulate perfect competition in the commodity market with imperfections in the factor market. An increase in the number of firms in the cotton industry, for example, induced by the development of foreign trade may then lead to the better exploitation of indivisibilities in the machine-making industry. This factor of production is now cheaper and the cost curves of all

1. "An industry may be in equilibrium even though the efficiency of the resources it employs would be greater, if, other things equal, its aggregate volume of output were larger; and even though it is true of every particular firm that the efficiency of the resources it employs would be greater, if other things equal, it increased its share in the existing volume of output."—Symposium.

2. Well may Knight observe: "There does seem to be a certain Hegelian self-contradiction in the idea of theoretically perfect competition after all." 'Risk, Uncertainty and Profit', p. 183.

3. 'Principles,' pp. 265-266.

4. The assumption of perfect competition for the system of industry as a whole is indeed very unrealistic; for, if we look at the whole machinery of marketing and transport, oligopolistic situations seem to be unavoidable

the cotton firms are consequently lowered. The increase in output is brought about by an increase in the number of firms. The supply curve is negatively inclined. But it is clear that we are postulating anything but perfect competition in the machine-making industry; for, otherwise, that industry could not have been in equilibrium with internal economies still remaining to be exploited.

Given a falling supply curve, the marginal cost ratios in the two countries diverge, instead of coming together, as a result of specialisation. The production opportunity curve is then concave. Whether the country with falling costs will completely specialise in the commodity for export or not depends, as Mr. Lerner¹ has shown, on the production opportunity curve of the other country and the conditions of reciprocal demand.

It appears, therefore, that the effect of indivisibilities is to cause a realignment of comparative costs as usually understood and to strengthen the tendency to specialisation. So long as exchange is based on the free choice of the contracting parties, it is bound to result in added gain.² And this is seen at once the moment we recognise that costs are not just technical displacements but value resistances,—alternative opportunities sacrificed.

Ohlin mentions the lack of divisibility of factors as a special cause of interregional or international trade. Assuming, first, a number of isolated regions, such that the relative prices of factors and commodities are everywhere the same, he next brings them together and concludes that indivisibilities will be the sole cause of trade in this case. It is not obvious how trade can at all start in the absence of a disparity between relative prices. If there is this disparity and trade develops, it is certain that the existence of indivisibilities will open out further possibilities of profitable trade.

IV.

The phenomenon of increasing returns under competitive conditions must, we conclude, be regarded as essentially dynamic. It is on this aspect of the problem that economists as well as framers of policy have to concentrate when dealing with the problem of protection. We may start with fixed factor supplies and certain definite demand schedules within each country. Differences in relative prices open out possibilities of advantageous exchange between countries. Apart from the operation of external economies of the type noted

1. 'Cost Conditions in International Trade' *Economics*, 1932.

2. The problem is whether it accrues to the monopolists or to the consumers. The phrase 'gain to the country' is not at all precise.

above, there may be gains due to specialisation in the dynamic sense. The factor equipment in each country may get better adjusted to its work; potential indivisibilities implicit in a competitive situation may now be exploited;¹ the increase in real income caused by trade may alter—as it is very likely to alter—the elasticities of demand for different products. The psychological impetus given by the policy of fostering certain industries cannot be ignored. The scope for the play of such forces cannot easily be determined. The problem might prove difficult to handle in practice, especially because protection may stimulate as well as cramp individual enterprise. With the development of new tastes and new capacities, new commodities appear, division of labour and disintegration of processes may be carried further and we may have ‘increasing returns’ in the Allyn Young sense—gains due to more roundabout processes of production and increasing specialisation in the firms. In this sense, we may speak of a negatively inclined supply curve as ‘a record of historical events,’ not a set of alternative possibilities at a given moment of time. Such a supply curve has not been used as an analytical instrument but there seems to be no reason why something could not be made of it for purposes of policy.

Such changes are not likely to proceed at the same velocity in different countries and therefore there will be a continual alteration in the course of trade through time. Economics, of course, knows no precise way of comparing these heterogeneous aggregates. Only some conventional valuation is possible. But it is along these lines alone that the greater prosperity of some countries on account of specialisation can be explained. As Allyn Young puts it, “Even with a stationary population and in the absence of new discoveries in pure or applied science, there are no limits to the process of expansion except the limits beyond which demand is not elastic and returns do not increase.” As in internal trade, so in international trade, the rate at which one industry grows is conditioned by the rate at which other industries grow and since the elasticities of demand and of supply will differ for different products, some industries will grow faster than others. While such an explanation is possible, the view that the so-called progressive gains from trade to a country are due to specialisation in diminishing cost industries and an exchange of commodities produced under increasing cost must be dismissed as facile. The problem of the gain from trade, it may be added, is not a matter merely of the terms of trade but also of the volume of trade and of the distribution of income consequent on the same.

1. Cf. Robbins: ‘Certain Aspects of the Theory of Costs,’ E. J., March 1934.

V.

Apart from these dynamic gains, indivisibilities are essentially associated with imperfect competition. Here, each firm is producing at less than optimum capacity if profits are to be 'normal'. Equilibrium must be attained at a point at which costs are still falling. Internal as well as external economies are now in order. In the actual world we are concerned with competition which is more or less imperfect. Pure competition is just a logical construction. And the conclusions as to free trade based on that analysis cannot be applied immediately to policy—a point not usually stressed. But the concept of a supply curve under imperfect competition is much too vague to be of use. The same 'commodity' need not sell at the same price throughout the market, if we can at all speak of the same commodity in such a case. Not knowing how exactly to distinguish one commodity from another, we should be at a loss to say what constitutes an 'industry'. As a consequence, we cannot judge the significance of the ebb and flow of resources from one line to another. It is open to us, however, to make simplifying assumptions such as Mrs. Robinson's and to 'tether the demand curves to the marginal revenue curves'; for, the increase in the output of a particular source of supply is associated not with the rise of the total demand curve but with the rise of the individual marginal revenue curve. To take a simple case: Assuming two countries and two commodities, let us try to see the consequences of specialisation in the two countries. In country B, let us say, the demand for commodity X has increased and that for Y has decreased as a result of the opening up of foreign trade. The monopolistic producers of X are now facing higher demand curves. Their cost curves may also be altered because some factors of production are released from the contracting industry. Neglecting the change in cost curves and concentrating on demand conditions, the impact effect of the rise in demand may or may not be a rise in price because there is already surplus capacity. Up to a point it is possible to have rising profits to the producers along with falling price to the consumers. This situation would be stable if entry into the 'industry' is not free. But with free entry, the ultimate result depends upon the way the demand curves fall back as new producers appear. The new price will be lower than the old one only if the demand curves are more elastic in the new situation. Equilibrium with falling average costs does not always mean a falling supply price. The difficulty is obviously greater when we admit that cost curves and demand curves are not independent. We have then to consider how both these have to be redrawn. The simple apparatus of independent demand and supply curves seems to break

down at this stage. And the demand curves themselves are *conjectural* demand curves. It is therefore relevant to ask how businessmen will react to the opening up of a large market, how they will change their expectations and anticipations. Once again, we are right in the midst of dynamic analysis.

VI.

Briefly, then, the application of the theory of imperfect competition to the problem of trade between countries raises issues of far-reaching import. It is these on which we have now to concentrate. With the variety of cost and demand conditions for different producers so characteristic of imperfect competition the effect of variation of demand on supply price becomes far from obvious. It is possible that the contraction of output in an 'industry' may make the new demand curves for some producers more inelastic and may enable them to offer a smaller output at a higher price in spite of the fall in demand. In so far as this happens, it is conceivable that the opening up of international trade may lead to greater excess capacity being locked up on the whole. Only to the extent to which foreign trade widens the range of competition and flattens the demand curves for the producers concerned does it act as a solvent of market imperfection. To that extent only does it tend to establish the optimum size of firms.

J. J. ANJARIA

INDIAN SALT INDUSTRY : THE TRANSPORT PROBLEM

The importance of the industry and its predominantly national character has been recognized at all hands. Salt constitutes an essential element in the food supply not merely of human beings but of the animal and vegetable world as well ; and being low in value in proportion to its weight and bulk, the cost of transport forms the largest single item in the total cost of production. Therefore, in the present article it is proposed to study the organization of salt industry in India and the marketing of salt in relation to railway freight.

THE ORGANIZATION OF SALT INDUSTRY

The centres of salt manufacture are scattered throughout the sea-coast of this country and a few inland places. In what follows, we propose to review the more important sources and their area of distribution in general and then pass on to the discussion of railway freight charge as a most potent instrument of distribution.

COASTAL FACTORIES : MADRAS

On the sea-coast of India salt factories are scattered right from the coast of Malabar and Madras to Karachi. The Administration Report records the existence of about 58 factories in the Presidency of Madras covering an area of about 22 thousand acres, distributed along the sea-board of the East Coast district.

Distribution :—The consumption and distribution of salt is of special interest. This problem has two aspects. First we study the distribution of salt manufactured in the Presidency itself, and then, the question of imported salt. The local salt is distributed within the Presidency and is thereafter transported to Mysore, Travancore, Orissa, Central Provinces, Nizam's Dominions, Bengal and to Ceylon as well. Formerly Madras salt was also exported to Straits Settlements but since the Great War exports have ceased. Of the quantity of salt thus distributed, about 85% is consumed within the Presidency itself and the remaining 15% is taken by other localities referred to above. Excluding a district or two on the west coast, which are chiefly supplied with imported salt, it can be fairly said that the remaining districts in the Madras Presidency are mainly consumers of local salt. The greater part of Mysore and a part of Nizam's Territories are

also supplied with the Madras salt, the actual quantity consumed being about 1 lakh and 1.5 lakhs of maunds respectively. The actual quantity of Madras salt supplied to C. P. has varied from a lakh to two lakhs of maunds. About one half of the quantity of salt required for consumption in Orissa is supplied from the factories in the Ganjam district. Of the consumers of Madras salt Travancore Territory is very important and ranks only second to Orissa, the annual consumption being about 4 lakhs of maunds. The exports of Madras salt by sea were at one time confined chiefly to Calcutta and at times small quantities were exported to Straits Settlements as well, but both these markets were lost, especially the former, due partly to higher freight charges and conditions of carriage; but the main factor responsible for the elimination of Madras salt from Calcutta market was the dominant sway exercised in the market by the foreign imported salt, cheap and better in quality.

COMPETITION WITH BOMBAY SALT

Excepting the districts on the East Coast and the inland districts of Madras and Trichinopoly, in the other districts Bombay salt comes into competition. Bombay salt supplies the whole of Malabar and Kanara districts, more than two-thirds of the demand in Bellary and Ananthpur and about one third of the total demand in Kurnool. Some limited quantity is also despatched to other districts of the Presidency like North Arcot, Chittoor, Cuddapah, Salem, Coimbatore and Nilgiris. The reason for this successful competition of Bombay salt in these fairly distant areas is attributed, inter alia, to the greater lightness of Bombay salt as compared with the Madras product and the practice of retail sale by measurement which induces the traders to prefer lighter salt, notwithstanding its inferior quality. That this competition is being severely felt by the local manufacturers in the Presidency cannot be questioned. Mr. V. S. Kayarohanam Pillai, manufacturer and owner of salt pans, Negapatam, in his representation to the Tariff Board, deplored the adverse effects of the external competition and stated: "Large portions of Salem and Coimbatore districts and practically the whole of the West Coast are flooded with Bombay salt belonging to the Government and Madras salt has lost its legitimate sales in those parts. A sort of provincial autonomy is needed to protect those parts."¹ Apart from the nature of remedial measures to be adopted, it can hardly be gainsaid that this state of affairs needs be properly regulated.

1. Vide *The System and Practice of Salt Administration in India*, p. 35.

SALT WORKS IN BOMBAY PRESIDENCY

In the Bombay Presidency there are numerous salt factories scattered along the sea coast, their actual number being 268, with a total area of 17,406 acres.¹ The average production of the sea salt-works is about 95 lakhs. Manufacture is primarily carried on by private individuals working under the excise system. A part is also manufactured by the Government directly at Dharasana, Kharaghoda and Udu. The Government works at Kharaghoda and Udu produce one class of salt commonly known as Baragara, and as at present equipped are capable of producing 30 lakhs of maunds of salt. Salt is also manufactured in Dharangadhra State at Kudu. In Sind manufacture is centred at Karachi. The manufacturers are :— (i) Messrs. Grox Limited, (ii) the Star Salt Works, (iii) the Edulji Dinshaw Salt Works, (iv) The Government Salt Works, and (v) The Luxmi Salt Works. The other more important source in the Presidency is the Okha Salt Works at Mithapur about 7 miles south of Port Okha, in the Okhamandal Sub-division of the Baroda State. These are the more important salt works of the Presidency. In what follows we propose to discuss the production and distribution of Bombay Sea Salt excluding Sind and Okha. This is so because the latter two centres depend for their sales primarily on the Calcutta market and therefore we shall take up these sources while studying the supply of salt to Calcutta market at a later stage.

Distribution of Bombay Salt :—The Government Salt Works at Kharaghoda are more important and have a well defined marketing area. The markets of Baragara Salt extend from North Gujarat to Central Provinces, Central India, Rajputana, Malwa and United Provinces. In the Central Provinces it is consumed as far as Nagpur, while in the United Provinces it is finding its way as far as Hathras, Faizabad and Benares. Baragara salt seems to be more popular outside the Presidency because the internal demand is only about one-quarter of the total supply. United Provinces consume more of this salt than the Bombay Presidency proper, though in the last few years the tendency seems to have assumed a weaker tone. In short, this salt is fairly well distributed and has indeed a very extensive market.

Bombay Sea Salt is consumed over a larger area than any other salt in India, as can be seen from the figures of distribution. As regards the Presidency proper, it holds a dominant sway over the different markets, for with the exception of the extreme south, where it is met by importations of Goa salt, it holds the field throughout the whole of the Presidency and south of Baroda. Outside the

1. *Tariff Board ; Preliminary Evidence*, Vol., p. 83.

Presidency, it penetrates to the extreme limits of Central Provinces where it is consumed side by side with Baragara salt. It is also despatched to Nizam's Dominions, Malabar, Madras, Travancore, Cochin and Mysore. We had an occasion to refer to the competition of Bombay salt with the Madras salt not merely in markets outside the Madras Presidency but even in the Presidency itself. There we pointed out the districts in which the competition was more intense and those in which it was less so.

NORTHERN INDIA SOURCES

Having reviewed the sources on the sea-coast we shall next consider the inland sources of salt supply worked by the Northern India Salt Revenue Department. The more important of these sources are Sambhar, Pachbadra and Didwara in Rajputana and Khewra and Warcha in the Punjab Salt Range. The mines at Kalabagh and Kohat quarries are relatively less important because they supply the demand of the neighbouring localities only.

Sambhar.—Sambhar salt is manufactured by solar evaporation from the Sambhar lake situated about 36 miles east of Jaipur city on the borders of Jaipur and Jodhpur States. It is the joint property of the Jaipur and Jodhpur Durbar and is leased from them by the British-Government. In quality Sambhar salt ranks very high. It can fetch a price not only outside the Calcutta market but even in Calcutta itself, only if proper precautions are taken in its preparation for the market.¹ According to the Salt Survey Committee, "If the output at Sambhar can be increased, and the cost to some extent reduced, there should be no difficulty in extending the present market." The problem before the Sambhar Works, therefore, is primarily one of cost and only secondarily of quality.

Cost depends upon the efficiency of production and the quantity produced. The factors affecting efficiency of production have been discussed in the preceding paragraph. As for the quantity of salt produced we find that it has fluctuated in the past considerably from year to year, varying from 87 lakhs of maunds in 1923-24 to 53 lakhs in 1924-25, 89 lakhs in 1925-26 and again 45 lakhs of maunds in 1926-27. In 1929-30 the output was 57 lakhs of maunds. These wide variations not only affect the certainty of the conclusions based upon them, but make any scheme for further development of the works difficult and unreliable. Transport charges as affecting the cost of production of an article like salt, relatively lower in value to its weight, are very important; and it is indeed a relief to note that the general transport arrangements at Sambhar are quite satisfactory.

1. *Vide, Report of the Salt Survey Committee*, p. 104.

To quote an authority, "the general arrangements for transport at Sambhar are excellent, and in parts of the works, are not equalled at any salt Works we have inspected."¹ Of the transport facilities in general availed of by the Works, railways are very important because Sambhar, being an inland source railroad is the only mode of transport utilized in marketing. Therefore, railway is of primary interest to Sambhar as also to other inland sources.

The importance of railway freight is further augmented when we recollect that Sambhar salt is carried by rail to distant centres of consumption. Therefore a general review of distribution is a necessary preliminary of the detailed discussion to be taken up at a later stage of our study. From the distribution of Sambhar salt it can be easily seen that salt is widely consumed in Northern India. It is popular in the Punjab, United Provinces and Rajputana. It goes up to the North West Frontier Provinces and competes with the local mine salt. In the Punjab it shares the market with the Punjab mine salt. It is also consumed in Central India where it competes with Pachbadra and Baragara salt from the Bombay Presidency. Sambhar salt is also consumed in the Central Provinces though only to a limited extent due to the competition of Pachbadra, Baragara and Konkan salt. A limited amount of Sambhar salt is also despatched to Bihar and Orissa. Therefore, it is clear that Sambhar salt has a very extensive market in which railway freight plays a very important part.

Pachbadra:—The Pachbadra salt source is situated in the Jodhpur State on the Jodhpur Railway, about 60 miles south-west of Jodhpur. It is leased from the Jodhpur Durbar and the annual output varies considerably due to the nature of the pits. As for the quality, the Tariff Board states, "the salt is extremely white in colour save when discoloured by sandstones, and if crushed would be suitable for the Calcutta market."²

But Pachbadra seems to be giving way before the competition of other sources. At one time Pachbadra salt was the staple product throughout the greater part of Rajputana, the whole of Central India, the adjoining districts of the N.W.F. Provinces and the Central Provinces. But today it seems to be losing ground because of its inability to compete against cheap Sambhar salt in Rajputana and Baragara salt in Central India and the Central Provinces. Price is the most important factor in competition. Efficient and increased production would be the proper remedy to restore Pachbadra salt to its proper place.

1. See *Oral Evidence before the Indian Tariff Board*, Vol. II

2. *Vide Report*, para 30.

The Punjab Salt Mines :—The Punjab Salt Mines comprise the Khewra mines in the Jhelum district, the Warcha Mines in the Shahpur district and the Kalabagh Quarries on the right bank of the river Indus in the Bannu district. Kohat quarries are situated in the Kohat district, trans-Indus.

Khewra Mines :—The Khewra, which is the more important, is the property of Government and is worked by the Northern India Salt Revenue Department. The annual output of salt at the mines is about 30 lakhs of maunds. The quality of salt is good. The Tariff Board remark "the salt is sold as it leaves the mine in the form of lumps of uneven size and generally of a reddish colour, we have had samples of this salt crushed by hand and it appears that the reddish colour disappears on crushing. According to the opinions expressed to us by Calcutta dealers, the salt when crushed is in every way suitable for the Calcutta market."¹ The Salt Survey Committee says, "crushed Khewra salt would rank almost as high in Bengal in respect of price as do Liverpool and Hamburg vacuum salts."²

The distribution of Khewra salt is fairly extensive right from the North West Frontier Provinces to Bengal. It shares the market with Sambhar and Didwana in districts bordering on Rajputana, holds the whole of the Punjab, disputes with Kohat about one-fifth of the N.W. Frontier Province and is also exported to Kashmir. To a limited extent it is also consumed in the United Provinces and goes up to even Bombay and Bengal. The Bihar market which it secured during and immediately after the war it has been able to retain to some extent even to this day. This market is far more important than United Provinces and the limit is determined by the railway freight.

Warcha, Kalabagh and Kohat Mines are less important from the standpoint of both production and distribution because their markets are primarily local. Warcha salt is sold almost entirely in the neighbouring districts in the Punjab and the annual output of the mines varies between five to six lakhs of maunds. Similarly, the present production of Kalabagh Salt mines is about 4 lakhs of maunds and is consumed in the vicinity of the mines. Kohat quarries have an output of nearly five lakhs of maunds. This salt has a fixed marketing area in which the competition of other salt sources is almost non-existent. It is consumed in the trans-Indus districts of Peshawar, Kohat, Bannu, Dera Ismailkhan and Dera

1. *Report*, para. 31.

2. *Report*, para. 108.

Ghazikhan. It is likewise very extensively used in Afghanistan and Afridi and Waziri country.

The foregoing details give us a general view of the organization of salt manufacture in India proper. But to complete our study it is necessary to review the organization of Aden salt industry as well, because although geographically separate Aden is administratively a part of British India and as a supplier of salt to the Calcutta market, which is one of the problems to be studied by us, can be ranked with Karachi and Okha ports. The claim of the Aden salt manufacturers to be classed with the salt manufacturers in India proper has been accepted after the recommendations of the Tariff Board.¹ Doubtless, in the case of all these three sources railway freight does not play so important a part in marketing as is true of the inland sources and Baragara or Madras salt, but it cannot be denied that after the shipment is landed at Calcutta for despatches upcountry railway freight does creep in. Besides, in our attempt to eliminate the imports of foreign salt the contribution of these sources is very valuable and affects the marketing arrangements of other sources as well. Therefore, in view of the limited scope which our subject permits it will suffice to know the quantity of salt exported from Aden to India. We submit below the necessary figures:—

Name of works.	Production Tons.	Export to India 1928-29, Tons.
Aden Salt Works	.. 125,000	112,750
Indo-Aden Works	.. 75,000	65,857
Hajeebhoy Salt Works	.. 15,000	14,748
Little Aden Salt Works	.. 15,000	15,845

GENERAL REVIEW OF RATES POLICY

Having studied the organization of salt industry we shall next discuss the present position of railway freight as an aid to marketing facilities. Salt being low in value in proportion to its bulk and weight and a necessity of life, the importance of transport cost becomes more important. This is especially true of India in view of the vast area of the country and long distances over which the product has to be carried for ultimate consumption. Besides, for these long journeys there is no alternative mode of transport available except the railroad, which, however, is a relatively costly agency

5. *Tariff Board Report*, para. 63.

for transporting articles of low value like coal and salt. The capacity of an article to bear the transport charge depends *inter alia* upon its value and the distance to be traversed. Therefore in all advanced countries the articles like salt and coal have been accorded privileged treatment at the hands of the carriers, be they public or private concerns, and charge lower freight. This practice has proved beneficial alike to the carriers and the shippers, for, whereas the latter have enjoyed a direct advantage in form of lower transport charges, the former get indirect advantages in so far as they have been able to utilize the unused capacity of their plant, which otherwise would have run to waste, and got additional traffic as a result of the development of trade and industry. In our study of railway rates on salt and their effects on the development of the industry in general and public welfare in particular, the nature of the article, the demand for it and the conditions of carriage will have to be constantly kept in view and criticism offered in the light of these considerations. It is a common experience that whenever any plea for a reduction of rates on articles like salt or coal is made, it is often vaguely understood and receives little attention of those in authority, but when pressed it is contended that the existing freights on the article are already low and therefore further reduction is not possible. This attitude is however untenable. Articles higher in value in proportion to their weight and bulk have greater capacity to bear the transport charge and therefore in their case if the rates are kept at a slightly higher level the burden is not so severely felt; the margin between the total capacity to bear the transport charge and the freight "*de facto*" levied may be sufficiently wide to admit of a slight enhancement without causing great hardship. But in the case of articles lower in value the margin is very narrow and almost nil in some cases. In the case of articles like salt and coal and iron the margin may be said to be negative. They cannot even bear the share of the total cost of transport. In such cases, therefore, the task of the traffic manager and the student of the transport problem is at once delicate and difficult. Even slight variations in price or freight charged adversely affects the distribution of the article and therefore the public welfare.

The individualistic policy pursued by the different railways in this country, swayed by their particularistic proclivities further adds to the difficulties of the problem. These tendencies are the fruits of the peculiar conditions under which railways were planned and constructed; each system was worked as a separate concern having no relation whatsoever with the rest. Naturally the rate structure reflects these tendencies. There has hardly been any change in this

policy in spite of the acceptance of the nationalization of railways by the Government and the purchase of some of the more important lines; even the lines owned and managed by the State do not follow a co-ordinated and common policy. Before we arrive at the general principles of policy we must study the tariffs of these railways severally as well as collectively. In view of the limitations under which we work, however, we shall study the tariffs of more important railways only.

1. *President* :— Both Systems—E. I. and B. N. R. Railways—belong to Government, so that really there is no objection in principle to a through rate, one owner owning both the sections.

Mr. Rose :—We have got many through rates. We don't look at it from the point of view that is generally advanced that the principle of continuous mileage should be adopted. We look at it from the point of view of what is necessary commercially in the shape of a reduction and whether it is in fact worked out on the continuous mileage principles or arrived simply by quoting a lump sum we don't mind.

President :—How can you justify one owner having two sections treating them as if they were separate for all purposes.

Mr. Rose :—Simply because they have been built upon separate organizations.

President :—But now that the organizations are one you have got to recast the whole of your tariffs. There is no reason why you should not recast the tariffs. India is a country of long distances and if industries are to be encouraged that factor has to be recognized and it is not recognized when you don't have this continuous mileage system.

Mr. Rose :—Wherever reduced rates become necessary they would be adjusted to meet the situations.

President :—I want to know what the reason is for not having the continuous mileage rate between the two sections.

Mr. Rose :—We have built up the rating structure on a policy of separate organizations and you can't very well depart from that unless you are prepared to revise the whole rating structure.

President :—Complications arose when you had these private companies; then Government had some excuse.

Mr. Rose :—You have still got the company element.

President :—Government may not have any direct control over the private railway companies as they have over the Government managed railways, but if the largest owner of the railways introduced this continuous mileage system I don't see how the private railways can keep themselves out. Take the whole of India excluding the Madras Presidency. You have got a continuous State system so that the only railways which would stand out are the Bengal Nagpur and the two South Indian Railways It is time that the question was taken up."

Vide *T. B. Evidence*, Vol. II, pp. 148-49.

SALT TRAFFIC ON RAILWAYS

In view of what has been said above we submit a statement showing the traffic in salt carried on the more important railways and the earnings derived therefrom, for a pre-war and the year 1930-31, to indicate the importance of the lines concerned as carriers of salt.

Railways ¹	1912		1930-31	
	Quantity (000's) tons	Earnings (000's) Rs.	Quantity (000's) tons	Earnings (000's) Rs.
B. N. R. ...	137	9,00	144	16,53
B. B. & C. I. R. ...	187	6,87	206	34,13
E. B. R. ...	106	5,12	100	9,28
E. I. R. ...	309	13,76	343	24,86
G. I. P. R. ...	259	23,65	249	29,76
M. & S. M. R. ...	151	10,23	71	12,31
N. W. R. ...	155	9,78	212	19,34
S. I. R. ...	136	5,52	49	11,64
B. & N. W. R. ...	127	5,61	151	8,35

From the figures it will be seen that salt traffic and the receipts therefrom play important part in the revenue of some of railways and indicate their relative position as carriers. On a comparison of the traffic of the two years we find that there has been an appreciable increase during the interval of about two decades, and the receipts show a still more significant upward trend. The indication is that the incidence of freight charged has risen in the year 1930-31 than that in 1912. For instance, the E. I. Railway on a traffic of about 3.1 lakhs of tons earned in the year 1912 about Rs. 14 lakhs, but in 1930-31 the receipts rose to Rs. 25 lakhs with traffic just a little higher, being about 3.4 lakhs of tons.

CURRENT SCHEDULE RATES

Railway rates are either class rates or schedule rates or station-to-station rates. Salt has been accorded special treatment at the hands of the railway authorities right from the inception of railroads in this country. We therefore find that in the current tariffs salt is quoted schedule rates on almost all the railways, of which, as mentioned above, we propose to select the more important ones for study. We submit below the current schedule rates :—

On the *Assam Bengal Railway* C|C schedule is quoted at O.R. C|270. (In bags only the short distance terminal of 3 pies per

1. Statement is compiled from the *Railway Board Report on Indian Railways, 1930-31*, Vol. II, p. 165, and Mr. S. C. Ghose's *Monograph on Railway Rates*, p. 493.

maund for distances less than 75 miles is levied on salt). The basis of the C|C schedule is 300 pie per maund per mile for any distance.

On the *B & N. W. Railway* C|E schedule rate is quoted at O.R. ; W|270 per 4-wheeled and W|450 per 6-wheeled or bogie wagon. The basis of C|E schedule is 200 pie per maund per mile for any distance.

B. B. & C. I. Railway quotes $\frac{C|B}{C|J}$ schedule rate on salt for C|270 and multiples thereof ; W|450 and W|420. The basis of C|B schedule is 333 pie per maund per mile for any distance, and of C|J :—

For any distance upto 150 miles	...	...	380 pie
Plus " from 151-250 "	...	...	330 "
" " " 251-500 "	...	...	200 "
" " " 501-700 "	...	...	130 "
" " " Above 700 "	...	...	100 "

B. N. Railway quotes C|H schedule on salt at O.R. The basis of C|H schedule is :—

1 to 300 miles	...	...	380 pie
Plus 301 to 700 "	...	...	130 "
" Above 700 "	...	...	100 "

On the *Eastern Bengal Railway* C|N schedule rate is quoted at O.R. ; C|300 B. G. ; C|200 M. G. The basis of the schedule being :—

1 to 75 miles	...	...	333 pie
Plus 76 to 150 "	...	...	200 "
" 151 to 300 "	...	...	170 "
" 301 to 400 "	...	...	125 "
" Above 400 "	...	...	100 "

The E. I. Railway C|L schedule rate is permitted in bags, C|400 and in bulk, O.R., W|450 ; L. The basis of the rate is :—

1 to 100 miles	...	...	380 pie
Plus 101 to 300 "	...	...	220 "
" 301 to 600 "	...	...	130 "
" Above 600 "	...	...	110 "

This condition applies to rock salt in bulk, when despatched from Khewra and other salt despatching stations on the N. W. Railway, provided the journey does not involve transshipment en route.

But when the traffic is booked from Khewra and other salt despatching stations on the N. W. Railway to stations on the E. I. Railway and via Shaharanpur the schedule rate applicable is $\frac{C|B}{C|M}$. The basis C|B schedule is 333 pie per maund per mile and of C|M schedule is :—

1 to 75 miles	...	...	380 pie
Plus 76 to 300 "	...	...	200 "
" Above 300 "	...	...	100 "

On the *G. I. P. Railway* 'K' schedule rate is applicable.

	1 to 300 miles	...	...	35 pie
Plus	301 to 400 "	...	...	30 "
"	401 to 500 "	...	...	25 "
"	501 to 600 "	...	...	20 "
"	Above 600 "	...	...	10 "

A terminal charge of 4 pies per maund at forwarding and 4 pies per maund at the receiving and in local booking and 6 pies per maund at either forwarding and receiving and in through booking must be added. The short distance charge of 3 pies per maund except in the case of cross traffic, subject to differential rate as to distance will be levied in addition to the above terminals.

On the *M. & S. M. Railway* C|G schedule applies, the basis being :—

	1 to 300 miles	...	...	380 pie
Plus	301 to 400 "	...	...	300 "
"	401 to 500 "	...	...	200 "
"	501 to 600 "	...	...	125 "
"	601 to 700 "	...	...	115 "
"	Above 700 "	...	...	100 "

On the *North Western Railway* C|L schedule is quoted, the basis being :—

	1 to 100 miles	...	...	380 pie
Plus	101 to 300 "	...	...	220 "
"	301 to 600 "	...	...	130 "
"	Above 600 "	...	...	110 "

These schedules are the basis of the rates charged. It will be seen that the schedule rates differ on different railways, some are on a telescopic basis while the others on the uniform mileage. The first two lines as noted above, namely, the Assam Bengal Railway and the Bengal and North Western Railway have based their schedules on a uniform mileage and charge 30 and 20 pie per maund per mile respectively. This method retards the development of long distance traffic and in the case of commodity like salt the burden presses heavily upon those who have the least capacity to bear. On this point we shall dwell later because the consumption of salt depends upon various other considerations of which the salt duty is most important and before these points are cleared out it would be hazardous to make any definite statements. This apart, it cannot be denied that these railways should introduce telescopic schedule rates especially on an article like salt. Besides, the basis of schedules seems to be too high. If the rates be based on the uniform mileage the basis should be the lowest. Here it may be contended that in salt traffic these lines have short leads and therefore freights have

to be kept a little higher. Besides, in the case of Assam Bengal Railway the area to be traversed is hilly. These are indeed important factors which have to be taken into consideration before any plea for the reduction in rates is made out. For the present we defer this point to be discussed at a later stage of our enquiry, but we press here the necessity of a telescopic schedule.

Other railways, as given above, have their schedules on a telescopic basis. But when we analyse their schedule the most striking feature we note is that *over short distance freights are kept at an unduly high level.* For instance, on the G. I. P. Railway for first 300 miles rates charged are 35 pie per maund per mile and on the M. & S. M. Railway 38 pie per maund per mile for the same distance. *In India, where railways pursue a policy of undiluted individualism and do not quote telescopic rates on through traffic, to consider the distance of 300 miles as a short distance is to conceal the real intention of the policy pursued, with a view to mislead the public opinion.* Indeed the G. I. P. and the M. & S. M. Railway authorities do quote the minimum of 10 pie per maund per mile over the distance above 600 and 700 miles respectively, *but so long as the trade and industries of the country do not get the benefit of telescopic rates on total distance traversed on through traffic these minima rates remain a dead letter in the tariffs. The evils wrought by this policy are more harmful than they apparently appear to be.* Let us take a concrete illustration to make our point clear. When Madras salt is shipped from any of the factories to some markets in Central Provinces or in Bengal, it generally passes over two or more than two lines. Suppose it travels a distance of 300 miles over the M. & S. M. Railway, over which it originates, and thereafter it is carried by the G. I. P. Railway to Nagpur, Jubbulpore or other similar market. Here the consignment has to pay freight at the rate of 38 pie per maund per mile for the first 300 miles and 35 pie per maund per mile for the remaining 300 or less than 300 miles. Thus it is clear that even though the consignment is carried over a distance of 600 miles it has to pay a freight based on the short distance charge, whereas if the total distance had been taken into account and through rates quoted thereon, the freight, even at the current schedule rates, would have been substantially low. Therefore the point primarily pressed here is that under the present conditions the lead of 300 to 400 miles on individual lines severally is of greater import to us and is certainly not a short distance. It is with these rates that the industrialists are concerned most and in them centres their interests. We, however, should not be taken to mean that lower rates for distances longer than 400 or 500 miles

should be raised or should not be kept at the present level. Far from it. What is intended is that to levy freight at the same rate for 300 miles as for 50 or 75 miles is questionable and under the circumstances detailed above it is unjust.

The E. I. and N. W. Railways charge at the rate of '38 pie per maund per mile for the first 100 miles and the Eastern Bengal Railway charges '33 pie per maund per mile for the first 75 miles. In view of this one fails to account as to why the B. N., the G. I. P. and the M. & S. M. Railways should levy similar charges over a distance of 300 miles. Therefore lower rate of freight for distances above 100 miles on these lines is needed.

CURRENT AND PRE-WAR RATES COMPARED

The incidence of these schedule rates will be better explained by comparing them with the schedules of 1916, because that will bring out the increase or decrease during the interval. In a study of freight relative standards lead to more reliable conclusions. In the case of isolated instances it is difficult to draw any definite conclusion. The rates are as follows :—

Rates per maund per mile on the G. I. P. Railway.

<i>The current rate</i>		<i>1916 rate</i>	
Mileage	pie.	Mileage	pie.
1 to 300 miles	'35	1 to 150 miles	'33
Plus 301 to 400 "	'30	Plus 151 to 400 "	'30
" 401 to 500 "	'25	" 401 to 800 "	'25
" 501 to 600 "	'20	" Above 800 "	'20
" Above 600 "	'10		

It will be seen that whereas the current schedule is on the telescopic basis the schedule of 1916 was on the sliding scale. Take again the case of a consignment to be carried over 400 miles and the difference in freight is considerable. Suppose also that the consignment is 10 maunds in weight. The freight at the current rate will work out to be Rs. 7-8-4, whereas at the 1916 schedule the rate would be Rs. 6-4-0. A relieving feature of the current schedule should, however, be noted. Over distances above 400 to 800 miles, the freight in 1916 was charged at the rate of '25 pie per maund per mile and above 800 miles '20 pie, but in the current schedule the freight is reduced because from 401 to 500 and 501 to 600 miles the freight is '25 and '20 pie respectively, and for distances above 600 miles '10 pie; the basis of charge in the latter case being telescopic. Therefore over longer distances the higher freight in the new schedule is neutralised by lower scale of charge. So, for distances above 600 miles the freight in the new schedule is less pressing.

The basis of schedule rates on the M. & S. M. Railway is as follows :—

Rates per maund per mile on the M. & S. M. Railway.

<i>The current rate</i>			<i>1916 rate</i>		
Milage	pie.		Milage	pie.	
1 to 300 miles	·380		1 to 75 miles	1/3	
Plus 301 to 400 "	·300		Plus 75 to 150 "	1/4	
" 401 to 500 "	·200		" 151 to 225 "	1/5	
" 501 to 600 "	·125		" 226 to 300 "	1/6	
" 601 to 700 "	·115		" 301 to 400 "	1/7	
" Above 700 "	·100		" 401 to 500 "	1/8	
			" 501 to 600 "	1/9	
			" Above 600 "	1/10	

Here again the change has been on the lines similar to that on the G. I. P. Railway. As for the long distance traffic above 600 miles we find that the current freight is relatively lower, for whereas in 1916 the freight for distances above 600 miles was at the minimum permissible rate of ·10 pie, in the current schedule the same is allowed over distances above 700 miles, but for distances lower than 600 miles the change has been great. Be it noted that to-day we have to pay the rate of ·38 pie for a distance of 300 miles and less, which would work out to be Rs. 5-15-0 for a consignment of 10 maunds to be carried over a distance of 300 miles, whereas at the 1916 rate it would be Rs. 3-11-4½. It is, therefore, clear that the burden has become heavy. In this case freight for distances upto 400 miles should be reduced on a telescopic basis as was the case in 1916, without causing any undue hardship to the railway revenue.

The case of B. B. & C. I. Railway may be noted with interest because the post-war increase in freights is still more striking here.

Rates per maund per mile on the B. B. & C. I. Rly.

<i>The current Rate</i>		<i>1916 Rate</i>	
Milage	Pie	Milage	Pie
1 to 150 miles	·380	1 to 100 miles	·23
Plus 151 to 250 "	·330	Plus 101 to 300 "	·20
" 251 to 500 "	·200	" 301 to 500 "	·16
" 501 to 700 "	·130	" Over 500 "	·06
" Over 700 "	·100		

Taking the familiar instance of the consignment of 10 maunds to be carried over a distance of 300 miles we would have to pay the freight of Rs. 4-4-4 at the current schedule rate and Rs. 3-2-0 at the rate of 1916. Besides, for longer distance above 300 miles the freights have been substantially increased, probably to bring the schedule at par with those on the other railways. This schedule of the B. B. & C. I. Railway of the year 1916 is of interest for

more than one reason. It should be noted that over distances above 500 miles the freight charged was 06 pie per maund per mile, whereas the minimum freight charged on the N. W. Railway was 1½ pie, on the G. I. P. Railway 20 pie, on the B. N. Railway 1½, on the M. & S. M. Railway 10 pie, and on the E. I. Railway 12 pie. The schedule has undergone a radical change and it seems that this change is due to the pressure brought upon the railway authorities concerned by the rival railway lines. If, however, the suspicion be unfounded, as it may possibly be, and the increase has been found necessary by the authorities, one can scarcely say anything against it; the schedule is brought in line with those of other railways.

The changes on the N. W. Railway are similar to those of its compeers. The two schedules in question are :—

Rates per maund per mile on the N. W. Rly.

<i>The current schedule</i>		<i>1916 schedule</i>	
Milage	Pie	Milage	Pie
1 to 100 miles	380	1 to 150 miles	1/4
Plus 101 to 300 "	220	Plus 151 to 300 "	1/5
" 301 to 600 "	130	" 301 to 450 "	1/6
" Above 600 "	110	" Above 450 "	1/8

Here, too, the increase in freight for distances upto 300 miles has been rather heavy. *In short, therefore, it will be seen from what has been said in the preceding pages that freights have been substantially increased, especially for distances of 400 miles and lower. The burden of this increase in rates becomes still heavier when it is recollected that on Indian railways a consignment travelling over more than one railway line does not get the benefit of telescopic rates on the entire distance travelled, but the charge is levied in respect of the distance travelled on the individual lines separately and then added together, forming the total charge, irrespective of the total distances traversed. Thus the de facto burden on the industry has been considerably increased.*

RATES ON BOMBAY SALT

We now pass on to a detailed study of the railway rates as charged on the despatches of salt from the respective sources of salt supply. We have already studied the schedules of the more important railways and the fact of the increase in rates has been noted. Now we shall see as to how these rates work out in practice. We shall at the start take up the salt sources of the Bombay Presidency. A few typical instances will be enough for our purpose. Of all, Kharaghoda Salt Works are most important, being situated about 60 miles north of Ahmedabad and 20 miles from Virangam. These

Works have capacity of producing 30 lakhs of maunds of salt per year.¹

FREIGHT ON THE DISTRIBUTION OF KHARAGHODA SALT

While discussing the distribution of Kharaghoda salt it was noted that Baragara salt is more popular outside the Presidency than within it. Its marketing area extends right from the North of Gujarat and Baroda to the Central Provinces, the United Provinces, Central India, Malwa and Rajputana. The most important considerations, *inter alia*, which determine the consumption of salt are the price charged and the taste of the consumers. As for the taste of Baragara salt it would be of interest to note the opinion of Mr. Sorely, the Collector of salt Revenue, Bombay. He says, *distance from the source of supply plays a predominant part, and taste for certain kind of salt in certain markets comes next*. There is also a belief among the uneducated (and even some educated) people that certain kinds of salt do not agree with their constitution. Municipalities like those of Nadiad and Godhra have put forward the plea that the use of Kharaghoda salt gives rise to skin diseases. Ghat people would not have any but the dark heavy salt. They consider that it is real salt, white substance being not so salty.

Some people living in Poona city and in the Nizam's State would only have Pen salt which is whiter and the crystals are not square but elongated. Pen salt is costlier than other salt, as the cartage from the salt Works to Khopoli Station (at the foot of the Bhore Ghat), a distance of 20 miles, comes to 4 annas per maund. Yet the people accustomed to this salt would not accept a substitute. The people of the whole of Ratnagiri district except Vengurla, Savantwadi and portions of Belgaum district would use that salt only. The Kanarese have no particular liking. If they can get Uran salt cheaper than Sanikatta they would have it. The fish curers of Kanara district however prefer Sanikatta to Uran salt as by the use of the latter they say the fish acquired dark colour, whereas by the use of the former the fish acquires yellowish colour from the salt as the salt has got yellow colour from the red earth. An attempt made in 1903 to open agencies for the sale of Baragara salt in Sholapur, Poona and Bombay, owing to shortage of sea salt, proved a failure.² North of Baroda no one would use sea salt but Baragara. Baroda is the dividing line. Bombay people of the upper and educated classes would use the white Wafery salt (known as Kuppa) produced in the Dadar Salt Works and at Goregaon, Mira,

1. In the year 1928-29 the output of the Works was 27,55,298 maunds.

2. Vide, *Salt Committee Report*, p. 61.

and Bhandup. The military Department indents for this salt for rationing the Indian soldiers and for feeding the horses. During the war this salt used to be exported to Mesopotamia by the military authorities. In the more distant markets, some people living in the neighbourhood of Cawnpore would use Baragara salt in preference to other even to Sambhar which is nearer to United Provinces than Kharaghoda.¹

The taste for salt is thus a very important factor in regulating its consumption and people do not like to change their taste even if there is a small rise in price. The demand for Uran salt as noted above is an instance to the point. People are indeed conservative in their tastes and do not favour frequent change. These tastes, however, have a margin so that when prices rise beyond a particular limit the consumers take to cheaper substitutes, albeit it is difficult to precisely locate this point where substitution commences. *Therefore, price is a primary factor which regulates consumption.* Now price in the cases of a commodity like salt depends more upon the cost of transport than on anything else,—except the salt duty levied by the Government,—because the cost of production, excluding the cost of transport, is very low. To illustrate the point, the cost of production of Kharaghoda salt is 4 annas per maund,² but the cost of transport, which varies with the distance traversed, increases in the case of distant markets and is often more than treble the cost price. Railway freight per maund, for instance, on salt despatched from Kharaghoda to important markets in the Central Provinces is Rs. 1-4-2 for Jubbulpore, Rs. 1-6-2 for Satna, Rs. 1-1-6 for Betul, Rs. 1-3-7 for Parasias, Re. 0-15-4 for Itarsi, Re. 0-14-1 for Harda, etc. There is no gainsaying the fact that the cost of transport regulates the consumption of salt in distant markets.

FREIGHT FROM KHARAGHODA TO SOME MARKETS IN GUJARAT

Kharaghoda salt is widely consumed in Gujarat, especially on the Northern side, and therefore we give below the freight charged by the B. B. & C. I. Railway to some more important markets :—

Rates on salt, N. O. C. from Kharaghoda.

Rs. a. p.			Rs. a. p.			Rs. a. p.		
Moodhera Road	0	3 3	Broach	0	5 2	Anand	0	3 4
Abu Road	0	4 4	Palej	0	4 9	Nadiad	0	3 0
Amalner	0	9 5	Itola	0	4 4	Umreth	0	3 9
Surat	0	5 9	Baroda	0	4 0	Dakor	0	3 10
Utran	0	5 8	Kharsalia	0	4 11	Godhra	0	4 9
Kasamba	0	5 8	Vasad	0	3 8	Piplod	0	5 3
Anklesvar	0	5 4	Navli	0	3 6	Dohad	0	5 7

1. Vide, *Report of the Tariff Board, Evidence*, Vol. II, pp. 311-12.

2. Vide, *Memoranda of the Collector of Salt Revenue, Bombay Indian Tariff Board, Preliminary Evidence*, p. 232.

The rates as quoted above bring to relief the advantage in respect of railway freight possessed by Kharaghoda in supplying the markets in Gujarat. At the same time it needs be noted that in Markets like Amalner the advantage is almost nil because salt from Wadala, Ghatkopar and Thana competes successfully there. Thus, with the exception of these distant markets, Kharaghoda salt has clear advantage in respect of the other markets.

COMPETITION OF SALT FROM KUDA SIDING AND FREIGHT THEREON

In certain markets in Gujarat Kharaghoda salt has to meet the competition of salt from Kuda Siding. Therefore it would be of interest to examine the advantage in respect of railway freight possessed by the respective sources. We submit below the freight charged from Kuda Siding :—

Rates on Salt, N. O. C. from Kuda Siding.

	Ra. a p.		Ra. a p.
Wadhwan	0 1 11	Virangam	0 3 1
Halvad	0 1 11	Palanpur	0 4 10
Randala	0 3 10	Abu Road	0 5 7
Dhanwara	0 4 11	Ratlam	0 8 8
Moodhera Rd.	0 3 11	Ujjain	0 9 10
Lodra	0 4 5	Indore	0 10 1
Ahmedabad	0 3 8	Khandwa	0 11 6
Sabarmati	0 3 7	Cawnpore	1 0 10

It will be seen that in some markets Kuda Siding salt has a decided freight advantage over Kharaghoda salt, e.g., Wadhwan, Halvad, Randala, etc., while in markets like Moodhera Road salt from both the sources competes because freight from Kuda Siding is annas 3-11 per maund and that from Kharaghoda is annas 3-3 per maund. In short, markets in Gujarat are supplied by these sources in unison. But in distant markets like Ujjain, Ratlam, Indore, Khandwa and Cawnpore the competition from other sources becomes very keen.

In other parts of the Presidency Kharaghoda salt has to face the competition of salt from Wadala, Ghatkopar and Thana. All these sources compete inter sea in the Bombay Presidency, whereas in other provinces the competition of other sources also comes in. Following are the freight rates charged from the different sources :—

Rates on Salt per Maund

Station to	From Wadala, Dadar, etc.	From Ghatkopar	From Thana
	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
Kirloskar Wadi	0 6 7	0 6 4	0 6 4
Kolhapur	0 7 4	0 7 1	0 7 1
Belgaum	0 9 4	0 9 1	0 9 1
Dharwar	0 10 0	0 10 3	0 9 9
Rhadrawati	0 12 5	0 12 0	0 12 2
Mysore	0 14 2	0 13 9	0 14 5
Sringapatam	0 14 2	0 14 0	0 14 6
Bangalore City	0 12 3	0 12 0	0 12 0
Gadag	0 10 3	0 10 1	0 10 1
Bellary	0 11 1	0 10 11	0 10 11
Guntur	0 14 11	0 14 9	0 14 9
Bezwada	0 14 11	0 14 9	0 14 9
Bijapur	0 9 9	0 9 9	0 10 0

As will be seen from the above table the different sources are almost on the same footing in respect of railway freights because the differences seem to be very small or at least not large enough to affect the consumption of salt. It was adverted to above that Bombay sea salt is exported in large quantities to Madras Presidency, Mysore, etc., and that this salt competes with the local salt there, adversely affecting the local manufacturers, who have long agitated against these inroads into their legitimate field and pressed for a sort of Provincial Autonomy in salt supply.¹ For despatching salt from the factories on sea coast to districts in Madras like Bellary, Guntur, etc., they have to pay from 10 to 15 annas per maund by way of railway freight and one wonders as to how with this heavy cost of transport Bombay salt is able to undersell the Madras Manufacturers in their own market. But this is a fact, and reflects upon the Madras Salt Factories and their heavy cost of production which neutralises their advantages of geographical location. Restriction of the imports of Bombay salt into Madras Presidency would work serious hardships. On the contrary, the Madras manufacturers should in their own interest improve their processes of production and reduce costs, for that can alone lift them out of their deplorable situation. In this effort the State should lend out necessary financial and other help. That apart, so far as Bombay salt and the railway freight thereon is concerned there is absolutely no relief; freights are sufficiently high.

1. Mr. V. S. K. Pillai complaining against the unfair competition of Bombay salt pleaded for autonomy. Vide, *T. B. Preliminary Evidence*, Vol. , p. 83.

The consumption of Bombay salt in the Central Provinces is also substantial and therefore the railway freight is an important item. To note a few more important instances we give below freights charged from the different sources :—

Railway Rates per Maund¹

Station to	From Wadala	From Dadar	From Ghatikopar	From Thana
Raichur	0 10 11	0 10 2	0 10 11	0 10 11
Via Raichur	0 9 2	0 10 2	0 9 2	0 9 5
Via Jalarpur	0 8 5	0 8 5	0 8 4	0 8 5
Via Nagpur	0 10 7	0 10 7	0 10 7	0 10 9
Via Itarsi	0 10 7	0 10 7	0 10 7	0 10 9
Khandwa	0 8 10	...	0 8 10	0 8 10
Via Parasia	0 13 4	0 12 9	0 13 4	0 13 4
Via Jubbulpore	0 13 7	0 12 11	0 13 6	0 13 7

In view of long lead over the same line the freights are not so heavy as they would otherwise have been. For a distance of nearly 516 miles from and via Dadar to via Nagpur the freight charged is Re. 0-10-7 per maund which works out at .24 pie per maund per mile. With this freight about 16 lakhs of maunds² of Bombay sea salt, especially that produced within 30 miles round about Bombay, is on an average consumed in the Central Provinces. Therefore it may be said that if the rates were a little lower perhaps the area of consumption of this salt may widen. This is for the railway authorities to see and try. Baragara salt has to pay higher freight charge about Rs. 1-5-8 to Katni for a distance of 693 miles and Rs. 1-4-2 to Jubbulpore for 652 miles, which is about .37 pie per maund per mile. This is indeed a high freight and is due to the fact that the consignment has to travel over more than one line and therefore does not get the benefit of the telescopic rates on the total distance traversed. This fact restricts the distribution of Baragara salt in the distant markets. With all this the relieving feature to be noted is that about 5 lakhs of maunds of Baragara salt is on an average consumed every year in the Central Provinces. Thus Bombay salt, notwithstanding the long distances it has to traverse and consequently heavy transport charges that it has to bear, has been able to compete successfully with its compeers in distant markets.

FREIGHT FROM INLAND SOURCES OF SALT SUPPLY

The production and marketing of inland salt sources has been discussed in the preceding pages. We therefore take up the freight

1. This is the estimate of Mr. Sorley, the Collector of Salt Revenue, Bombay, Vide—*Tariff Board, Preliminary Evidence*, Vol. , p. 220.

problem immediately. While discussing the organization of the respective salt sources it was noted that railway freight plays a very important part, especially because the output has to be shipped to distant markets and the alternative means of transport are not available due to the geographical position of the Works. *The marketing area of the different Works generally overlaps and gives rise to competition inter se. This competition has very unhealthy effects both upon the development of the industry proper and the general consumption. Other issues apart, internal competition leads to substantial waste in form of railway freight which could very easily be saved if only the Government took a little precaution.* We shall outline a tentative scheme for reorganising the present system of distribution at the later stage of our study; for the present it will be enough to point out the waste in transport costs involved.

Pachbadra Salt Works are situated on the Jodhpur Railway, as has been noted above which carries the entire traffic and tranships to other railways. As regards the internal arrangements at the Works we find that salt is stored in heaps alongside the extraction pits and thence it is transported to the rail head where it is weighed and loaded into the metre gauge wagons of the Jodhpur Railway.¹ This traffic carried by the Jodhpur Railway is passed on to the B. B. & C. I. Railway at Kuchaman Road which is about 210 miles. The railway freight for this distance at the minimum rate is about Re. 0-1-9. At Sambhar however the transport arrangements are far better; railway facilities are more accessible because the B. B. & C. I. Railway metre-gauge line runs right into the Store Yard. The Central Stores to which all salt is taken consists of large rectangular heaps over which the metre-gauge and 2 feet gauge railways run. From these heaps salt is filled in the bags, is weighed and is loaded into the metre-gauge wagons of the B. B. & C. I. Railway, which runs into the Stores Yard. At Gudha there is a small store laid out on similar lines, while at Nawa the salt is stored in large heaps alongside the crystallising pans. The B. B. & C. I. Railway served the Store Yard at Gudha, but at Nawa salt has to be loaded into bullock carts which transport it to the Kuchaman Road Railway Station.² Khewra salt Works are served by the North Western Railway.

Having seen the transport facilities at the Works it would now be proper to review the marketing area of the different sources and the railway freight charged thereto. As adverted to above, the markets of the Sambhar and Pachbadra salt sources are generally

1. Vide, *Report of the Salt Survey Committee*, p. 60.

2. *Report of the Salt Survey Committee*, p. 75.

common. Besides, in some markets Kharaghoda salt and in other Khewra salt also comes in with the result that the intensity of competition is further increased. We give below the railway freights charged from the Sambhar and Pachabadra sources :—

Station	Freights from Pachabadra		Freights from Sambhar	
	Mileage	Rate Ra. a. p.	Mileage	Rate Ra. a. p.
Cawnpore	627	0 8 0	346	0 7 0
Agra	420	0 6 4	188	0 5 7
Bareilly	539	0 10 1	307	0 9 4
Gorakhpur	844	0 11 7	563	0 10 10
Benares	986	0 11 3	548	0 10 6
Meerut	483	0 8 3	230	0 7 7
Lucknow	674	0 10 2	392	0 9 5
Ghaziपुर	991	0 12 6	710	0 11 9
Allahabad	698	0 11 9	465	0 10 3
Muzaffarpur	1025	0 12 7	744	0 12 0
Saugor	654	0 14 7	464	0 13 8
Indore	593	0 10 3	361	0 9 6
Delhi	421	0 6 4	189	0 5 7

These figures reveal the relative position of both the sources in some of the most important markets. In the United Provinces both Sambhar and Pachabadra salts are widely consumed. As the table shows we have selected eight important markets in the different parts of the United Provinces, but Pachabadra salt has serious handicap in freight charge. To take up Cawnpore, which is the most important centre of salt trade in the Province, we note that whereas Pachabadra is 627 miles and pays 8 annas per maund by way of railway freight, Sambhar salt is only 346 miles and pays annas 7 as freight charge. Thus there is an advantage of one anna in the latter case. This advantage is however neutralized by the higher cost of production of the Sambhar source.¹ Here, however, the fact to be noted is that the freight in the case of Pachabadra Source works out to be .15 pie per maund per mile, but in the case of Sambhar Works it is .24 pie. Pachabadra Source gets full advantage of the long lead. But the fact that Pachabadra salt has to pay railway freight higher by one anna per maund which comes to Rs. 6-4-0 per 100 maunds is in fact very substantial. This portion of the freight charge is certainly a waste when it is recollected that the quality of Sambhar salt is better than that of Pachabadra and that it is in the vicinity of the consuming centre. It is not meant

1. The cost of production of Sambhar is annas 5 and of Pachabadra annas 4. For further discussion on the claim of Pachabadra salt source for reduced freight charge, see the *Tariff Board Evidence*, Vol. II, pp. 791-92.

to convey that Pachbadra salt should be completely excluded from the Cawnpore market but that suitable arrangements should be made whereby the competition inter se of different Government salt works should be eliminated. Pachbadra salt, as can be seen from the statement, has to pay higher railway freight to all the markets mentioned therein. Not merely that, but, when the working expenses of the railway are considered the problem becomes still more important. Longer distances over which the large consignments of salt have to be carried entail higher costs to the railways which is a clear waste. Some suitable arrangements should be made so as to minimise this waste in transport costs.

Besides, Pachbadra Salt Works have proved most unreliable in matter of their output which fluctuates considerably from year to year. The distribution of Pachbadra salt is very irregular and much more so in distant markets. In the year 1929-30, however, the consumption of Pachbadra salt recorded a marked increase. Of the total consumption of salt in the United Provinces of about 44 lakhs of maunds in 1929-30 the share of Pachbadra was 6-7 lakhs, whereas that of Sambhar was 35.9 lakhs. Thus, albeit Pachbadra salt gets reduced rates it is unable to stand against the competition of other sources in distant markets due to higher distance to be traversed and fluctuating output.

In Behar and Orissa Pachbadra Salt Works receive further check due to higher cost of transport and the additional competition of cheap imported salt from Calcutta. It is interesting to note the relative position of the internal sources in Behar markets which are comparatively distant from the different sources and nearer to Calcutta port. We submit below the necessary freight :—

Freight to markets in Behar and Orissa

Station.	From Sambhar	From Kharaghoda	From Pachbadra.
Siswa Bazar	0 11 1	1 2 3	0 11 10
Chakia	0 12 2	1 3 4	0 13 1
Raxaul	0 12 9	1 3 11	0 13 8
Hajipur	0 12 0	1 3 2	0 12 11
Chupra	0 11 6	1 2 8	0 12 5
Pachrukhi	0 11 3	1 2 5	0 12 2
Bhatni	0 11 1	1 2 3	0 11 10
Muzaffarpur	0 12 0	1 3 2	0 12 11
Darbhanga	0 12 9	1 3 11	0 13 8
Katihar & Via	0 13 6	1 4 8	0 14 5

These rates are quoted from the aforesaid salt producing centres to markets in Behar, on the B. & N. W. Railway in conjunction with

the B. B. & C. I. Railway via Cawnpore. It will be seen that in respect of the freight charge Sambhar has a relative advantage as compared with the other two sources and Pachbadra comes next. The freight from Kharaghoda is appreciably higher and it seems obviously strange that Kharaghoda salt should be able to compete in these markets and if it does the explanation can be found in causes other than purely economic. In fact even Pachbadra salt is unable to stand the competition of foreign salt in these markets and Sambhar salt is substantially displaced. In addition to the imported salt, Khewra salt also finds its way to these markets, but it also like its compeers, suffers from the disadvantages of higher transport costs.

IMPORTED SALT IN BEHAR MARKETS AND THE FREIGHT THEREON

In Behar markets imported salt has considerable advantage in respect of railway freight and therefore we find that it dominates the entire province. Of the total consumption of about 53 lakhs of maunds of salt in the Province about 40 lakhs of maunds was supplied by imports. The railway freight charged from Howrah to some important markets is as follows :—

Market	Freight			Market	Freight		
	Rs.	a.	p.		Rs.	a.	p.
Bhagalpur	0	4	10	Laheria Sarai	0	6	2
Batni	0	5	10	Maftwa	0	6	7
Chupra	0	5	7	Muzaffarpur	0	6	5
Darbhanga	0	6	4	Pachrukhi	0	6	6
Ghughul	0	8	0	Raxaul	0	7	8
Hajipur	0	5	4	Sitamarhi	0	7	0

It will be seen that the imported salt has considerable advantage but it varies in inverse ratio to the distance traversed. Let us illustrate the point. The freight from Howrah to Chupra is Re. 0-5-7 per maund, but from Sambhar it is Rs. 11-6-0 from Pachbadra Re. 0-12-5 and from Kharaghoda Rs. 1-2-8. Same is true of other stations as well, though the proportion varies in different cases. Thus, the transport advantage in favour of the imported salt is substantial and stimulates the imports. No doubt the importers have to pay sea freight in addition to the railway freight, but cheap sea freights at ballast rates on huge consignments leaves sufficient margin in favour of the importers. We propose to discuss this point at a later stage ; for the present it is enough to note that the inland salt sources have to pay high railway freight due primarily to the longer distance over which the traffic has to be carried, and that the competition is more intense.

PUNJAB SALT WORKS : KHEWRA AND WARCHA.

Before we discuss in detail the question of import traffic it is necessary to note the freight position of the Punjab Salt Works, especially those at Khewra and Warcha. The organization of the Works has already been studied and therefore it would be better to take up the freight question directly. Be it noted, however, that of these two sources Warcha is relatively of local importance only, but Khewra salt has a very extensive marketing area. In the Punjab, Warcha salt has considerable sway and competes with Khewra salt in that area. We give below a few rates showing the relative position of the two sources in respect of the freight facilities :—

<i>Rates from Warcha</i>			<i>Rates from Khewra.</i>		
Station	Mileage	Rate Rs. a. p.	Station	Mileage	Rate Rs. a. p.
Lahore	223	0 5 11	Lahore	143	0 4 5
Rawalpindi	194	0 5 5	Rawalpindi	157	0 4 8
Multan	236	0 6 2	Multan	233	0 6 0
Jullunder	304	0 7 5	Jullunder	224	0 5 11
Ludhiana	339	0 7 9	Ludhiana	259	0 6 7
Amritsar	255	0 6 6	Amritsar	175	0 5 1

It is clear from the foregoing that Khewra Salt Works have a decided advantage in transport over the Warcha source in some of the most important markets of the Punjab. Railway freight seems to be a little high, as can be seen when we compare the freight charged on salt despatched from Pachbadra with that either from Khewra or Warcha. For instance, whereas from Warcha to Amritsar freight is Re. 0-6-6 per maund for 225 miles, from Pachbadra to Delhi or Agra for a distance of about 420 miles¹ freight is only Re. 0-6-4 per maund. But on a critical examination we find that these are mere discrepancies, for, rates to other stations are not of the same type. Whereas to Delhi and Agra freight is Re. 0-6-4, to a market like Bareilly for 539 miles freight rises to Re. 0-10-1. We have seen that freights from Pachbadra are low in some cases because of the longer distance that has to be traversed. This apparent anomaly is further explained when we recollect the freight charged from Sambhar; there the freights are on the same level. This finishes our study of the organization of the Indian Salt Industry with special reference to railway freight.

Having discussed the rates problem we shall now try to portray in broad outline the existing marketing facilities as an essential cor-

1. From Pachbadra, Agra is 421 miles and Delhi 420 miles.

ollary to the railway problem. The foregoing discussion has made it sufficiently clear that internal competition is very keen, and this in spite of the fact that the Government owns most of the important salt sources. The aim of the Government is not to make any profit from the salt supply and the entire output is sold at the cost production. The result is that wholesale merchants purchase from the Government and market it in as distant an area as commercially possible and compete inter se. Instances are not wanting when these wholesale merchants have tried to manipulate prices by controlling the supply. Marketing is unregulated. Government concerns itself only with the production and the moment the salt is sold out and the price plus duty is realised it severs completely all its connections, and the interests of the consumers are completely ignored. The consumers in fact are at the mercy of these middlemen—the wholesale merchants and the retailers. The statements, however, need be explained a little further before we take up the freight question proper, because these issues are very closely connected with the question of freight and very often not merely neutralize the advantages of reduced freights but substantially raise the burden upon the consumers.

TRANSFERABLE INDENTS, AND CONTROL OVER STOCKS

It being the accepted policy of the Government of India to sell salt at the cost price, the wholesale merchants and especially the stronger ones, place large indents with the Salt Works and in the meantime, with a large body of travelling agents at their disposal, they keep themselves informed of the market conditions, both as to the prices ruling and the stocks available, in different localities and accordingly direct their indents to the best market. They place their indents with the General Manager, Northern India Salt Range, in order to get priority claim and as required under the rules they place the name of some fictitious destination, because otherwise the indents would not be complete and have to be returned back, but on the receipt of further information as to the marketing conditions they would change the destination and inform the General Manager if it is within 24 hours of the despatch of the indent,¹ or arrange with the railway authorities concerned to change en route. This helps the merchant to place his big indent in the suitable market. Suppose for instance that A, who is a big wholesale salt merchant at Delhi, comes to know that at Cawnpore there is a shortage of salt stocks or that the prices ruling are a little higher, he will direct his indent to that market notwithstanding that in the original indent the des-

1. Vide, *Tariff Board Evidence*, Vol. II, p. 429.

tination given was, say, Agra, and will thus control the prices of the market till somebody comes in, and if unfortunately the compeer happens to be a weaker of the two, the prices would be suddenly lowered so as to drive him out. To achieve this object, the wholesale dealer not only keeps himself informed of the latest movements in the market but also of the indents of his compeers.¹ He gives the name of a fictitious destination on his indent in order to mislead the competitors and to disguise his real intentions. "It is admittedly a false declaration", says a responsible officer, "that is made on the indent form. I have heard the traders themselves admitting to me that their wagons were meant to go to certain other stations than those mentioned in the indents. The whole trade does it continuously, and we also know it."² Some of these practices of the bigger wholesale merchants have become contagious so that we find that even the smaller wholesale merchants in their original indent do not give the correct name of their destination lest their stronger competitors should come to know of it and ruin them. The result of this is that the consumers are needlessly victimised. How the consumers are penalised has been aptly illustrated by Mr. Pitt who deposed that *wholesale dealers control the stocks* in such a way that the prices are maintained at a *remunerative level*. He said, "Let us take a town like Jullunder. There are two or three big fellows. Compared to Diwanchand they are very small people: compared to others they are big people. They combine and the price at Jullunder goes up and possibly for three or four months till somebody finds it out. These people make a big profit and then our inaccurate statistics show a biggest figure."³

THE CREDIT SYSTEM

The speculative tendencies above referred to have received a fillip from the credit system of purchase. Let us see how this credit system works. Merchants have a sort of credit account with the Government. They deposit securities with Government and they are allowed credit upto the market value, less 6 per cent of the securities for depreciation. Very often these securities are deposited through banks; trader arranges an overdraft with the bank. This is especially true of the bigger merchants. The result is that Gov-

1. Although the salt authorities are not supposed to give out this information a shrewd and astute merchant procures it through the clerks of the office by bribing them. Refer *Evidence*, Vol. II, p. 429.

2. Vide, *Tariff Board Evidence*, Vol. II, p. 425. Evidence of Mr. C. H. Pitt, General Manager, Salt Mines, Khewra.

3. Vide, *Evidence*, Vol. II, p. 435.

vernment lose six months interest on every transaction done on credit.

It is not meant that the Government was at fault when it inaugurated this credit system. In fact this system at its inception was meant to serve the interests of the consumers by helping the traders in their legitimate commercial activities, the main idea underlying the system being that there should be no shortage of stocks due to want of capital. It was thought that if adequate stocks were maintained the prices would remain stable and fluctuations eliminated.¹

The credit system, as outlined above, differs in practice in different provinces. In Calcutta the credit system begins to run from the date the delivery is taken, while at Sambhar as soon as the indent is accepted. Thus the latter is more favourable to the traders than the former. This point has been better explained in Mr. Tottenham's note.² Thus, under the credit system as it functions at present the interest that Government loses goes entirely into the pocket of the middleman; it does not reach the consumer. Besides, it helps speculation, especially the transferable indent system. If the transfer of indents is disallowed and if the officers in charge of Government Works insist upon delivering salt at destination, as given in the original indent, every time without the purchaser having the right to change the destination, speculation would be considerably checked. This is the case with the oil companies; they do not permit of transferring indents. The quality and the destination as given in the indent has to be strictly adhered to. If similar arrangements are made for salt also the advantage resulting therefrom would be two-fold; first, the buyer would not be able to speculate with the same ease and convenience as he is doing at present, and secondly the officers of the Salt Works will be brought into a more direct touch with the market; they will know where the salt goes and how much is required in different markets.

1. President's remarks, *Tariff Board, Evidence*, Vol. II, p. 399. "Government thought that if they gave credit to people even small people might be able to indent direct from the Government Works and take it as they required and thus balance the supply and demand. What has happened is that with Government it is now possible for a man by paying 3 annas a maund which is the issue price to speculate in an article which is worth 7 or 8 times that." This is aptly illustrated in the case of Diwanchand, salt merchant of Delhi, who taking advantage of the credit system has attempted to corner salt and often made huge profits by controlling salt supplies of several markets.

2. *Vide*, Remarks of the President, *T. B. Evidence*, Vol. II, p. 596.

In practice, therefore, the credit system enables the wealthy speculators to monopolise the salt business. This affects adversely both the Government and the consumers. "Somebody is making money which somebody else ought to be making—either the Government or the tax-payers. What I say is that very large sum of money is taken away by people who are not entitled to it."¹ The evils of the system have been recognized by the authorities but the continuance of the system is excused on some plea or other. Some apologists of the credit system argue that speculation would continue even with cash intending,² while others point out that the misuse that has been made of the credit system in the past is accidental.³

The arguments advanced in support of maintaining the credit system are misleading. It is admitted that the wholesale dealers put very large indents at times in excess of the stocks themselves, and that the speculation in the salt trade is rife and the prices are unsteady; but the remedy advanced is that of maintaining adequate stocks. This is obviously arguing in circle. When the traders put in indents for quantities largely in excess not only of the amounts that can be delivered within reasonable period from the stocks existing but even far in excess of the stocks themselves. It is too obvious that the intention is to control the stocks. In view of these large indents and the limited productive capacity it is idle to talk of maintaining stocks. Besides, under the circumstances enumerated above, it comes as a surprise to be told that the credit system with its appendage quasi-monopoly in salt trade tends to secure stability and efficiency in the distribution of salt. In fact under the existing system both stability and efficiency are marked by their clear absence. Speculation and stability hardly go together. This may be true from the Government point of view which concerns itself mainly with the duty. On large indents they can easily collect their dues from a few sources whereas in the case of small indents they will have to collect from a large number of sources. Under the credit system the officers in charge are spared a great deal of trouble. Therefore from the Government point of view, divorced from public interests, it can be said that the credit system secures stability and efficiency, but this is true only of Government sale of salt and not of distribution as it is claimed. The distribution is essentially faulty.

1. *Supra*, p. 438.

2. See Mr. Pitt's Evidence, *Supra*, p. 399.

3. See Mr. Tottenham's Evidence, pp. 609-10.

In face of these facts to talk of the reduction of railway freights is inopportune, because the reduction will not be availed of by the consumers. This fact of the middlemen pocketing the reduction in freight so long as marketing arrangements are not improved was recorded by the Tariff Board in the evidence placed before it. We quote the actual words : "Have you created any new indentors because of the reduction in the freight ?" If you have not, you have put annas 3 or annas 4 into the pockets of the middlemen. You took the money from the railway people and gave it to the middlemen. Unless you have got a new set of dealers who take advantage of this reduction in freight and sell in competition with the others you cannot sell more salt. Then what happens is this : the other fellows retain the same price and put the freight reduction into their pockets in addition to what they have been doing before." Therefore before any claim for reduction of railway freights is put forward, the present system of distribution should be purged of its evils and conditions favourable for making the advantages of reduced freight available to the consumers be created. The true aim in asking for a reduction in rates should be to increase the traffic in salt and ultimately its consumption, profiting thereby both the consumer and the carrier.

A SCHEME FOR REORGANIZATION OF MARKETING FACILITIES

Any scheme of reorganization to be successful must aim at stabilisation and equalisation of prices. The entire marketing arrangements, which are at present disorganized, should be entrusted to one central institution, similar to the Cement Marketing Company of India, which would properly co-ordinate different sources of salt supply and effect marked improvements in quality, quantity as well as the marketing arrangements. In case of salt, which is a Government monopoly, the centralization of marketing can be easily brought about than was the case with private cement companies.

This new institution, which we for the present term as the *Central Salt Marketing Board*, should control the sale and distribution of total salt supply, both imports and home production. The Board should purchase salt from the sea salt sources, like Aden, Karachi, and Okha, at a price equal to the cost of production plus fair profit. If the total supply thus made up is not sufficient to

1. The North Western Railway reduced its freights on Khewra Salt to stations east of Saharanpur by one anna seven pies a maund from 1st October 1929. The East Indian Railway also reduced the freight experimentally from Saharanpur to stations on their section.

Vide, *T. B. Evidence*, Vol. II, p. 442.

meet the total demand the Board should invite tenders from the foreign salt merchants for salt of specified quality.

The Board should arrange for the distribution of salt from the nearest source of supply. Thus each source will have its own geographical zone, the limits of which would not be precisely located and marked out but vary with the nature of demand and supply. This would result in appreciable and automatic reduction in transport costs. To secure the success of these arrangements the quality of salt will have to be standardised and the consumers trained, as is being done by the Cement Marketing Company. If, however, the consumers persist in their superstitions and hobbies they will have to pay a price for them. Further, the Board should sell salt at a price f. o. r. destination because this would eliminate fluctuations in prices and reduce the transport cost as well. Board will be in a decidedly better position in securing transport facilities—in form of reduced rates, siding arrangements, conditions of load and carriage, etc.—than an individual merchant. This has been the experience of the Cement Marketing Company; it has been able to secure transport facilities as and when needed. This is convenient to the railway authorities as well because a well-organized institution can better put its case and the arrangements are promptly and amicably made. Besides, adulteration would be eliminated.

The most crucial question which comes up for consideration at this stage is how should the f. o. r. price be fixed. Should quotations be merely equal to the cost of salt plus the freight from the Works to the destination, or a little higher. To me it seems that the Central Salt Marketing Board should follow a price fixing policy on lines similar to that of the Cement Marketing Company. The aim of the Board should be stabilisation and equalisation of prices. The difference between the prices quoted to different centres of consumption ought not to be very wide, and the disadvantages of distance from the salt Works be reduced. To achieve stability of prices the quotations ought to be so fixed as to leave some surplus, after meeting all the expenses which should be utilized in maintaining the stability of price level and thereafter in reducing the prices.

The Board should be run on commercial principles only to the extent outlined above. Profiteering should be entirely alien to its aims and objects. It is erroneous to suggest, as has sometimes been done, that if by economising the cost of transport and in other ways the Board makes a much bigger profit *than it ought to*, then it

should share with the Government.¹ The constitution of the Board would contain a definite limitation as to its capacity for fixing prices and the profits it can make, together with the provision as to the ways in which the limited profits would be utilized. In this case the profits, as aforesaid, should be utilized in maintaining the stability of price level and nothing else, the residual share to be given back to the consumers in form of lower prices. Therefore making bigger profits would be ultra vires of the Board.

Next comes the question of the constitution of the Board. Here we agree with the Tariff Board that the Board should be constituted as a public utility company with a definite limitation as to its profit earning capacity. We do not propose to go into the details of the constitution of the Board of Directors because this needs be left to the better discretion of all concerned. It should however be pointed out that to secure the confidence and support of the people, the interests of the consumers should predominate in the Board of Directors. In these days of mistrust and suspicion in the institutions connected with the Government proper precautions should be taken in strictly limiting State interference with the working of the Board. Thus constituted and worked the Board would achieve remarkable success and add to the welfare of the people. Salt is an essential food for the well-being of the masses and to ensure an adequate supply of cheap and good salt is a national task.

It is a relief to note that the salt manufacturers have now under the stress of great economic depression realised the necessity of reorganising their marketing arrangements and attempts are being made for co-ordinating their output and marketing. In this connection the efforts of Indian Salt Association needs be noted. They have formed a Salt Marketing Board to regulate the sale and supply of salt manufactured by the members to Bengal and Burma, to provide means and machinery for eliminating competition inter se, to protect themselves against competition by manufacturers of salt outside India, to fix and preserve a standard of quality on the basis of the Indian Tariff Board's recommendations and to maintain prices fixed by the Government of India. The Board has begun to function from 1st October 1934 and shall continue to work till 31st March 1938. Bona fide manufacturers of salt in India who supply salt to Calcutta and Chittagong are eligible to be admitted as members. The Board regulates the prices from time to time for each shipment for all sales ex-ship and ex-golabs having regard

1. Vide, remarks of the President, *T. B. Evidence*, Vol. II, p. 620.

to the quality. The Board fixes quota for annual imports by each member and it is expected to encourage the manufacture of salt similar in quality to that of Hamburg and Liverpool.

The Board has not as yet received adequate support at the hands of salt manufacturers in general and therefore today it represents only a section of our salt industry. But it is hoped that soon it will become more representative because reorganised marketing is an essential prerequisite before the industry can hope to prosper.

RAMSWARUP D. TIWARI.



GODACHI PLATES OF KIRTIVARMAN I.

Godachi is a small village in the Torgal Jahagir of the Kolhapur State. It is about 48 miles to the East of Belgaum, the head quarters of the Belgaum District. It is noted for the temple of Virabhadra, a deity mostly worshipped by the Lingayats. The place seems to be ancient one as it contains antiquities in the form of the remnants of old temples, Sivilingas, hero-stones (Viragallu), Māsati-Kallu, etc. I was able to trace a broken piece of stone inscription which was used for steps in the local well. It is greatly damaged and cannot be deciphered, but some visible letters indicate to the 12th or 13th century as its probable date.

I took an excursion to this place on 10th August 1936 in company of my relative Mr. S. G. Swami B.A., an Officer of the Kolhapur Government. In my previous visit in the year 1927 I learnt that Svāmi of the place possessed copper plates and succeeded in having a look at them. Then I was not allowed to take estampages or photographs. This time through the mediation of Mr. S. G. Swami and Svami of Katkol Hiremath, I was able to secure these interesting plates.

There are three plates of which the first and third contain the inscription on only one side and the second on both sides with a margin varying from three-fourths of an inch to one inch. On the margin, in the middle, a hole is bored on each plate for the purpose of fastening a ring to hold the plates together. The ring is missing.

The first plate weighs 130 grams; 2nd plate 122 grams and the 3rd 110 grams and all three measure $6\frac{3}{4}$ inches by $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

The writing covers all the area except margin i.e., about $5\frac{3}{4}$ " by $2\frac{1}{4}$ " and the letters 'Svasti' which begin the inscription, are written in the margin of the 1st plate. The characters are Kannada of the sixth century. Compare the characters of the Badami cave inscription¹ with these. The size of letters ranges from 6" by 4" to 2" by 1". The following characters are noteworthy.

stī, line 1 (Margin) : *ka*, line 1 : *ma*, line 1 : *nu*, line 1 : *na*, lines 1, 2 : *tī*, line 2 : *lu*, line 2 : *agni*, line 2 : *ba*, line 3 : *paundarīka*,⁴

1. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol X, p. 58, see plates on this page.

2. Vide "pri" line 5.

3. Vide "na" line 5.

4. Compare "pau" of "paundarīka" line 3 with "pau" of "paumṇamāsyām" line 9.

line 3 : *me*, line 3 : *dha*, line 3 : *ja*, line 3 : *pe*, line 3 : *sa*, line 5 : *rtha*, line 5 : *ku*, line 6 : *bu*, line 6 : *bo*, line 6 : *po*, line 7 : *rtti*, line 8 : *de*, line 9 : *ne*, line 10 : *kāya*, line 11 : *igā*, line 13 : *yu*, line 13 : *āca*, line 17 : *bha*, line 17 :

The long *i* (\bar{i}) is represented by a curve over the letter while short *i* (i) by a circle over the letter. Observe *ri* and *ti* in *hāriti-putrāṇāḥ* line 2 : *trī* and *rī* in *Pavitrī-kṛta Śarirasya* line 4 : *nī* in *nitīśāstra-viśāraḍena* line 9.

The *U* is added to the bottom of

<i>na</i> ; ... observe	<i>anudhyāta</i> line 1.
	<i>nānurañjita</i> line 8.
<i>ka</i> ; "	<i>bahusuvārma</i> line 2.
<i>sa</i> ; "	<i>bahusuvārma</i> line 2.
<i>ba</i> ; "	<i>buddhi-naya</i> line 6.
<i>pa</i> ; "	<i>putrāṇām</i> line 2.
<i>ya</i> ; "	<i>saṃyukta</i> line 17.

but to the side of *ka* ; observe *kufala* line 6.

The consonant is doubled after *r* ; *suvārma* line 3 ; *Vikramavarmma* line 4 ; *sarva* lines 5, 7, 8 and 12 ; *śāstrārtha* line 5 ; *Varaṇāśrama* line 7 ; *Kārttika* line 8 ; *nivartana* line 14 but *varṣa* line 19.

The language is Sanskrit. There are some Kannada words. Kannada seems to be the language spoken by the people as the phrase *Katti-arasa nāmadheyah* in line 5 indicates. It is probably the proper name of the king known to his people. *Katti* in Kannada means sword and *arasa* means king ; 'the king of the sword.' The Sanskrit name of the king is Kirtivarman. It is also possible that *Katti-arasa* may be a corruption of Kīrti-rāja, "king of fame" by which name this king is called in the Nerūr grant of Pulikeśin II.¹ In that case the name should have been *Kitti-arasa*. The scribe might have inscribed wrongly *ka* instead of *ki* or the common people called him "*Katti-arasa*" 'king of sword' as "*Kitti-arasa*" does not carry any meaning to them. Another word *satoṭṭam* is interesting. *Toṭṭam* in Kannada means garden. The Sanskrit *sa* is added to it to indicate 'together with', 'including'.

The predicate '*dattam*' in line 16 ought to be '*dattavān*' or '*tena*' is to be substituted after '*viñāpitah*' line 18 which may be taken to be a predicate concluding the sentence. The inscription mentions '*Nuḷgāla grāma*.' It is not easy to locate this village.

The summary of the inscription is that the king by name *Katti-arasa*, son of *Mahārāja Raṇavikramavarma* of the *Cālukya* Dynasty, granted an abode and a field to *Kṛṣṇasvāmī* belonging to *Kauṣ-*

1. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VIII, p. 43.

gīnya Gotra at the request of Vyāghrasvāmi who was probably his minister on the 12th day of the month of Kārtika of his 12th regnal year.

This is a grant of the Bādāmi Cālukya king Kīrtivarma I, son of Pulikeśin I. The Kauthem grant of Vikramāditya V¹ informs us that the Cālukyas came from the North. Jayasimha Vallabha or Jayasimha I conquered the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Indra and established the sovereignty of the Cālukyas. His son was Raṇarāga whose son was Pulikeśin I, father of Kīrtivarma I. Kīrtivarman is also called Kīrti-rāja. Among the titles (*birudas*) ascribed to him important ones² are *puru-ṛaṇaparākrama*, "puissant in war as Puru", *satya-śraya*, "support to the truth", *vallabha* or *Prthivīvallabha* "favourite of the earth" and *mahārāja* "great king". His wife was a sister of Rājā Śrī Vallabha senānanda of the Śeṇḍraka family. He is called Vātāpyaś Prathama-vidhātā, "the first creator of Vātāpi."³ The Vaiṣṇava cave temple at Bādāmi was finished during his reign.⁴ He enlarged the Cālukya power by over-throwing Nalas, Mauryas and Kadambas.⁵ The kauthem grant of Vikramāditya V⁶ describes him as :—

*Tat-tanayaś
Nala-nīlaya-vīlopi Maurya-niryāṇa hetuḥ.
prathita-prthu-Kadamb-bastambha-bhedi-kuṣhārāḥ,
bhuvana-bhavana-bhāgā-pūtanārambha-bhāra,
vyavasita-sita-kīrtiḥ-Kīrtivarmā-nṛpobhūt.*

According to the Mahākūṭa pillar inscription⁷ he is said to have conquered the kings of Vaṅga, Aṅga, Kalinga, Vātūra, Magadha, Medraha, Kēraḷa Gaṅga, Muṣaka, Pāṇḍya, Dramiḷa, Coḷya, Alūka and Vaijayantī. Dr. Fleet thinks that it is a mere glorification.⁸

He is described in the Mahākūṭa pillar inscription⁹ as performing *bahusuvarṇa* and *Agniśtoma* sacrifices. In these plates he is a plain brave, wise and popular "Katti-arasa." His father Raṇavikrama-varma Mahārāja is mentioned as performing *Agniśtoma*, *Agnicayana*, *Vājaapeya*, *bahusuvarṇa*, *Paunḍarika* sacrifices.¹⁰ He ruled from A.D.

1. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVI.

2. Dr. Fleet—"The Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts". *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part. II, p. 345.

3. *Ibid.*

4. *Ind. Ant.*, Vols. III and X plate on p. 58.

5. Dr. Fleet, "D. K. D.", *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part. II, p. 345.

6. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVI, p. 21.

7. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX.

8. Dr. Fleet, "D. K. D.", *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part. II, p. 346.

9. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX.

10. Dr. Fleet, "D. K. D.", *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part. II, pp. 344-46.

566-67 to A.D. 597-98 and was succeeded by his brother *Maṅgalīśa*.¹ His son was the famous *Pulikeśi II* who ruled from A.D. 609 to A.D. 642.

The inscription is important and interesting for the following reasons :—

1. It records a date full-moon day in the month of *Kārtika* (*Kārtika Purnamāsi*) falling on the 12th year of the reign of the *Cālukya* King, *Kirtivarm I* and corroborates the date of the inscription on a pilaster in the verandah of the *Vaiṣṇava cave at Bādāmi* which records the completion of the house of Viṣṇu i.e., the *Vaiṣṇava* cave of Bādāmi and mentions the installation of the deity Viṣṇu.² This inscription was ascribed to *Maṅgalīśa* brother of *Kirti-Varmā I*, as it contains the words "*Śrī Maṅgalīśvaro Raṇavikrāntaḥ*".³ This is extremely important record because it mention *Śaka* date as well as the regnal year of the reigning king.⁴ There was a controversy between Dr. Fleet and Dr. Bhandarkar in determining the king whose regnal year was mentioned in the inscription.⁵ Dr. Fleet came round and accepted the theory of Dr. Bhandarkar.⁶ If these plates were available to the learned scholars much trouble would have been saved, as these plates and the Bādāmi Cave inscription record one and the same date, viz., 12th regnal year which was equivalent to S. S. 500 i.e., A.D. 578.

2. This is another record of the King. According to Dr. Fleet there is one record of the reign of this King; it is the Bādāmi cave inscription.⁷

3. It contains Kannada words. *Katti-arasa, Toṭṭam, Maṇu-Manna*.⁸

4. It mentions *Kāvya-nāṭaka-purāṇa-itihāsa-gāndharva-sapada-*

1. Dr. Fleet, "D. K. D." *Bomb. Gaz.* Vol. I part II, pp. 344-45.

2. "Bhagvataḥ pralayoditārka-maṇḍalākāra-cakra kṣapitāpakāra-pakṣasya Viṣṇoḥ pratimā-pratiṣṭhāpanābhūdaye". *Ind. Ant.* vol. III, p. 305.

3. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. III, p. 305, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. X, p. 57.

4. Dr. Fleet, "D. K. D." *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, part II, p. 345.

5. *Ind. Ant.* Vol. X, pp. 57-58.

6. *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 338.

7. Dr. Fleet, "D. K. D." *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 345.

8. Further proof to show that kannada was the language of the people is available from the following records of about the same period. Compare "*Ittoḍḍān-śiṣyon paṇḍa-mahā-pātakaṇ aldruṇ eṇeya narāḍā puṇu akkum*." "may be incur the guilt of the five great sins and be buried in the seventh hell."

Ind. Ant., Vol. X, p. 60 Vide also Skt. Pāli and old Kanarese inscriptions No. LXXXIV, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. X, p. 61.

vyākaraṇa in addition to Veda-Vedāṅga. It proves that the literature of all these was existing and was popular in 578 A.D.

Transliteration.

Plate I.

1. Svasti Śvāmi-Mahāsena-Mātrgaṇa-anuddhyāta-abhi-śiktā-nām Mānavya-sa
2. gotrāṇām Hārītiputrāṇām Calukyānām-agniṣṭoma-agni-cayana
3. Vājapeya-bahu-Suvarṇa-Paṇḍarīka-Aśvamedha-avabhṛtha-snāna-pa
4. Vitṛkṣita-śarīrasya Raṇavikramavarṇma-mahārājasya
5. priya-tanayaḥ Katti-arasa-nāmadheyah sarvva-śāstrārtha

Plate 2 (a)

6. pāra - gahana-avabodha - smṛti-dhāraṇa-kuśala-buddhi-naya-pra
7. tāpa-utsāḍita-sarvva-dāyādah varṇa-āśrama-nyāya-pari-pāla
8. na-anurañjita-sarvva-prakṛtiḥ svarājya-sarṇvatsare dvā-daśe Kārtti
9. ka-pauruṇamāsyām Veda-vedāṅga-pāragena nītiśāstra-viśāradena
10. sa-pada-vyākaraṇa-nyāya-kāvya-nāṭaka-itihāsa-gāndharvva - purāṇe

Plate 2 (b)

11. śu - asādhāraṇa-vyākhyāna-sampadā adya-kāla-Bṛhaspatinā rā
12. jya - sarvvasva - dhurandhareṇa Vyāghrasvāminā mahā brāhmaṇena vi
13. jñāpitah Nulgāla-grāmasya maṇu-mannarḥ sarvva-jitakarḥ sa-toṭṭam sa-jīra
14. karḥ sa-pāṇiyarḥ sa-niveśam rājamānena pañca vimśati-nivarttanarḥ
15. kṣetram Kauṇḍinya-sa-gotrāya Veda-vedāṅga-pāragāya

Plate 3

16. Sadvātithaye Kṛṣṇasvāmine dattarḥ dānarḥ (1) Ya enarḥ harati
17. sa pañca-mahāpātaka-saṁyukto bhavati (1) Ya enamanupā
18. layati sa puṇya-phala-bhāgbhavati (1) Svadattārḥ parada
19. ttārḥ vā yo hareta vasundharām ṣaṣṭivarṣa-sa
20. hasrāpi narake pacyate tu saḥ (1).

Translation.

LINES 1-4.

(In the family) of the Calukyas descendants of Hārīti, belonging to Manu tribe, duly crowned (after) contemplating (the feet of) Mātṛgaṇa and Svāmi Mahāsena, (there was) the great king Raṇa-vikrama whose body was purified by the ablution after the Aśvamedha sacrifice, (and) by (performing) the Agniṣṭoma, Agnicayana, Vājapeya, Bahu Suvarṇa (and) Pauṇḍarika (sacrifices).¹

LINES 5-8.

(His) dear son by name King Katti put down all (hostile) kinsmen by (his) valour, policy, (and) intellectual powers (buddhi) which were sharp, capable of retaining, remembering and understanding the deep and thorough (pāra, extreme limit,) meaning of all lore (Śāstra) and gratified all his subjects by protecting them according to just rules (applicable) to castes (Varṇa) and stages (Āśrama) in life.

LINES 8-13.

On the full moon day the Kārtika falling on the 12th year (he) was requested by Vyāghrasvāmi, a great Brahman, who was bearing the brunt of the whole kingdom, who was (so to say) a Bṛhaspati of those days (adya Kāla), who was gifted with an extraordinary (ability) to explain the legendary lore, works on music, history, dramas, poems, logic, grammar with commentary, and who was skilled in politics (Nītiśāstra), and who was an expert in Vedas and subsidiary Vedas.

LINES 14-16.

(By him on the same day) a gift, consisting of garden a house and field measuring 25 nivartana by king's measurement in the village Nuḷgāla together with (pouring of) water, (mixed) with Jīraka, free from all taxes and Maṇumanna,² was made to Kṛṇasvāmi, a sadvātithi, an expert in the Vedas and the subsidiary Vedas, and a member of Kaundinya tribe.

1. Compare " Svasti śrī svāmi-pādānuchyātānāṁ Mānavayasa-gotrāṇām Hārīti-putrānām Agniṣṭomāgnicayana-Vājapeya-pauṇḍarika-Bahusuvarṇa-Aśvamedhāva-bhṛta-anāṁ-pavitrikṛta-śirasām Calukyānām." Ind. Ant. Vol. III, p. 306; Vol. X plate on p. 58. Vide Kautham grant of Vikramāditya V. Ind. Ant., Vol. XVI, pp. 17 and 21. Dr. Fleet, " D. K. D." Bom. Gaz. Vol. I Part II, p. 337.

2. Compare for similar idea Epi, Ind, Vol. III, p. 56 and Vol. VI p. 296.

1
 2
 3
 4
 5

ಸ್ವಲ್ಪ ಸ್ವಲ್ಪವಾಗಿ ಸಮಸ್ತ ಕಾರ್ಯವು ಸಮಗತವಾಗಿ
 ಕಾರ್ಯವು ಸಮಗತವಾಗಿ ಸಮಗತವಾಗಿ ಸಮಗತವಾಗಿ
 ಕಾರ್ಯವು ಸಮಗತವಾಗಿ ಸಮಗತವಾಗಿ ಸಮಗತವಾಗಿ
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 ಕಾರ್ಯವು ಸಮಗತವಾಗಿ ಸಮಗತವಾಗಿ ಸಮಗತವಾಗಿ

PLATE 1.

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 10

ಕಾರ್ಯವು ಸಮಗತವಾಗಿ ಸಮಗತವಾಗಿ ಸಮಗತವಾಗಿ
 ಕಾರ್ಯವು ಸಮಗತವಾಗಿ ಸಮಗತವಾಗಿ ಸಮಗತವಾಗಿ
 ಕಾರ್ಯವು ಸಮಗತವಾಗಿ ಸಮಗತವಾಗಿ ಸಮಗತವಾಗಿ
 ಕಾರ್ಯವು ಸಮಗತವಾಗಿ ಸಮಗತವಾಗಿ ಸಮಗತವಾಗಿ
 ಕಾರ್ಯವು ಸಮಗತವಾಗಿ ಸಮಗತವಾಗಿ ಸಮಗತವಾಗಿ

PLATE 2(a)

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 12
 13
 14
 15

ಕಾರ್ಯವು ಸಮಗತವಾಗಿ ಸಮಗತವಾಗಿ ಸಮಗತವಾಗಿ
 ಕಾರ್ಯವು ಸಮಗತವಾಗಿ ಸಮಗತವಾಗಿ ಸಮಗತವಾಗಿ
 ಕಾರ್ಯವು ಸಮಗತವಾಗಿ ಸಮಗತವಾಗಿ ಸಮಗತವಾಗಿ
 ಕಾರ್ಯವು ಸಮಗತವಾಗಿ ಸಮಗತವಾಗಿ ಸಮಗತವಾಗಿ
 ಕಾರ್ಯವು ಸಮಗತವಾಗಿ ಸಮಗತವಾಗಿ ಸಮಗತವಾಗಿ

PLATE 2(b)

16
 17
 18
 19
 20

ಕಾರ್ಯವು ಸಮಗತವಾಗಿ ಸಮಗತವಾಗಿ ಸಮಗತವಾಗಿ
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PLATE 3.

LINES 16-20.

He who takes away this (gift) will commit five great sins (Pañca-mahā-pātaka). He, who protects this, will enjoy the result of good deeds (puṇya-phala-bhāḥ). He who takes away the land given as a gift either by oneself or by others will remain in hell suffering for sixty thousand years.

S. C. NANDIMATH.



TARIFFS AND TRADE AGREEMENTS.

1. INTRODUCTION.

Novel and uncommon practices in international trading have developed since the World War. The most characteristic feature of these practices is the existence of a number of positive contractual treaties or understandings negotiated between nations in regard to exchange of commodities and services. The impact of these treaties on the promotion of economic welfare of the nations and international relations is enormous. Recently the controversy has centred round the policies of Most-Favoured-Nation treatment and of Bilateral trade-agreements. The former has been viewed by many as a means of increasing multilateral trade and international harmony, while as against this the Bilateral Treaty methods have been considered an outstanding reflection of national autarchy. But we must examine them in the perspective of conditions which exist in the world today, with a full recognition of the social and economic trends of modern society towards a greater measure of a conscious control of economic activities.

2. ACTION AND REACTION.

The history of trade treaties offers a spectacle of action and reaction, from universalism to particularism. With the commencement of the Cobden Treaty of 1860, the dreams of the classical economists were realised. A world-economy, based on freedom of enterprise, freedom of contract, freedom of trade and international division of labour came into being and Adam Smith gloried in this development. But only a decade later, a reaction against this "universalism" set in—especially on the Continent and America. The "national" ideal of the Mercantilists was re-established in a different form. It postulated a system of self-determined and autonomous regulation of trade relations with a view to the protection and development of home industries. Fredric List was the chief spokesman of this national ideal. The establishment of tariff became the mainspring of the new system.

3. POST-WAR SITUATION.

On account of the exigencies of War the practice of tariff-treaties was accentuated. Intense economic nationalism has become the order of the day. Maximum economic self-sufficiency or self-reliance, with

a view to become ready for a next war, seems to be the A.B.C. of the present international economic relations. The outstanding consequence of such a tendency is the shift in the economic balance. The European and oversea Agricultural countries have taken to industries and the industrial countries are making attempts to grow raw materials and food-stuffs at home. But, this has only become possible under the shelter of tariff-walls and restriction of imports. In such a situation the aggregate amount of inflow and outflow of goods between nations is bound to diminish. But there are natural limits to a full-fledged economic autarchy. Hence a nation has to come to terms with other nations. The present day commercial treaties are the inevitable compromises which nationalism has to accept. But the situation has been more complicated owing to the economic depression and monetary chaos.¹

4. BASIC DIFFERENCES.

Before we examine the claims of the Most-Favoured Nation Treatment policy and of Bilateral Treaties, the most fundamental fact of the basic differences in the economic development of the countries should not be lost sight of. Various countries are making efforts to bridge these differences and to come into line with others. Unless this is achieved, no commercial policy can have universal and equal effect. Mr. A. E. Taylor² has summarised these differences in the following manner :—

(1) Countries are to be divided into net creditor and net debtor nations. The debtor countries must make payments to the creditor either in goods or gold. e.g. Germany and U.S.A.

(2) Some countries have either active or passive balance of merchandise trade. Under the normal and long-run conditions, active or passive balance countries would bear a relation to net creditor or net debtor position. But this does not exist at present.

(3) There are (a) Tropical lands that are primarily exporters of raw materials and food-stuffs. (b) Non-tropical lands mainly

1. Cf. Remarks on the Present Phase of international Economic relations. Geneva 1936—"The economic depression with the accompanying monetary depreciation, foreign exchange control and clearing agreements have brought about a reaction that has taken the form of a disorganised and excessive increase in customs duties or quantitative limitations of imports (prohibitions, licensing system, quotas). By these measures the countries in question endeavoured to protect both their production and their national currencies against the consequences of serious disturbances (in the sphere of prices or of currency) which had arisen in other countries."

2. *The New Deal and Foreign Trade*, A. E. Taylor, 1935.

exporters of raw materials, (c) Countries predominately exporting manufactures. Mostly they are non-tropical. The United States is an exception.

(4) Countries having a natural surplus or deficit of foreign exchanges—either because of creditor or debtor position, or because of any other causes. This is very important in the direct trade relationships of today.

(5) Some countries have committed to the policy of regional or Imperial Preference. This has segregated trade into a particular direction where the advantages are calculated in terms of imperial or regional dependence.

5. CLAIMS OF M. F. N.

The Most-Favoured Nation Treatment has claimed to present a very simple and rational basis of trade relations. It makes possible for every nation to determine her tariffs according to her own convenience and at the same time maintaining the multilateral trade relations. It stipulates that no nation must ask for special preferential favour from others or grant such terms to others. As for example the Indo-Japanese Convention of 1904-5 laid down that—"Any article, the product or manufacture of dominions and possessions of His Majesty the Emperor of Japan shall enjoy upon importation into India the lowest customs duties applicable to similar products of any other foreign origin. Reciprocally, any article, product or manufacture of India shall enjoy upon importation into dominions or possessions of His Majesty the Emperor of Japan the lowest customs duties applicable to similar product of any other foreign origin."

The Treaty of Versailles has imposed on Germany the obligation to establish her tariffs on the M. F. N. basis down to 1929. As long as the so-called spirit of liberalism was growing in favour, such treaties were extending rapidly with the result that the effectiveness of tariffs was greatly reduced, and it looked as if tariffs were destined to disappear.¹ Hence the economists at the League of Nations consider it as the only device by which it can be hoped to extend progressively the area of free or relatively free trade or the area of diminishing tariffs. It affords, they say, an opportunity of equality of tariff-treatment to all nations who go in for M. F. N. Recently at the International Economic Conference it was asserted that the only way to trade-recovery out of this great depression and the avoidance of tariff-wars was through the universalisation of M. F. N. policy.

1. Most-Favoured Nation Clause 1936. (League of Nations.)

6. WORKING AND DEFECTS OF M. F. N.

But in recent years the experience with M. F. N. has been quite different. It has prevented the lowering of tariffs by mutual negotiations because of the fact that each tariff concession was to be shared with other countries that are not parties to the negotiation.¹ This difficulty was experienced at the time of negotiations between Hungary and Austria in 1931. It has made the concessions more burdensome to the giver and less advantageous to the recipient nation. Again the weaker countries who cannot wait long suffer most. In this category are included net debtor nations, nations with depleted reserves and also those whose purchasing power depends on the export of surplus raw materials and food-stuffs. They can only get concessions to enter into foreign markets if they grant some to the opposite parties. Hence the M. F. N. policy is bound to inflict hardships not only on their growing industries but on their agriculture too. The Most-Favoured-Nation Treatment is a denial of the freedom to bargain. It is more a hindrance than a help because it dissipates the unique bargaining power of a country.

A customs duty is very frequently designed to equalise the differences in the cost of production between the home and foreign industries. It is thus a "Compensatory duty." But in these days of state control of production, subsidies, monopolies and what not, conditions of production in the two countries are never alike. In such a situation equality of tariff treatment stipulated by the Most-Favoured Nation Treatment may mean in practice a profound inequality. Hence no uniform tariff treatment on a universal basis is possible.² Multilateral treaties under the M. F. N. policy are based upon a concept of introducing standardization. But as the countries of the world fall into basic differences regarding the line of economic development

1. De Haas, *Practice of Foreign Trade*, p. 75.

"This means that the nation that is most passive in negotiations with others benefits most since it falls heir to all the benefits that result from negotiations of others without making corresponding sacrifices."

2. Cf. De Haas, *Practice of Foreign Trade*, "a rate applicable to all nations fails to take into account differences in costs of production, standard of living, and all the various factors in which no two nations are wholly alike." Again M. Rist has classified in the following heads the inequalities in conditions of production which place the country granting multilateral concessions in a serious dilemma :—

- (a) Inequalities due to monetary devaluation.
- (b) Those due to differences in home market.
- (c) Those due to social conditions and standard of living.

In all these factors no two nations can show equality.

standardization cannot be achieved without serious harm to many countries.

Hence neither in its working nor in principles, the Most Favoured Nation system has been satisfactory, because it ran counter to the natural economic tendencies and evolution of the nations today.

7. REACTION TOWARDS BILATERAL AGREEMENTS.

Therefore there is now a reaction in favour of purely bilateral and compensatory trade arrangements and the quantitative restrictions on exports and imports. Reciprocity or the exchange of special privileges is the first principle of this system. This is not altogether a new invention of the trading method. It is as old as the Navigation Treaty of 1815 between England and America, and that of 1824 between the United Kingdom and Prussia. Reciprocal reduction of import duties was arranged under the McKinley Tariff Act of 1890 between the U.S.A. and several countries of Latin America. The same principle was extended by the Post-War French Tariff. On this basis commercial treaties were concluded by Czechoslovakia, Estonia, Poland, Portugal, Italy, Canada, Austria, Spain and Germany. About one-third of the World Trade today is on the bilateral basis.¹ And owing to the practice of exchange control and Clearing Agreements followed by many European Countries, such arrangements have become very popular. India has also in her relations with Japan, stepped out of the M. F. N. to the Bilateral type of trade treaty. Moreover, as in case of the Indo-Japanese Trade Agreement, the practice of allotting quotas of imports and exports, is growing much in favour.

8. FACTORS FAVOURABLE TO BILATERALISM.

A careful study of the present day economic conditions, especially of the great depression will give us the following explanation for this change in trading policy :—

(1) A general revision of the tariffs on the downward scale is practically impossible. This is inevitable since the economic interests of various countries are so divergent and their traditional policies so conflicting that at any general conference the countries will group themselves in opposite camps. This will end in a failure. On the other hand more is expected to be accomplished by mutual agreement between two countries where the interests of both can be adjusted.

(2) A general overhauling of the tariffs is very hazardous in

1. Cf. *Review of World Trade*, 1935. (League of Nations).

such a time of severe trade depression and unemployment. Even the advocates of complete free trade advise us that the tariff duties might be changed in a period of boom without greatly disturbing the internal economy, but new methods cannot be enforced during a depression. As Mr. Taylor says "The horizontal lowering of tariff rates is unwise, because the effects are unequal; old injustice is not corrected, but new injustice is committed."¹

Under such conditions, bilateral tariff-changes can be considered the only effective and wise course for a nation. The quota methods have a further justification in the following interesting developments.

(1) The position of exchange is very insecure and fluctuating due to abnormal depreciations. Exchange control and clearing agreements are efforts in the direction of dispensing with the international function of currency. As the fluctuations in exchanges "have prevented costs from influencing prices and prices from influencing volume of movements"—quota system is the logical sequence of exchange restrictions and clearing treaties.

(2) The existence of dumping methods, subsidies, monopolies etc. have made the assessment of tariff duties almost impossible. Even the provisions of the M. F. N. clause were many times, being evaded through secret methods. "No topic is more filled with assumptions, postulates, predilections and prejudices than the Tariff." The hypothesis of tariff duty is now universally rejected since it is based on a principle untenable on general grounds of reasoning and impossible of precise application in practice."²

Under these complicating conditions creating disharmony in international trading relations, the more promising method is that of Bilateral agreements and quota systems. They are not only expedient, but positive, plausible, tangible and negotiable. Even an outstanding authority like Professor Taussig believed that reciprocity, if properly developed, may become an useful weapon for securing by stages a general tariff reduction.³ Again, instead of resenting attempts of the backward, "distress" and debtor countries to develop their trading power, the advanced countries must come to mutual understanding with others as regard the line of economic development so that they may dovetail each other. In this direction, instead of uncertain customs barriers the quota system will be more helpful. This will

1. A. E. Taylor, *The New Deal and Foreign Trade*.

2. *International Economic Relations*.

3. F. W. Taussig, *Foreign Affairs*, 3 April 1933.

be a step towards real internationalism based on clear cut and definite relations.¹

9. CONCLUSION.

Planned Economy and Planned Trade.

It seems that Multiangular Trade belongs to the history of old classical economy. Now the epoch of Bilateralism has come. Warner Sombart had forecasted this development of capitalism long ago that "the forms in which the future of economic relations will be conceived and developed will not be in free trade, nor yet in most favoured-nation-treatment clause, but rather in commercial treaties, customs unions, preferences import quotas etc." Some people have ventured to dub this as a romantic doctrine. Anyhow it is the trade-practice of the pre-classical days, a near approach to barter-methods.

Multiangular trade was based on the central clearing of accounts. London was par excellence a financial centre. In its place now there is a direct clearing of balances. Hence it is in complete harmony with the practice of exchange control and clearing agreements, resorted to by the "distress" countries. Pre-War triangular trade rested on uncontrolled competition. As a matter of logical reaction, the dualistic and channelised methods of recent trading are based on controlled competition. As Mr. Taylor says, "All this is readily reformulated to mean balance trade in external commercial relations second to balance in internal economics." Planned international trade on the basis of Bilateral Treaties seems to be the logical conclusion of Planned Economy. It is a phase of the pragmatic philosophy of the twentieth century.

V. M. BHATT.

1. Cf. Secretary Wallace, *America Must Choose*. "It is easy for foreign countries to talk about triangular and polyangular trade and thus avoid the necessity of forming clear cut trade deals with a given country. But if we are going to trend towards internationalism, it seems to me that the only safe way to handle it is to conclude both loan and trade agreements with foreign countries, as nearly as possible on bilateral basis and not get involved in the confusing complexities of triangular and multi-angular trade with which the economists like to mess up our mind."

REVIEWS

The Nature and Grounds of Political Obligation in the Hindu State,
By J. J. ANJARIA, M.A. (Longmans), Rs. 7-8-0.

The Problem of the Indian Polity. By Prof. R. PRATAPGIRI, M.A.
(Longmans), Rs. 10-0-0.

The Ancient Indian Polity has in more recent years come in for a critical examination at the hands of several Indian Scholars : and we have by now a fair number of productions on this subject comprising both the analytic and synthetic study of the problem. The Ancient Hindu Philosophy, which in the hands of the 18th and 19th Century Western Indologists was supposed to be a mine of spiritual thought alone, has now been made to yield quite a plethora of gems of political thought which needed only to be artistically set in to suit any modern taste. Thus to the ancient Hindus have been ascribed very flattering achievements in an extensive field of Political Thought and Action, e.g. Democracy, Responsible Representative Government, Universal Sovereignty, Authority as Federal (Pluralism versus Monism), Local Autonomy, Social Contract &c. &c. These are said to be only just a few bits, whereas the expectation is that the exhaustless mine will yield still more, if further skilful exploration is carried on. Doubtless the field is vast ; but for any substantial result it invites not so much the flight of imagination as hard toil to arrive at truth. All scientific research aims at finding the truth. It is exactly with the object of getting at the *true* basis of the ancient Hindu State that the two books under review have been undertaken.

The University of Bombay is to be congratulated for the encouragement it has given to the two authors in the matter of these publications. Dr. Thoothi of the Bombay University Sociological Department deserves all credit for the inspiration and guidance he has given to the authors in the preparation and general get-up of these two productions. The sponsoring of these books by Prof. Wadia and Principal McKenzie leaves no doubt that the Wilson College is doing its useful bit by way of co-operating with the University in research.

Why did men obey the State in ancient India ? What were the relations of the individual and the State ? Mr. Anjaria in his "Nature and Grounds of Political Obligations in the Hindu State" frankly admits that he sees no clearly-defined, coherently worked out theory of

the State among the Ancients in the manner that Western authors of Political Science have, when they handle their views and give them a scientific setting. The author is therefore driven to the necessity of picking up political thoughts pertinent to his subject from all the important philosophical and religious works of Ancient India, the Mahābhārata, the Upanishads, Manusmṛiti, Kautilya's Arthashastra, Yajñavalkya, Śukra, the Buddhist and Jain texts; and then places those thoughts methodically in the crucible of well known Western theories relating to the origin of the State, e.g., the Divine Right Theory, the Contractual Theory, the Force Theory and the Theory of the State as an Organism. While he is unable to find any one of these well-known theories holding undisputed sway in the pretty wide realm of Hindu thought, he sees a fair prominence given to some semblance of Divine Right Theory backed by Force Theory (Danda-Nīti) with just a glimmering but elusive light thrown by the theory of Contract and the Organic Theory. Obviously he is not pleased with his findings. It is indeed revolting to the modern freedom-loving and rational mind no less than it should have been to the philosophic Hindu of yore as we take our ancestor to be, reconcile himself to this slavish attitude towards life which imposes Authority on him from above—an irrational irresponsible fungus that is represented by interested parties (e.g. the Brahmins), to have somehow sprouted from God above and thrown forth into the world to flourish as God on earth; and the same interested party viz., the Brahmin-Philosopher, Law-giver and Versifier believing that this complete surrender of human freedom at the altar of this fiction of Divinity on earth may not last long and fearing that the mask may be torn and the disillusioned rational human mind may see in this much vaunted idea of the incarnation of God nothing but a Colossus stuffed with Clouts, another bogey i.e. the Divinely-ordained Rod of Chastisement—the whole Code of Danda Nīti is conjured up to buttress Authority. Divine Right and Force will not help much in answering the question "Why did men obey?". The Theory of Contract as applicable to Ancient India bristles with difficulties not quite easy to get over in spite of the support given to it by some previous Indian workers in this field of thought. Mr. Anjaria would, therefore, love to go to the Theory of the State as a moral organism for the solution of all his difficulties; and he finds a clue in the word Dharma—, that marvellous compendium of Hindu thought and life of Here and Hereafter. The Ancient Hindu's life is summed up in the fulfilment of Dharma—his moral and Spiritual Law. Who will guarantee it best and promote it most, if not the king? The State, the King and the Dharma being really convertible terms, the ground for political obligation is at once

discovered ; Man's entire moral being is fulfilled by his observance of Dharma and Dharma is under the special protection of the State. He thus sees himself in the State ; and he obeys it because he finds his complete self-realisation in it. Well may Hegel and Green have come to school to the Ancient Indian Political Philosophy !

But there is a fly in the ointment. Dharma has under its aegis the all-powerful institution of Swadharma making for inexorable and eternal differentiations and cleavages among people. The Varna-Ashrama—apparently a harmless social and economic structure based on Division of Labour—, perpetuates, under the garb of awful religious injunctions, a state of iniquity and unrighteousness by making the Ancient Hindu State a 'class' State,—a State for the few privileged ones, condemning the many to the lot of slaves, serfs or at best menials—mere 'instruments' for the dominance of the few. If Authority is summed up in the King, it is precisely because he is to uphold Dharma i.e. to see that Swadharma of each caste, of each group is rigidly observed. The violation of that Swadharma is again to be met under differential treatment. The Brahmin goes practically scot-free and the already condemned Sudra—the Helot and the Have-not, is to be the object of all conceivable torture. Under *this* ideal of upholding of Dharma there is scarcely any room for common life, citizenship for all or complete identification of the individual with the State. Why should the inferiority-branded individual obey the State ? What-ever else may bend him down before authority, it is inconceivable that he can love the State which does not administer one Law impartially to all. Where comes in the visualisation of the State as a moral organism ? The hope of Dharma as the possible nexus between the individual and the State recedes as Swadharma comes into fateful prominence. Add to this powerfully disintegrating force the teachings of the Law of Karma and the pessimistic attitude of life towards worldly pursuits and human ties viewed as so many toils from which the real self must break away to achieve salvation—Moksh—, the be-all and the end-all of the existence, and we find it difficult to place our hands on any political fabric or any really tangible substantial socio-political thought. Dharma, Swadharma and Karma scarcely give the individual (except to the Heaven-born 'caste' people) any interest or joy in life and leave him dismally cold as regards the future, when the maintaining of this *status-quo* is exactly upheld as the sacrosanct part of the Dharma. In vain may Mr. Anjaria look for the State as a moral organism in the Ancient Hindu Thought ; and well may he fondly hope for a regeneration or a re-formulation of the idea of Dharma which makes it possible for *all* to live up to the ideal polity

where, as Miss Follett says "the true nature of every man is found only in the whole."

Within the range of investigation made by Mr. Anjaria the result is creditable,—clear, straightforward and unassuming. The book is a thesis that got him a well-earned first class M.A. degree. It is an honest piece of research work. The presentation of the matter is flawless. The style is lucid, unencumbered with obtrusive scholarship. It is a thoroughly readable book which can safely be recommended to the general reader. University students preparing for B.A. and M.A. examinations in Politics will also find it a profitable reading.

Prof. Pratapgiri's "The problem of the Indian Polity" is an ambitious attempt at not only diagnosing the malaise in the Ancient Indian State but transforming and elevating the Central idea of Dharma into the messiah of the new World Order. In his hands the problem of Indian Polity becomes the world problem; and peace, harmony and infinite perfectibility of mankind can be achieved only by re-visualising Dharma divested of all jarring notes of unsocial Swadharms of all inequalities, racial, social, economic, political and what not. The Kingdom of God on earth is the ideal of the book—and Love, Divine Love entering the bosom of all towards all alone can fulfil "the Divine Purpose" that the world must eternally cherish. Towards its latter part the book leaves an impression on the reader that the author aims more at evangelism than at a scientific handling of a socio-political problem dissected in the cold light of reason in the laboratory of Ancient Hindu thought. The difficulties of combining the role of a reformer with that of a student are obviously felt in the perusal of this book. Much valuable scholarship gets unfortunately marred by digressions, repetitions by the striking of blows at opponents and even by occasional lapses from good taste in the presentment of the subject matter. All the same the author deserves credit for the service he has rendered us by presenting the problem of the Indian Polity in a fresh light. The chapters on Education and Citizenship are highly instructive.

A considerable part of the book deals with a critical analysis of the various schools of Ancient Indian Philosophy—Brahmanic, Ascetic and Buddhist down to Sankara. This philosophy according to the author is completely bare of Ethics, has no place in it for social morality, and is, therefore, if not anti-social at least non-social and non-moral. The seeking of the self, and the Renunciations of all the worldly pursuits and ties which detract one from the True Path of Moksha cannot possibly inculcate in the soul of the ancient Hindu anything bordering on other-regarding thought or feeling. On top of it comes the Varna-Ashrama intensifying group-exclusiveness as a

part of one's religious creed which one may dare transgress only at the peril of one's Soul. The very system of Education, if indeed there was any system, helped in developing that attitude towards life which should mean negation of *common* morality and social solidarity. In this view of Ancient Philosophy the author finds himself happily supported by Dr. McKenzie's work on "Hindu Ethics." Notwithstanding this valuable support it is doubtful if his views will receive countenance from every one. Chastity, Truthfulness, Sympathy, Pity, Forbearance, Forgiveness, Absence of Deceit and Fraud and Anger &c. all are social virtues and make for social ethics. Never was it maintained by any the most secluded and feeble-bodied ascetic of the forest that he would realise his true Self—his Atman in Union with Brahman by turning a deaf ear to the cry of distress or misery proceeding not only from his fellow-men but even the animal world down to the meanest worm. The Mahabharata itself is a treasure-house of this teaching. Ahimsa and Maitri extended to the whole creation have been the most lovable features of ancient Indian life. Self-sacrifice and Self-denial in the interest of the meanest creature comes to the forefront in most of the ancient Hindu literature. That is exactly where we take pride in our ancient heritage. Everybody's hand against the throat of everybody, in spite of the plaintive exhortations of the Master whose follower the European Christians profess to be, was never the lot of the Ancient Hindus. Even the Varna-Ashrama or Swadharma is really no impassable barrier to social ethics. Is there no truth in Burke's famous aphorism, "To be attached to the subdivision, to love the little platoon we belong to in society, is the first principal germ as it were of public affection?" Indeed, the point that ethics formed no part of ancient Hindu Philosophy is scarcely worth a refutation. The Philosophy of Moksha is inconceivable if tainted with selfishness.

Prof. Pratapgiri is on a pretty surer ground when, like Mr. Anjaria though with a different method, he shows the Hindu State to be a 'Class' State with privileged orders, the State not for all in the sense that it permitted the superior castes to use the inferior and conquered races (the Sudras) as mere instruments. The staying power of the State—the Monarch—who is called the 'key-stone of the social arch' is the protector and upholder of Dharma which is unfortunately rendered politically weaker by a rigid water-tight compartmental working of 'group' life in Swadharma. The end of the Hindu State is apparently to uphold Dharma (Law); but the *ideal* is vitiated by the perpetuation of Inequality as we modern people understand the term. It is not the same Law for all; it is not the same opportunity for all. This strikes at the root of *Political* solidarity and the absolute

oneness of the State. Incidentally it also compels each group—, particularly the lowest ones to look for *their* salvation in their own 'group' life and consequently to give practically all their loyalty to their own 'groups' by minimising points of contact with other groups as well as with the larger whole called the State. In face of this phenomenon of ancient Hindu political life, it will not do to be over-emphatic about the prevalence of State Sovereignty, an all pervasive, all-inclusive, one and indivisible sovereignty and to make no allowance for a measure of Pluralism, Decentralisation, Federalism or whatever other modern expression may be useful for conveying the idea that political life of the ancients was not unified, not centralised, not circumscribed by one and one force only viz. the Monarch, backed though he may have been by the ministers, the sacerdotal and military orders or the whole host of Danda-Niti. A dogmatic assertion on this dubious point will not carry weight. Words, indeed have a glamour of their own. Rajan and Praja (Father and children) do convey an idea of Paternalism in Ancient India; but that is consistent with the simple, homely way of looking at all life in that good old world. Ubiquitous Sovereignty that makes itself acceptable to the entire life of the individual is scarcely compatible with another synonym for the king कृष्णभक्तानी "One-sixth receiver"—, just a paid servant or an unavoidable excrescence. The plough in the furrow may very well have hummed the tune "Kings may come and Kings may go but I go on for ever." It is best to do without the universal application of absolute sovereignty in Ancient India.

We wish the State were all that wonderful moral organism that Prof. Pratapgiri in his praise-worthy spirit of discipleship to the great philosopher T. H. Green would have of the Indian State of the past, the present and the future wherein the individual sees the summum bonum of his life—the entire enrichment of his individualism—admitting of no differences whatever between the individual and the State. Idealism is certainly the joy of life for many; and idealism knows no bounds. Not only the Indian Polity of the future but even of the World State is to be built by the author on the same lines, if only people were more religious,—rather more filled with 'Divine Purpose' as is the word used in the book. Is this mysticism or Rationalism? Inscrutable 'Divinity' may not be easily measured in terms of mere human rationalism. And who, by the way, is to be the interpreter of 'Divine Purpose'? The Brahmin, of course! And what may be channel of its descent on Earth—, Mount Sinai or the Tower of Babel?

T. K. S.

The Tudors. By CONYARS READ, pp. xi + 264. Oxford University Press, 1936, 7s. 6d.

Dr. Conyars Read is well known to students of English History as the author of the indispensable "Bibliography of British History, Tudor Period." As is sometimes inevitable, the historian is carried away by the subject of his studies and in the book under review Dr. Read openly confesses his admiration for the three outstanding rulers of the dynasty.

The "book is designed to give a brief survey of the history of England under the Tudors." It is, therefore, not the aim of the author to cross swords with critics of the Tudor regime, and the book is, of necessity, the statement of a categorical viewpoint, sometimes verging even on dogmatism. It is divided into five chapters, one to each member of the dynasty. Queen Elizabeth gets the lion's share, but it is to Henry VIII that the author warms most. Henry according to him "was the greatest parliamentarian that ever sat on the English Throne" and came at the most opportune moment to shape the future of popular government.

During 1932-1934 there was in England a distinct awakening of popular interest in the history of the country. To mention only a few instances, two books on John Hampden, Buchan's Oliver Cromwell, Churchill's Marlborough and Prof. Neale's Queen Elizabeth were best sellers for a long time. This interest spread even to the stage and there were two successful plays about the Tudors running in London at the same time. But this revival of interest also gave birth to what Dr. Read calls bad history "written by scribes who have no other qualification for the task than an easy hand with the pen and a keen nose for the sensational and salacious." Dr. Read sees no reason why good history should not be as interesting as bad history. And in mainly to defend his thesis and to dispense "sound history to the people at large" that he has written this book. We wish Dr. Read all success in his crusade against bad history.

P. M. J.

Economic Policies and Peace. By SIR ARTHUR SALTER. (The Hogarth Press.)

This is Merttens Lecture for 1936 in published form. The lecturer starts by pointing out the close connection between economics and politics particularly at the present time. His main problem is: what sort of economic policy can today take us nearer peace? The

world today is more than ever on the brink of a catastrophe. Every intelligent citizen is therefore concerned with the immediate and pressing problem of preserving the essentials of a civilised existence. But we have no time for long run remedies. The danger stares us in the face. It may leap upon us any moment. There is no scope for fundamental analysis. Sir Arthur Salter seeks to formulate economic policy that would help to avert the disaster immediately.

What were the main causes of the last great war? Not so much the greed for territory or economic advantage, as the desire on the part of each of the great powers to secure additional prestige. "The issues of war and peace," says Sir Arthur, "turn more upon prestige than upon the merits of the actual dispute or the value of the tangible prize." We need a system which would make this competitive scramble for power and prestige impossible. We must put an end to international anarchy. "No removal of either economic or political causes of war, unless some system of international government is also built up, can put an end to wars."

The League of Nations was created exactly to secure this end. But we all know what it has come to. In the opinion of Sir Arthur Salter the League can still achieve something if only it knew how to set off one explosive force against another. It is only when such forces are allowed to combine that they bring about a mighty conflagration. The world depression has driven people to despair. They are now the easy prey of dictators. Countries like Germany and Italy are suffering from inferiority complex. There is the general clash between the democratic and the dictatorial systems of government. The task of statesmanship then is to see that these forces counteract one another. What *naïveté*!

Of all these factors the economic factor is perhaps the most important. Economic policy must aim not merely at restoring prosperity but at securing the conditions of peace. And here the lecturer gives us his sovereign remedy. An 'open door' in colonial policy, the extension of the international mandate system, some injunctions to the Ambassadors in foreign capitals not to press for special advantages but just to protect the rights of their nationals, the non-intervention by States for the purpose of collecting moneys from citizens of other States, tariff reforms so as to prevent dumping and discrimination—these are his main suggestions. These economic policies, he thinks, would make for peace.

Sir Arthur must be an incorrigible optimist indeed. Are there really any short-cuts to peace? Judging from the trend of events from day to day, do we not feel that the policy of setting off the

various conflicting economic and political forces can at best preserve a precarious 'peace' for a short time. No setting up of international *machinery* or any diplomatic *machinery* can help. So far as the immediate problem is concerned, one can only be highly sceptical of the success of any scheme. And for the long run problem, such tinkering as Sir Arthur suggests or would suggest cannot help us. The malady is far too deep-seated. Our problem today is ultimately none other than that of the anarchy of values. And that involves at any rate the readiness to grant that traditional solutions repeated now and again with a few changes in emphasis may only irritate and exasperate.

J. J. A.

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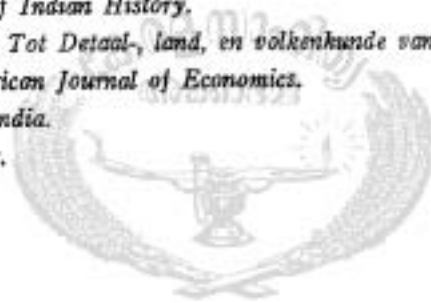
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PART VI

WILLIAM WORDSWORTH

The reverent student of English poetry has sooner or later to tackle the problem of William Wordsworth. The school-boy is permitted only to read exquisite, dainty pieces like *The Rainbow* or *The Solitary Reaper* and he is happy with his Wordsworth; a similar Heaven, alas, is denied to the serious student of literature who has, willy nilly, to take Wordsworth *en masse* and evaluate him. Such a student, let us suppose, sits with a copy of the "Complete Poetical Works of William Wordsworth" in the Oxford or Ward Lock edition. The volume is abnormally heavy and runs to about 1000 double column pages of microscopic type; but then, the student argues, if one lives to be eighty and writes poetry all through one's life, is it at all surprising? The student perseveres; he scans the 'contents,' about 25 pages in length; he reads some of the sub-headings, "Poems written in youth" "Poems on the naming of places" "Poems of the fancy" "Poems of the imagination" "Memorials of a tour in Scotland" "Poems dedicated to national independence and liberty" "Ecclesiastical sonnets" "Evening Voluntaries" "Poems of sentiment and reflection" "Sonnets upon the punishment of death" and so forth and so on. This William Wordsworth must have been a tireless versifier indeed! Memorials of tours, adaptations of Chaucer, autobiographical divagations, verses on man or bird or beast or tree or rock, political fulminations, sleepy sermons,—were there any limits to the interests of this poet, any exclusions in the inventory of his poetic Old Curiosity Shop? ... Our hypothetical

student nervously glances over the pages and reads the poet's own 'notes' here and there, sights the "Preface" to the "Lyrical Ballads," is up against extra 'notes,' and is finally more puzzled than ever. Why did Wordsworth (who everybody says was a very great poet) bother to write prosy prefaces and even more prosy notes to his own poems? Could he not have left it all to critics, commentators and professors? There should have been, the student tentatively concludes, a streak of the obvious and the emphatic in Wordsworth's mental fabric that would countenance the comic spectacle of a great poet explaining in commonplace prose the incommunicable intuitions in his own poems.

The paradoxes in the Wordsworthian universe have not all been catalogued yet. The student reads on and on and is delighted and surprised and pained and ashamed by turns. A profound abyss seems to separate the crests and cusps in Wordsworth's poetry. From the untranslatable splendour of *The Education of Nature* or *The Affliction of Margaret*, it is nasty to have to read *Goody Blake* or even *The Idiot Boy*. Had not Wordsworth discrimination enough to know the grain from the chaff? The puzzled student turns in despair to Wordsworth's critics and biographers. He refers to Reviews one hundred or more years old to gauge contemporary reactions to Wordsworth's poetry. A surprise packet awaits him and crackers cackle to his infinite merriment. This is how the *Monthly Review* of 1793 chose to greet Wordsworth's first work, *Descriptive Sketches* :

"More descriptive poetry! Have we not yet enough? Must eternal changes be rung on upland and lowland, and nodding forests and brooding clouds, and cells, and dells, and dingies. Yes; more and yet more: so it is decreed."

Other journals were not less pontifical but only more impertinent: Wordsworth was a member of a group of "whining and hypochondriacal poets"; he had "scarcely ever condescended to give grace or correctness or melody to his versification"; *Alice Fell* was "an insult on public taste"; *The Excursion* was "longer, weaker and tamer than any of Mr. Wordsworth's other productions"; *The White Doe of Rylstone* was "the very worst poem we ever saw imprinted in a quarto volume"; and the Immortality Ode was "beyond doubt the most illegible and unintelligible part of the publication." The critics who made such pronouncements were not lunatics but were typical products of English education and culture. And they had no personal animus against the poet they so castigated. How then was it that their estimates so completely missed the mark?

The paradox of a supreme poet writing futile 'notes' on his own poems; the paradox of glaring inequality in his published work;

the paradox of contemporary, undeserved obloquy and posthumous, often exaggerated fame; but there are more to come. The poet Wordsworth wrote poems; and Wordsworth the partisan of Wordsworthianism wrote 'Prefaces' formulating a theory of poetic diction and thereby justifying his practice. Dr. Jekyll had evolved out of chaos his Mr. Hyde; soon, however, Mr. Hyde overpowered the good Doctor and became the more dominant partner. Thus it happened with Wordsworth as he grew older; it was not so much the theorist trying to justify the practice of the poet but rather the versifier trying to justify the conclusions of the theorist. Again, it is apparent to the diligent student, that in poem after poem Wordsworth merely falsifies his own and everybody's experiences in his search after the will-o'-the-wisp of hope and contentment. Some of the Lucy poems, the wail of Margaret, the story of Laodamia or of George and Sarah Green or of the Hart-leap Well, they are all piercing lamentations and nearly howls of despair. Wordsworth knew these things, had felt these things; but he *would* moralise and sermonise, talk high falutin stuff on duty, hopefulness, contentment and man's heritage of happiness! How shall we reconcile Wordsworth's immediate intuitions of men and things with his own sober faith and sedate moralisings?

It is sometimes said in extenuation of these paradoxes in the Wordsworthian poetical universe that, at any rate, in all he did and thought and wrote, Wordsworth had been courageously and unflinchingly *sincere*; what would you expect more from a poet, even from a great poet? But since Professor Harper's exposure of the details of Wordsworth's affair with Annette Vallon in France between 1791-92, even such a tenuous flattering unction cannot be laid to the soul of the Wordsworthian. Everyone would admit that the experience must have profoundly affected Wordsworth; but it was this experience, in Mr. Herbert Read's words, that "Wordsworth saw fit to hide—to bury in the most complete secrecy and mask with a long-sustained hypocrisy." *The Prelude* no doubt attempts to unfold the life-history of Wordsworth; but how far are we entitled to look upon it as an *accurate* account of what had really happened and what Wordsworth had really thought! There are omissions and there are exaggerations; there is "a heightening of bright colours, and a voluntary omission of more sombre hues" (Legouis); and it is too partial to be sincere autobiography and too personal to typify the growth of the human soul itself in the abstract.

It is necessary we should be able to reconcile these manifold contradictions if we are to succeed in understanding Wordsworth's life and poetic achievement. To say that in Wordsworth there coexisted two souls, the soul of a great poet and the soul of a village idiot, and

thus dismiss the problem is too brazen a way out of the difficulty. And yet so discerning a critic of life and letters as the late A. Clutton-Brock commits exactly this mistake : " (Wordsworth) divided himself without knowing it. Besides the poet who remained on certain points eager, free and passionate, there was the mediocre person who refused thought, passion, discovery, and for whom verse-making was a hobby. This other Wordsworth saw Wordsworth the poet as a kind of institution never to be criticised ; it acted as secretary to the poet and wrote those curious, dull notes at the head of his poems, besides, unfortunately, writing many verses of its own." It is so simple, so conveniently satisfying an explanation : but is it true ? On the contrary, Mr. Earle Welby has remarked, " our one chance of understanding Wordsworth and his noble and inestimably salutary influence over the modern mind is to hold constantly to the truth that his most disastrous, his most ludicrous failures proceed from the conception of himself and of poetry which gave us his loftiest successes." It will be the aim of this paper to adjudicate between the views of Clutton-Brock and Earle Welby ; but before that can be attempted, we should trace the main events in Wordsworth's life and relate them to his career as poet.

William Wordsworth was born at Cockermouth, in Cumberland, on the 7th April, 1770. His father was law-agent to Sir James Yowther, afterwards Earl of Lonsdale. With his brothers, John and Christopher, and his sister, Dorothy, William presumably had many pleasant hours, roaming in the countryside or bathing in the river or giving vent to boyish fancies. However, calamities overtook the family one after another ; the mother died when William was only eight :

Early died

My honoured Mother, she who was the heart
And hinge of all our learnings and our loves :
She left us destitute, and, as we might,
Trooping together.

Five years later the father died too, leaving the orphans very little cash. There was, of course, an unsettled claim on Lonsdale for £ 5,000. For the time being, however, the Wordsworths had to live with their maternal grand-parents. Life could not have been too jolly for the orphans ; Dorothy used to sob, " we have no father to protect, no mother to guide us " ; but William's education was attended to and he was sent to the school at Hawkshead. We catch glimpses of Wordsworth's early life, coloured perhaps by the middle age prism of *The Prelude*, in the first two books of that poem :

Fair seed-time had my soul, and I grew up
Fostered alike by beauty and by fear ;
Much favoured in my birth-place, and no less

In that beloved Vale to which ere long
 We were transplanted—there were we let loose
 For sports of wider range...
 We ran a boisterous course ; the year span round
 With giddy motion....

When summer came,
 Our pastime was, on bright half-holidays,
 To sweep along the plain of Windermere
 With rival oars ; and the selected bourne
 Was now an Island musical with birds
 That sang and ceased not....

My seventeenth year was come...

I, at this time,
 Saw blessings spread around me like a sea.
 Thus while the days flew by, and years passed on,
 From Nature and her overflowing soul,
 I had received so much, that all my thoughts
 Were steeped in feeling ; I was only then
 Contented, when with bliss ineffable
 I felt the sentiment of Being spread
 O'er all that moves and all that seemeth still...

Did the boy William Wordsworth think and feel just like that ? They are neither a perfectly accurate account of what happened to the boy William nor a consciously put-up job by the poet Wordsworth. In these passages a mature Wordsworth, thirty-five years old, is trying hard to recapture the fugitive imaginings and impressions of a boy of ten or fifteen or seventeen ; and hence a certain idealisation, a certain deflection from absolute veracity, is inevitable. As Mr. Read argues : "It is not Wordsworth's sincerity that is in question ; a great poem like *The Prelude* could never have been written without the deepest sense of sincerity. But sincerity is not truth ; it is only conviction—a state of belief directed towards some arbitrary end." It was Wordsworth's aim to select only such circumstances from his early life that might justify his message of joy and hope ; to give also that colouring of the imagination to the incidents of his life and the evolution of his mind that his main argument might be amply reinforced by the appeal of the poetry itself.

In 1787 Wordsworth went to Cambridge. For about four years he was at the University. He took his degree without distinction in 1791. College life apparently did not fascinate Wordsworth ; he was in Cambridge, not of it ; studies bored him, examinations were a nuisance, and the future was a blank. Wordsworth had little or no money left out of his father's cash ; neither could he apply himself to preparing for some particular profession. Wordsworth, at the dangerous age of twenty, was just dreaming things, was drifting aimlessly. In the third Book of *The Prelude* Wordsworth gives a fairly

interesting account of his "residence at Cambridge"; at the outset he says in semi-ironic disdain :

Of College labours, of the Lecturer's room
All studded round, as thick as chairs could stand,
With loyal students, faithful to their books,
Half-and-half idlers, hardy recusants,
And honest dunces—of important days,
Examinations, when man was weighed
As in a balance! of excessive hopes...
Let others that know more speak as they know.

Wordsworth, for his part, will speak of other things ; of St. John's College and its three Gothic courts, of Trinity's loquacious clock, of the statue of Newton, of memories of Chaucer, sweet Spenser, Milton the temperate Bard, of the general futility of the four years in Cambridge. He confesses :

We sauntered, played, or rioted ; we talked
Unprofitable talk at morning hours ;
Drifted about along the streets and walks,
Read lazily in trivial books...

Thus life in Cambridge passed and thus, with the examination very near, Wordsworth coolly went on a walking expedition to the Alps, and thus too, when he had at last taken the degree, he bravely settled down to a life of inactivity in London.

Meanwhile the Revolution was registering its first triumphs across the channel. The fall of the Bastille in July 1789 when Wordsworth was still at Cambridge was being acclaimed as an event of momentous significance. Probably Wordsworth got familiar with the works of Rousseau and Erasmus Darwin and obscurely worked out at this time the theoretical framework for his almost instinctive reactions to the Revolution. The levelling up of society in France seemed a natural, desirable thing ; Wordsworth wanted to visit the scene of all these tremendous experiments and hence set out for Orleans in November 1791. The ninth Book of *The Prelude* takes us to Wordsworth's adventures in France : there was Paris—

In both her clamorous halls,
The National Synod and the Jacobins,
I saw the Revolutionary Power
Toss like a ship at anchor, rocked by storms ;
The Arcades I traversed, in the Palace huge
Of Orleans ; coasted round and round the line
Of tavern, Brothel, Gaming-house, and shop,
Great rendezvous of worst and best, the walk
Of all who had a purpose, or had not.

Here Wordsworth met Beaupuy, a revolutionary and romantic officer, who is described vividly in the lines :

He through the events
Of that great change wandered in perfect faith,
As through a book, an old romance, or tale
Of Fairy, or some dream of actions wrought
Behind the summer clouds.

So very enthusiastic about the revolutionaries, it is small wonder Wordsworth identified himself with the Girondists, had even hopes of becoming the leader of the party, and anyhow was within an ace of being guillotined; fortunately, though, Wordsworth ran short of funds, his French friends betrayed an increasing distrust of his leadership, and consequently Wordsworth returned to England in time.

At this point it is necessary to relate the intriguing Annette Vallon episode. There had always seemed some mystery about Wordsworth's abrupt (even allowing for the lack of funds) return to England at the close of 1792. There had been rumours and unexplained allusions in the Wordsworths' letters and Dorothy's journals. During the past few decades the researches of Professors Harper and Legouis have unravelled the veils that like a thick skein had been thrown over by Wordsworth on his French experiences. The facts that have been brought to light are these: during his stay at Orleans, Wordsworth became intimate with a certain Paul Vallon and his sister, Annette, a sprightly lady of twenty-five. Wordsworth at first considered Annette his French tutor; but soon they were in love with each other and Annette "carried about her for a secret grief, the promise of a mother." When Annette went to her native town of Blois, Wordsworth followed her; and both returned to Orleans in September 1792. Conditions were difficult for Wordsworth and he fled to Paris where he lingered on till in December he heard news of the birth of his daughter, Anne Caroline Wordsworth: in France there was nothing more to do, and, broken and dispirited, he sailed back to England.

The Prelude is silent about the Annette Vallon episode; there is however another poem, *Vaudracour and Julia*, written not later than 1805, perhaps several years earlier, in which critics have discovered clear traces of the broken romance. The prefatorial note to the poem states, "The facts are true; no invention as to these has been exercised, as none was needed." The scene is laid in France: the high-born Vaudracour

wooed a maid
Who heard the heart-felt music of his suit
With answering vows.

But owing to the difference in station between the lovers, Vaudracour's father

With haughty indignation spurned the thought
Of such alliance.

The lovers were not to be parted, however ; they met in secret and swore eternal troth :

So passed the time, till whether through effect
Of some unguarded moment that dissolved
Virtuous restraint—ah, speak it, think it not !
Deem rather that the fervent Youth, who saw
So many bars between his present state
And the dear haven where he wished to be
In honourable wedlock with his Love,
Was in his judgment tempted to decline
To perilous weakness, and entrust his cause
To nature for a happy end of all.

In due course the child is born and the lovers try all means to hoodwink the parents, though in vain. Vaudracour hopes still to marry Julia and live with her in peace and comfort. But—

Fond Youth ! that mournful solace now must pass
Into the list of things that cannot be !
Unwedded Julia, terror-smitten, hears
The sentence, by her mother's lip pronounced,
That dooms her to a convent.

As for Vaudracour he retires to the forest with the "senseless Little-one" where he tends the orphan till such time when it dies "by some mistake or indiscretion of the Father." And—

in those solitary shades
His days he wasted, an imbecile mind.

Mr. Herbert Read finds rightly in *Vaudracour and Julia*, as in Wordsworth and Annette, "the same delirious passion, the same sense of frustration, the same atmosphere of intrigue and concealment, and then a forced parting and 'the stings of viperous remorse, trying their strength.'" Granted all this, how are we going to explain Wordsworth's desertion of Annette after his child had been born ? It is likely that the opposition to his marriage came rather from Annette's guardians who were Catholics and Royalists and to whom marriage with a Deist and Republican should have been anathema. It is a fact that Wordsworth later on made ample provision for his daughter, even had friendly meetings with Annette in France. Be that as it may, Wordsworth had to tear himself away from the Annette he passionately loved and on his return to England in 1792 had to give her up for ever. It was enough to corrode the very texture of his existence : and that is just what happened.

Frustrated in his first love, Wordsworth turned to his other love, France herself : and equally final was his disappointment. The September massacres were on no account to be justified : it was good-bye to Wordsworth's dream of liberty, equality and fraternity, here

and now. The jeremiads in the tenth Book of *The Prelude* are touching :

Under worst trials was I driven to think
Of the glad times when first I traversed France
A youthful pilgrim ; above all reviewed
That eventide, when under windows bright
With happy faces and with garlands hung,
And through a rainbow-arch that spanned the street,
Triumphal pomp for liberty confirmed,
I paced, a dear companion at my side,—

(this, probably a reference to Annette)

The town of Arras, whence with promise high
Issued, on delegation to sustain
Humanity and right, *that* Robespierre,
He who thereafter, and in how short a time !
Wielded the sceptre of the Atheist crew . . .
As Lear reproached the winds—I could almost
Have quarrelled with that blameless spectacle
For lingering yet an image in my mind
To mock me under such a strange reverse.

From now on Wordsworth could only see and suffer—see England at war with France and suffer with the victims. Practical as he was, Wordsworth could not long hug to his bosom the phantom of a theoretical Utopia ; in this he was very unlike Shelley. As Professor Dowden states the contrast, " for Shelley, whether France were enslaved or free, liberty remained. But such political passion as Wordsworth's united itself with an actual cause. It was roused by the presence of the elements of noble national life, not somewhere apart in the air, not in some remote political *primum mobile*, but in the veritable life of a nation. For such poetry of revolution, after the regime of the Directory and the 18th Brumaire, the career was closed." In the tragedy, *The Borderers*, which Wordsworth wrote at this period and which consequently breathes " a well nigh absolute, though transient, pessimism," occurs the suggestive asseveration ;

Suffering is permanent, obscure, and dark,
And shares the nature of infinity.

Such suffering could not help poisoning the hidden wells of his being, could not help hardening his sensibility, could not help deflecting the tenour of his thoughts and feelings, his very humanity. How harrowing the thoughts of unfulfilment, the pangs of defeat, may be gauged from this well-known passage :

Most melancholy at that time, O Friend !
Were my day-thoughts,—my nights were miserable ;
Through months, through years, long after the last beat
Of those atrocities, the hour of sleep

To me came rarely charged with natural gifts,
 Such ghastly visions had I of despair
 And tyranny and implements of death;
 And innocent victims sinking under fear,
 And momentary hope, and worn-out prayer...

Then suddenly the scene
 Changed, and the unbroken dream entangled me
 In long orations, which I strove to plead
 Before unjust tribunals,—with a voice
 Labouring, a brain confounded, and a sense
 Death-like of treacherous desertion, felt
 In the last place of refuge—my own soul.

It is the poignant moan of the dark being, conscious of sin and "treacherous desertion," brooding starkly over the fatal unescapable. Love had failed; humanity, in himself and in others, had failed; what was there left to live for? Wordsworth, in the piquant language of Mr. Clutton-Brock, "had been in love, not only with one woman but with the universe, and he had been jilted; so he cut the very capacity for such love, in its completeness, out of his mind." In London he sought the temple of Reason; he studied William Godwin; he demanded formal proof and sought it in everything; he thwarted himself, he very nearly destroyed himself.

Now also Wordsworth began to consider himself seriously as a poet. *An Evening Walk* and *Descriptive Sketches* were published in 1793. The five years between 1793 and 1798 might be called the prelude to Wordsworth's poetic career. Till 1795 he lived an extremely desultory life in London and thereabouts, only fitfully seeing his few relations and fewer acquaintances. He however enjoyed the friendship and admiration of the young Raisley Calvert, who, when he died of consumption in 1795, left his friend a legacy of £900. This was a god-send to Wordsworth and enabled him to settle down at Racedown in Dorset with his beloved sister Dorothy. Wordsworth has referred to her often in his works, and she deserved all the praise bestowed upon her and more too. Dorothy was

The One for whom my heart shall ever beat
 With tenderest love.

In *The Prelude* he addresses Dorothy in the lines—

I too exclusively esteemed *that* love
 And sought *that* beauty, which, as Milton sings,
 Hath terror in it. Thou didst soften down
 This over-sternness; but for thee, dear Friend!
 My soul, too reckless of mild grace, had stood
 In her original self too confident,
 Retaining too long a countenance severe...

Dorothy was just the saviour needed to soothen and quieten Wordsworth after the recent spiritual crisis in his life. She was the

eternal feminine, with unerring intuitions into the truth of things, with a mother's solicitude and affection, with a poet's rich sensibility. In the next few years she was to reclaim Wordsworth from the land of lost souls, to act as his first public, sympathetic, understanding, appreciative. "She called forth," in Lowell's words, "the shy sensibilities of his nature and taught an originally harsh and austere imagination to surround itself with fancy and feeling." In after years, as Wordsworth rusted more and more or as the onerous duties of a Stamp-Distributor told upon his faith, he could always seek the company of his sister and recover his poetic conscience. She was, it can safely be said, "the nurse, the guide, the guardian of my heart, and soul of all moral being." In the company of Dorothy, in mountain rambles and prolonged flirtations with objects of Nature like a flower or a bird or a tree, and in turning such experiences into the mould of poetry—in these Wordsworth camouflaged his viperous remorse, his anguish, his whole past. "Wordsworth was recovering his stability, finding his ideal self or personality, his philosophy of nature and his poetic genius; he was losing Annette, his faith in youth and change, his fundamental honesty." (Herbert Read)

About this time Wordsworth met Coleridge at Bristol and laid the foundations of their fruitful friendship. Coleridge was already a friend and brother-in-law of Robert Southey's and was known to be a brilliant preacher and conversationalist. In June 1797 Coleridge paid a visit to the Wordsworths at Racedown. Surely three such poetic souls like Wordsworth, Dorothy and Coleridge have seldom come together. We need not go into the question of Dorothy's love for Coleridge: references in her Journals, though dubious, may admit of that hypothesis: what is however indisputable is that the three got on very well together and that among the first fruits of their friendship and collaboration was *The Lyrical Ballads*, published in September 1798. In his *Biographia Literaria* Coleridge explains the origin of *The Lyrical Ballads*:

"The thought suggested itself—to which of us I do not recollect—that a series of poems might be composed of two sorts. In one, the incidents and agents were to be, in part at least, supernatural; and the excellence aimed at was to consist in the interesting of the affections by the dramatic truth of such emotions. . . . For the second class, subjects were to be chosen from ordinary life; the characters and incidents were to be such as will be found in every village and its vicinity, where there is a meditative and feeling mind to seek after them, or to notice them, when they present themselves."

As it was, Coleridge wrote the immortal *The Ancient Mariner* and two or three lifeless pieces like "The Foster-mother's Tale" and "The Dungeon" while Wordsworth wrote his "Idiot Boy" "The

Thorn "Simon Lee" "Goody Blake" and some other equally innocuous or ludicrous pieces. But the 1798 volume of *The Lyrical Ballads* was redeemed on Wordsworth's side by the justly famous *Tintern Abbey* which has been appropriately described by Mr. F. W. H. Myers as "the *locus classicus* or consecrated formulary of the Wordsworthian faith." There were, besides, the two pieces, "Expostulation and Reply" and "The Tables Turned," which in their own way are perfect: stanzas like the following from these two poems have become current coin with students of Wordsworth:

The eye—it cannot choose but see;
 We cannot bid the ear be still;
 Our bodies feel, where'er they be,
 Against or with our will.
 Nor less I deem that there are powers
 Which of themselves our minds impress;
 That we can feed this mind of ours
 In a wise passiveness....
 Come forth into the light of things,
 Let Nature be your Teacher...
 Sweet is the lore which Nature brings;
 Our meddling intellect
 Mis-shapes the beauteous forms of things:—
 We murder to dissect.

After a tour in Germany with his sister when he composed the Lucy poems and designed and partly wrote *The Prelude*, Wordsworth returned to issue a second edition of *The Lyrical Ballads*, equipped with a challenging Preface on the origin and nature of poetry and poetic diction. The new edition also contained some beautiful pieces like *Michael* and *Hart-Leap Well*.

The second edition of the *Ballads* was issued in 1800; in the same year the first Earl of Lonsdale died and his successor paid up, with interest up-to-date, his father's debt to the Wordsworth family. This placed Wordsworth and his sister beyond all pecuniary difficulties. The wound caused by separation from Annette Vallon was gradually healing; letters between the lovers were becoming fewer, though now Dorothy was also corresponding with Annette on her own behalf; France was figuring less and less in Wordsworth's imaginings and scheme of things; and the outlook was very favourable indeed when Wordsworth grew to be intimate with Miss Mary Hutchinson. It is the lady described in the well-known lines:

She was a Phantom of delight
 When first she gleamed upon my sight;
 A lovely apparition, sent
 To be a moment's ornament....

Wordsworth married Mary in October 1802 and they with Dorothy took home at Grasmere.

The influence of Coleridge on Wordsworth and *vice versa* lessened considerably after the latter's marriage. But while it had acted in its first freshness it had been productive of great things. To Coleridge the discovery of Wordsworth had been something wonderful: he wrote to Cottle, "I tell you that I feel myself a little man by his side, and yet do not think myself the less man than I formerly thought myself. . . . T Poole's opinion of Wordsworth is that he is the greatest man he ever knew: I coincide"; elsewhere he referred to Wordsworth as Giant, New Milton, "the only man to whom at all times and in all modes of excellence I feel myself inferior." Poems like "Frost at Midnight" could probably never have been written had not Coleridge known Wordsworth. On the other hand, Wordsworth gained as much and more from his friend. The understanding and sympathy of an intelligent friend was no small thing; they evoked Wordsworth's nascent poetic faculties and helped him to give them beautiful expression. More, Coleridge, being the more severely intellectual partner, rationalised and regularised Wordsworth's poetical inclinations. He may have also encouraged him, thinks Professor Raleigh, "to advance an explicit doctrine what had value merely as perception, and so to make *The Lyrical Ballads* seem like a gauntlet flung in the face of public taste." In *The Prelude* Wordsworth calls Coleridge the "capacious soul" and acknowledges thus his indebtedness:

Thy kindred influence to my heart of hearts
Did also find its way. Thus fear relaxed
Her overweening grasp: thus thoughts and things
In the self-haunting spirit learnt to take
More rational proportions. . .

When the Wordsworths were in Germany communing with Nature or observing men and things, Coleridge also was there, but engaged in abstruse metaphysical studies. Coleridge the metaphysician was also an important factor in the evolution of Wordsworth's mind. To the evanescent and fluid intuitions of the poet, Wordsworth grafted the idealism, the transcendentalism and metaphysics that he had learnt from Coleridge. The result was far from satisfactory. There is a core of truth in Professor Garrod's remarks: "Coleridge's greatest work is Wordsworth—and, like all his work, Coleridge left it unfinished. . . . From Coleridge Wordsworth had derived the elements of his metaphysic; and his genius died of a metaphysical atrophy."

It is needless to go elaborately into the tortuous labyrinth of

Wordsworth's controversies with his critics : in fact, he conducted himself with unflinching dignity so long as the storm prevailed. Jeffrey and other reviewers of the time were up against strange things in the body of Wordsworth's poetry, and naturally they complained, sometimes rudely and brutally ; Wordsworth, on his part, answered with a Preface whose tenets attempted to upturn the whole apple cart of contemporary critical theories. When argument failed, parody and ridicule were resorted to and thus we have sentences like the following which did duty for serious criticism of new poetry :

" Their most distinguishing symbol is undoubtedly an affectation of great simplicity and familiarity of language... We may excuse a certain homeliness of language in the productions of a ploughman, or a milkwoman ; but we cannot bring ourselves to admire it in an author who has had occasion to indite odes to his college bell and inscribe hymns to the Penates."

But Wordsworth persevered ; he knew he should himself create a public taste favourable to his poetry and he bravely wrote more poetry than ever and published his quartos and prefaces and new editions. *The Prelude* was completed by 1805 ; " Poems in Two Volumes " appeared two years later ; a prose pamphlet upon the Convention of Cintra and a painstaking " Description of the Scenery of the English Lakes " followed soon after. In the meantime, between 1803 and 1810, five children had been born to him and in 1812 two of them died, almost simultaneously. Next year, thanks to the influence of the new Earl of Lonsdale, Wordsworth was appointed stamp-distributor for Westmorland. This further stabilised his position and enabled him to change his abode to Rydal Mount where he lived for the rest of his life. Wordsworth was already a sort of institution ; his poems were being read and talked out ; the dissentient voices were far and few between ; even his little misunderstanding with Coleridge had been smoothed away. Living under such happy auspices, Annette but rarely intruding into the privacies of the unconscious, France elbowed out of the main current of his thoughts, assured of a settled salary and a settled income—Wordsworth was writing verses at a furious rate. Inspiration had dried up, of course—all but dried up ; but it was no matter ; there was the determination to write and the theory with which to defend what was written. Hence appeared one after another the long items in Wordsworth, and the dull, prosy items. *The Excursion* was published in 1814 and evoked from Jeffrey the notorious " This will never do ! " Jeffrey continued :

" Now the quarto before us contains an account of one of his youthful rambles in the vales of Cumberland, and occupies precisely the period of three days ; so that by the use of a very powerful *calculus* some estimate may be formed of the probable extent of the entire biography..."

"The White Doe of Rylstone" "Peter Bell" "The River Duddon: A series of sonnets" "Miscellaneous Poems, 4 volumes" they all followed. Wordsworth now permitted himself other little luxuries: tours to Switzerland and to the Italian Lakes, to Wales and to the Rhineland, to Scotland and to the Isle of Man, to France and to Italy. His impressions and experiences were faithfully recorded in the poems and sonnets he wrote in this period. His poetical output was ever growing; repeated editions were called for; an edition of the *Poetical Works* came out in 5 volumes in 1827, another in 4 volumes in 1832, and other editions in 6 volumes appeared in 1837 and again in 1849-50. As uncritical the public had been in its early denunciation of Wordsworth's poetry, equally so uncritical it was now in its adulation.

When Wordsworth became intimate with Coleridge he was as a matter of course introduced also to the society of the Southey's. They were all friends and Wordsworth, Coleridge and Southey were all three of them writing poetry. At this distance of time it is the differences rather than the similarities in their poetry that strike us: but in the first decade of the nineteenth century critics discovered in them a 'School' and in their poetry a conspiracy against accepted canons of taste. The new school was dubbed the "Lake School"; its members were "whining and hypochondriacal poets" who haunted about the lakes of Cumberland; their theories were an unintelligible hotch-potch of the anti-social principles of Rousseau, "his distempered sensibility...his discontent with the present constitution of society, his paradoxical morality, and his perpetual hankering after some unattainable state of voluptuous virtue and perfection," also of the simplicity and energy of Kotzebue and Schiller, of the homely and harsh diction of Cowper and of the quaintness of Quarles and Donne. Under the greatest provocation Wordsworth did not lose his balance: as the late Hall Caine observed, "the voices of the crowd had no power to reach the poet, who was consulting his own heart simply, and patiently leaving the rest to posterity"; Wordsworth was content to console himself with the reflection, "Let the age continue to love its own darkness; I shall continue to write, with, I trust, the light of Heaven upon me." Public opinion, as we saw, swung round in the course of two decades to the opposite direction; Southey was Poet Laureate; Wordsworth was Honorary D. C. L. of Durham and of Oxford; when Wordsworth went to the latter ancient seat of learning to receive the Doctorate, the reception that was accorded to him was unprecedented; as described by Mr. Frederick Robertson, there "broke forth a burst of applause, echoed and taken up again and again when it seemed about to die, and again thrice repeated." Words-

worth was getting mellow, his forehead more commanding and impressive than ever. In 1842, when over seventy years old, Wordsworth resigned the post of Stamp-Distributor and it went to his son; next year Southey died and Sir Robert Peel appointed Wordsworth Poet Laureate. Wasn't this indeed a consummation devoutly to be wished, the unmistakable apotheosis of William Wordsworth?

Wordsworth in his later years was as near a star as a human being can be, and "dwelt apart." His comrades of younger days were no more; Coleridge, Southey, Lamb, Hazlitt, Scott, all, all were gone, the old familiar faces. It was the Victorian era, the era of Tennyson and Browning. The younger generation was rudely knocking at the door: the Bright Young Things and Dreaming Young Things were reading Wordsworth's earliest poetry, and his latest, and contrasting their tone and temper. Had not Wordsworth written of a time when

Bliss was it in that dawn to be alive,
But to be young was very Heaven!

And how did it all end? In the *Ode to Duty*, in *The Character of the Happy Warrior*, in an unashamed apostasy; as Hail Caine put it picturesquely, "it is, we must confess, a damping drop from the air-blown bladder of so much hopefulness to behold all this youthful enthusiasm reduced, twenty years later, to the dull duty of distributing stamps in the county of Westmoreland"; is it any wonder these lines of Browning's are generally supposed to refer to Wordsworth himself:

Just for a handful of silver he left us,
Just for a riband to stick in his coat—
Found the one gift of which fortune bereft us,
Lost all the others she lets us devote; . . .
We that had loved him so, followed him, honoured him,
Lived in his mild and magnificent eye,
Learned his great language, caught his clear accents,
Made him our pattern to live and to die!
Shakespeare was of us, Milton was for us
Burns, Shelley, were with us,—they watch from their graves!
He alone breaks from the van and the freemen,
He alone sinks to the rear and the slaves!

Of course Wordsworth could defend himself by pointing his finger of scorn at the rising power and growing tyranny of Napoleon. The pure conservatism outlined in his pamphlet on the Convention of Cintra, the even more reactionary "Addresses to the Freeholders of Westmoreland" exhibited such a palpable *volte face* from the youthful "Letter to Bishop Watson" written in 1793 and it was not surprising that Shelley was pricked deep enough to write, "What a beastly and pitiful wretch that Wordsworth! That such a man should be

such a poet! I can compare him with no one but Simonides, that flatterer of the Sicilian tyrants and at the same time the most natural and tender of lyric poets." But even Shelley, even Browning, everyone with an ear for poetry, had to admit there were divine moments in Wordsworth's poetry. The chaff might be there, but here and there glistened the gems too and dazzled one's eye; however abnormally huge the chaff, the gems were numerous as well and well would have become the greatest poet. England accepted Wordsworth the poet; the Wordsworthians accepted the poet as well as the philosopher; and when at the ripe old age of eighty Wordsworth died on April 23, 1850, there was not a lover of the English language that did not sincerely bemoan the loss and pay homage to the departed Laureate.

Much ink has spilt on Wordsworth's theory of poetry as outlined in the "Preface" to *The Lyrical Ballads* and other subsequent writings. Ignoring minor controversial issues, we shall here consider the three main aspects of Wordsworth's theory and practice. First, then, about the origin of poetry: Wordsworth states that poetry "takes its origin from emotion recollected in tranquillity; the emotion is contemplated till, by a species of reaction, the tranquillity gradually disappears, and an emotion, kindred to that which was before the subject of contemplation, is gradually produced, and does itself actually exist in the mind. In this mood successful composition generally begins, and in a mood similar to this it is carried on; but the emotion, of whatever kind, and in whatever degree, from various causes, is qualified by various pleasures, so that in describing any passions whatsoever... the mind will, upon the whole, be in a state of enjoyment." In other words, Wordsworth felt that an interval of time between the original emotion and the actual composition of poetry was necessary for the emotion to settle down, and shorn of impurities, to crystallise into artistic shape. This is different from the view that holds with Mr. Llewelyn Powys that "every word put down should come to the page fresh from contact with the blood of existence." Wordsworth could not do that: more than a year elapsed between Wordsworth's meeting the leech-gatherer and the fine poem on the subject; nearly five years were to pass after his stranger encounter with the girl at the Goodrich Castle before the poem, "We Are Seven," could be written; and similarly "Daffodils" was written two years after the event. To recapitulate past moments of emotional exaltation was for Wordsworth a necessity: as he describes in *Tintern Abbey*:

oft, in lonely rooms, and 'mid the din
Of towns and cities, I have owed to them,

In hours of weariness, sensations sweet,
Felt in the blood, and felt along the heart;
And passing even into my purer mind,
With tranquil restoration.

Wordsworth's was for the most part a solitary life, but so tenacious was his memory that he was able to recall every significant event in his life and harness it for the purpose of his poetry. Inevitably he was led, time and again, to describe the inessentials of an experience along with the significant particulars. "If his recollection had been less powerful," says Mr. James Sutherland, "if he had prized his experiences with a less exultant gratitude, he might have omitted many details that have given offence to his readers." As things were, Wordsworth was doomed to achieve sometimes a mere matter-of-factness and sometimes a ludicrous and laughable fidelity to truth;

I've measured it from side to side;
'Tis three feet long, and two feet wide...

You must take care and choose your time
The mountain when to cross,
For oft there sits between the heap
So like an infant's grave in size,
And that same pond of which I spoke,
A woman in a scarlet cloak,
And to herself she cries,
"O misery! oh misery!"
Oh woe is me! oh misery!"...

"Oh Doctor! Doctor! where's my Johnny?"
"I'm here, what's it you want with me?"
"Oh Sir! you know I'm Betty Foy,
And I have lost my poor dear Boy,
You know him—him you often see..."

Wordsworth could sink so low,—and lower. The difficulty with him was his unwillingness, his *fear* I had almost said, to "select" his particulars: if the interval of time between the emotion and the writing of the poem filtered away the impurities, well and good, but on his own responsibility he would not reject details actually remembered by him. He wished to steer clear of the Scylla of imaginative, extraneous adornment and the Charibdys of emphasis on the inessentials of an experience. He succeeded in the former more often than in the latter. His theory of "emotion recollected in tranquillity" helped him to select the particulars in an experience that had relevance to it, for it is natural, he thought, for the mind to remember only the more unique aspects of an emotional adventure. In general, it might be allowed, the theory was a corrective to Wordsworth's congenital incapacity to select alone the authentic details in an experience.

But even then there were defects in the method : he could remember some of the details but not recapture the vividness of the original sensation and hence the verses written did not ring true. When we read even the more successful of Wordsworth's productions we are rarely moved ; we are not stirred within our depths ; we are almost inclined to agree with Shelley that Wordsworth was a kind of "moral eunuch" ; we see the point in Mr. Clutton-Brock's statement, "the very spring in his poetry lacks voluptuousness and its music is thin ; it is as if he lived in a world without sunlight." In his less fortunate moments, when writing for instance "The Idiot Boy" or "Simon Lee," the theory altogether played him false and made him write downright bad verse. Again, by insisting that the mind when composing poetry should be "in a state of enjoyment," he as much as defended his own frequent practice of falsifying his experiences. *The Prelude* gives too rosy a picture of Wordsworth's boyhood and youth and we know that it was not all true. Time is the healer of most sorrows ; and Wordsworth allowed Time to dissolve away the sorrows of the past and leave only the residue of happiness ; nonetheless it is falsifying the totality of his experience and the theory encouraged him in his practice. It is pertinent to point out here that Wordsworth's theory and practice were in direct opposition to Keats's whose poems have no long history of mutation behind them but are just things "created almost wholly out of the immediate excitement of composition." Often indeed the writing of poetry was itself the experience Keats craved for : the Nightingale or the Grecian Urn might kindle the spark in him but the writing of the odes was as thrilling and as unique an experience as the song of the bird or the pictures on the Urn. In a word, with Wordsworth poetry was a matter of communication of a past experience, with Keats it was the creation of a fresh experience.

Next we might consider the subject-matter of poetry. In verse and prose Wordsworth has made his meaning explicit : poetry should deal with the lives of the peasants, the rustics and other humble folk because, as he explained, "in that condition the essential passions of the heart find a better soil, in which they can attain their maturity, are less under restraint, and speak a plainer and more emphatic language ; because in that condition of life our elementary feelings coexist in a state of greater simplicity, and consequently may be more accurately contemplated, and more fully communicated ; because the manners of rural life germinate from those elementary feelings ; and from the necessary character of rural occupations are easily comprehended, and are more durable ; and lastly, because in that condition the passions of men are incorporated with the beautiful and per-

manent forms of Nature." In *Peter Bell* he wrote in a similar, if more poetic vein :

The common growth of mother-earth
Suffices me—her tears, her mirth,
Her humblest mirth and tears,
The dragon's wing, the magic ring,
I shall not covet for my dower....

Elsewhere he wrote :

The moving accident is not my trade ;
To freeze the blood I have no ready arts :
'Tis my delight, alone in summer shade,
To pipe a simple song for thinking hearts.

Some of Wordsworth's best, and also some of his worst, poems are the result of putting this theory into practice. "Michael" "Ruth" "The Leech-gatherer" "The Solitary Reaper" "The Reverie of Poor Susan" have the true ring of poetry. But what about "Simon Lee" "The Excursion" and "The White Doe of Rylstone"? The truth of the matter is this : not the lives of the humble people alone, but *any* life, can be the subject-matter of poetry. Poetry concerns itself with pure experience ; and in Professor Abercrombie's words, "nothing can happen in life that cannot be taken as experience valued for its own immediate sake." Blake might write about a tiger, Burns about a mouse, D.H. Lawrence about reptiles or bats, Pope or Horace about the principles of criticism, Lucretius about the nature of things, Spenser or Meredith about marriage, Hardy about the darkling thrush, —and they are all writing supreme poetry. What makes the subject-matter of poetry actually poetry is the colouring of the imagination that transmutes the base metal of simple reality into the pure gold of poetry. While criticising Wordsworth's theories in the *Biographia Literaria*, Coleridge clinchingly says, following Aristotle, that "poetry, as poetry, is essentially ideal, that it avoids and excludes all accident." Only then, as Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch would say, can there be any difference between poetry as we find in, say, Shakespeare's *Othello* and facts of a jealous husband's life that might be gleaned from a Police Court report. All thoughts, all passions, all delights, all beings animate or inanimate, all can be the subject-matter for poetry ; and Wordsworth's theory therefore ignorantly restricted the scope of poetry. When Wordsworth was dealing with the thoughts and feelings of the rustics, he did often achieve the sublimest poetry, as in *Ruth* :

The engines of her pain, the tools
That shaped her sorrow ;

and as in the Lucy poems :

No motion has she now, no force ;
She neither hears nor sees ;

Roll'd round in earth's diurnal course
With rocks, and stones, and trees...

The stars of midnight shall be dear
To her; and she shall lean her ear
In many a secret place
Where rivulets dance their wayward round,
And beauty born of murmuring sound
Shall pass into her face;

as in *The Affliction of Margaret*, which is an incredible palpitation of sheer emotion and sheer music:

My apprehensions come in crowds;
I dread the rustling of the grass;
The very shadows of the clouds
Have power to shake me as they pass;
I question things and do not find
One that will answer to my mind;
And all the world appears unkind;

or as in these severely bare and beautiful lines in *Michael*:

many and many a day he thither went
And never lifted up a single stone.

It is not the rustics nor their lives and hopes and fears that write poetry but the intensity of the poet's own feeling, the fulness of the poet's own ecstasy, at the time of composing poetry. Shakespeare has written about kings, princesses and generals; Spenser has written about knights, elves and satyrs; Milton has written about Satan, Beelzebub and Archangel Michael; and is not all that imperishable poetry? Facts are needed but facts should be transfigured before they could become poetry: there is, alas, more magic than logic in poetry. And hence Professor J. L. Lowes is justified in describing the essential nature of poetry as "a fabric of truth based on reality, but not reproducing reality."

By far the most disputed aspect of Wordsworth's theory of poetry is, however, his viewpoint on poetic diction. The relevant sentences in his famous Preface are: "There neither is nor can be any essential distinction between the language of prose and metrical composition... the language of such poetry as is here recommended is, as far as possible, a selection of the language really spoken by men; that this selection, wherever it is made with true taste and feeling, will of itself form a distinction far greater than would at first be imagined, and will entirely separate the composition from the vulgarity and meanness of ordinary life; and, if metre be superadded thereto, I believe that a dissimilitude will be produced altogether sufficient for the gratification of a rational mind.... The language (of the rustics)... has been adopted because such men hourly communicate

with the best objects from which the best part of language is originally derived ; and because, from their rank in society and the sameness and narrow circle of their intercourse, being less under the influence of social vanity, they convey their feelings and notions in simple and unelaborated expressions." Eminent critics like Coleridge, Arnold, Raleigh, Bradley and Saintsbury have subjected Wordsworth's theory and practice to a minute analysis and arrived at very different conclusions. Critics like Bradley and Raleigh think that in his very best poems Wordsworth is true to his theory ; but Saintsbury says that Wordsworth achieves his highest moments in poetry only "at the price of utterly forgetting his theory, of flinging it to the tides and the winds, of plunging and exulting in poetic diction and poetic arrangement." Neither view is applicable to *all* the fine poetry in Wordsworth. When we read these lines in *The Solitary Reaper*—

Will no one tell me what she sings?—
 Perhaps the plaintive numbers flow
 For old, unhappy, far-off things,
 And battles long ago :
 Or is it some more humble lay,
 Familiar matter of today?
 Some natural sorrow, loss, or pain,
 That has been and may be again?

we know that we are in the presence of genuine poetry and we also realise that the diction here is practically the diction of everyday prose. But how about this stanza from *The Affliction of Margaret*?

Perhaps some dungeon hears thee groan,
 Maimed, mangled by inhuman men ;
 Or thou upon a desert thrown
 Inheritest the lion's den ;
 Or hast been summoned to the deep,
 Thou, thou and all thy mates to keep
 An incommunicable sleep.

It is surely one of the peaks of poetry and yet it runs counter to Wordsworth's theory. In his brilliant analysis of the technique of this stanza, Mr. Myers shows that the diction here is by no means what a poor widow at Penrith would employ. The stanza is great not because of its diction "with metre superadded" but because of its "appropriate and attractive music, lying both in the rhythm and in the actual sound of the words used."

Wordsworth had said that "poetry is the spontaneous overflow of powerful feelings" and naturally he looked down upon metre ; it was as if he should say grudgingly, "metre is little use, but it can do no harm." He detested poetic diction, for, in his opinion, it was unnatural, ambiguous, outlandish ; lastly, he disliked the sophisticated

language of drawing rooms and coffee houses. According to Professor Saintsbury, all these views had (so to say) been anticipated by Dante and once for all answered by him in his *De Vulgari Eloquentia*. Be that as it may, a corrective to Wordsworth's extreme views has been given in Coleridge's *Biographia Literaria*. Following Coleridge, Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch has developed the thesis in his "Art of Writing" that certain subjects admit of treatment in metrical verse and certain others in persuasive prose and that metre in the best poetry is an inherent constituent rather than a merely "superadded" ornament. Where was the necessity for metre in poetry? Coleridge answered: "This I would trace to the balance in the mind effected by that spontaneous effort which strives to hold in check the workings of passion." Coleridge thus thought that metre gave the necessary check to the undue effervescence of emotional language. When there is no excitement in the poet, there can be no poetry; and when there is no metre, poetry can never have the finish and finality of verse. Metre and excitement in the poet are the law and the impulse, both of which are necessary for the production of the highest poetry. The language of excitement without the discipline of metre may result in poetic prose as we find in De Quincey or Sir Thomas Browne or Llewelyn Powys; metre without a language impregnated with emotion and quivering with excitement may similarly result in the nonsensical verse of Tupper or Alfred Austin. And Wordsworth himself in his best poetry is able to harmonise the spontaneity of his own feelings with the restraint imposed by metre. It may also be mentioned in passing that the Sonnet, with its exacting rules and limited canvas, particularly in the close-knit Petrarchan or Miltonic model, had a very salutary effect on Wordsworth. It checked his growing tendency to diffuseness and commonplaceness and forced him to express himself briefly and pointedly. As Professor Bradley has remarked, "The sense of massive passion, concentrated, and repressing the utterance it permits itself, is that which most moves us in his political verse. And the sonnet suited this."

In the matter of diction, too, Wordsworth overstated the emphasis. If he was merely against the artificial and poverty-stricken poetic diction of the second-rate poets of the eighteenth century, we can give nothing but praise for the stand he took: but unfortunately he went to extremes. He wrote verses like—

In March, December, and in July,
 'Tis all the same with Harry Gill;
 His neighbours tell, and tell you truly,
 His teeth they chatter, chatter still,
 At night, at morning, and at noon,
 'Tis all the same with Harry Gill...

And he is lean and he is sick ;
 His body, dwindled and awry,
 Rests upon ankles swollen and thick ;
 His legs are thin and dry,
 One prop he has and only one,
 His wife, an aged woman,
 Lives with him, near the waterfall,
 Upon the village Common.

As we read these lines we realise this truth : if one fails when attempting ordinary prose, one is merely flat, but if one fails when attempting metrical verse, one is hopelessly ridiculous.

"In his recoil from the stilted," says Professor Lowes, "Wordsworth pitched headlong into the trivial, and in his rebellion against the artificially poetic, his diction became the apotheosis of the prosaic." The diction of prose is not and cannot be identical with the diction of poetry. Words have connotation as well as denotation, emotional and imaginative as well as intellectual content. Words have a double duty to perform : they are symbols that interpret the author's experience and they are symbols through which the reader has to re-create the author's original experience. But words are comparatively few and human nature is an unevaluable quantity and human experience is a thing of limitless expanse. Thus language, a limited medium, has to be used as the symbol of experience that knows no limits. How are words used in prose and poetry respectively ? In prose words just state or describe things ; but in poetry the same words suggest strange significances, they throb with *dāśavasi* as the Sanskrit rhetoricians would say, they acquire a magic potency, they become, in Mr. Charles Morgan's phrase, "winged squadrons of the spirit." The words, "idiot" "fools" and "syllable," at first sight invoke very prosaic associations ; but how Shakespeare galvanises them into poetic material :

Tomorrow and tomorrow and tomorrow
 Creeps in this petty pace from day to day
 To the last syllable of recorded time.
 And all our yesterdays have lighted *fools*
 The way to dusty death. Out, out, brief candle !
 Life is a walking shadow. It is a poor player
 That frets and struts his hour upon the stage
 And then is heard no more. It is a tale
 Told by an *idiot*, full of sound and fury,
 Signifying nothing.

The capital mistake that Wordsworth committed was in believing that the same words in the same sense can do duty in prose and also in poetry. Besides, he ignored the fact that it is not enough to adopt the prose choice of words but also the prose order of words if he

desired to follow his theory to the letter. Here he sinned repeatedly and perpetrated the ugliest inversions in the order of words as in "My question eagerly did I renew", "the more do his weak ankles swell" and "help to virtue does she give." But the same Wordsworth could also write lines like "Thy soul was like a star and dwelt apart," "The stars of midnight shall be dear to her," "The sunshine is a glorious birth," "I made no vows but vows were then made for me" "A slow disease insensibly consumed the powers of nature,"—lines that have achieved a perfection of phrasing, though neither the choice nor the order of the words is different from what we might find in ordinary prose.

Wordsworth himself gave away his case, perhaps unconsciously, when he said that poetry should use a "selection" of the words ordinarily used by men. "Selection" presupposes conscious art on the part of the poet; and selection should be based upon some standard. What standard,—except the standard of all the poetry written before? The standard can be nothing less than the diction in the poetry of Chaucer and Shakespeare and Spenser and Milton. To reproduce merely the common speech of the labourer or farmer would be to make poetry insipid and insignificant. Mr. J. M. Synge's plays are written in the dialect of the people of the Aran Islands; but the poetically effective common speech is the result of deliberate selection from the vast material at Synge's disposal. That is what Burns did with the Scottish dialect, Barnes and Hardy with Dorset speech,—and that is also what Wordsworth did in his best poetry when employing the language of the Cumberland peasants. It has been a puzzle to succeeding generations why Wordsworth, the author of *Tintern Abbey* and *Ruth* and *Michael*, should have written such a vast quantity of rubbish, masquerading as verse. The explanation lies in the fact that Wordsworth was an unfortunate martyr to his own theory. He recollected in tranquillity everything, good, bad and indifferent alike, he wrote about humble folk in all their angularities and their absurdities, and sometimes he sounded the depths of humanity but more often only touched the superficialities and separable accidents of life; he adopted the language of ordinary man, and fitfully sang as few have sung in English, with a pulsing finality of utterance, but again more often descended to drabness and flatness in phrasing that evoked a regretful smile from the reader.

Before we take leave of Wordsworth's theory of poetry and poetic diction, we might pass some general remarks about his versification and style. It is noteworthy that, though Wordsworth on principle thought metre to be superfluous, he only wrote metrical verse, and almost as a rule only iambic verse. Apparently, the startling suddenness

of trochees and dactyls and the galloping vigour of the anapaests were all foreign to the calm and even flow of Wordsworth's poetry. Some of his best poems like *The Prelude*, *Tintern Abbey* and *Michael*, and the whole of *The Excursion*, he wrote in blank verse. His successes in blank verse often recall Shakespeare and Milton. A master of the verse paragraph, he could modulate the pauses with such art that the verse acquired a complex harmony. Passages like the following chosen at random from *The Excursion* have a humming, soothing and conquering force :

As the ample moon,
In the deep stillness of a summer even
Rising behind a thick and lofty grove,
Burns, like an unconsuming fire of light,
In the green trees ; and, kindling on all sides
Their leafy umbrage, turns the dusky veil
Into a substance glorious as her own,
Yea, with her own incorporated, by power
Capacious and serene.

Further, in his rhymed lyrics—and they are a great number—and lyrical ballads, Wordsworth could manage the stanza pattern as well as the rhymes with consummate mastery. The Lucy poems, the Yarrow poems, "Daffodils", "The Green Linnet," "Skylark," and one hundred others show him a fine craftsman in verse. But it must be admitted that Wordsworth was no innovator in metre like Shelley, Keats, Swinburne or Father Hopkins. The complicated structure of the Immortality Ode seems to have no relevance to the subject-matter itself. The stanza form does not seem to have grown inevitably out of the emotion sustaining the poem as, for instance, we find manifest in Shelley's "Skylark."

As for Wordsworth's "style," it varies with the place, time and circumstance : it is simple, bare and terrible in its strength as in the Lucy poems or in such a passage as—

I, too, have passed her on the hills
Setting her little water-mills
By spouts and fountains wild—
Such small machinery as she turned
Ere she had wept, ere she had mourned,
A young and happy child !

His "style" is at other times abstract, "the style of the metaphysical imagination," as in the philosophical passages in *The Excursion* and elsewhere ; or it is luminous as in the poems on birds and flowers :

I wandered lonely as a cloud
That floats on high o'er vales and hills,
When all at once I saw a crowd,
A host of golden daffodils....

There! where the flutter of his wings
 Upon his back and body flings
 Shadows and sunny glimmerings,
 That cover him all over...
 Be violets in their secret mews
 The flowers the wanton Zephyrs choose ;

or, again, his style is lustreless, barren of verbal embroidery, as in *The Leech-gatherer* or *Michael*, or soaked through and through with imagery as in some of his descriptions of nature. But always, says Professor Oliver Elton, the style "is hard of texture; harder than that of anyone since Milton, and much harder than that of Milton's early poems... Hardness and strength, purity and naturalness, are the great qualities of Wordsworth's diction, and are at his command when his verse is good at all."

Wordsworth's style has above all, on rare occasions it is true but sufficiently often when alone his best poems are taken into account, those exquisitely thrilling moments when the effect is sublime. It is style that is aloof from and raised far above the ordinary and that inspires us with awe and wonder. The sublime in poetry, said Longinus, is the echo of a great soul, of a lofty mind; beauty of words is the peculiar light of thought; when fine thought is united with perfect expression, the effect is sublime. Nay more: the sublime transports us with its consummateness and eminence of words every time we come in contact with it. Sir Walter Raleigh defined Wordsworth's style as "a continuous fabric of great imaginative moments"; we have already given several extracts from the cream of Wordsworth's poetry but a few passages in which he deals with solitude might be quoted here.

The antechapel where the stature stood
 Of Newton with his prism and silent face,
 The marble index of a mind for ever
 Voyaging through strange seas of thought alone...
 Or of some Hermit's cave, where by the fire
 The Hermit sits alone.....
 The holy time is quiet as a Nun
 Breathless with adoration....
 Thy soul was like a Star, and dwelt apart...
 Behold her, single in the field,
 Yon solitary highland lass!

These passages are so remarkable that Professor Irving Babbitt wrote, "If Wordsworth writes so poignantly of solitude one may infer that it is because he himself had experienced it." The sublime is more often engendered in solitude than in the "polluting multitude"; the sublime, in fact, by a little stretch of meaning,

can be equated with solitude or solitariness : almost, but not quite ! Wordsworth is praised often for the "egotistical sublime" in his poetry. A poet except the greatest among the great, the immortal objective artists like Homer and Sophocles and Shakespeare, is an egotistical being : he is interested in himself as himself and would ask the reader to be as much interested in him. Wordsworth, Byron, Shelley, they were all egotists : but egotism, this over pre-occupation with oneself, may manifest itself in various ways : it may be self-pity, self-laceration as in Byron or self-esteem, self-cultivation as in Wordsworth. Wordsworth's *Tintern Abbey*, *Immortality Ode*, *The Prelude*, *The Excursion*,—in them all we have a poet's spiritual autobiography. Wordsworth would make himself the hero of his own epic. He would unfold to us a story of self-cultivation and resultant self-esteem, a poetic exhibition of (in Tennyson's words) "self-reverence, self-knowledge, self-control." But when Wordsworth tried to make, and to the extent succeeded in making, his own life intrinsically typical of mankind's, he was attempting and achieving the egotistical sublime in poetry. "It might have happened to me, it is very neary how I felt," we murmur to ourselves as we read some of the distinctive passages in Wordsworth's autobiographical poetry. To quote two such passages at random—

I am sad

At thought of rapture now for ever flown ;
Almost to tears I sometimes could be sad
To think of, to read over, many a page,
Poems withal of name, which at that time
Did never fail to entrance me, and are now
Dead in my eyes, dead as a theatre
Fresh emptied of spectators....

In November days,

When vapours rolling down the valley made
A lonely scene more lonesome, among woods,
At noon and 'mid the calm of summer nights,
When by the margin of the trembling lake,
Beneath the gloomy hills homeward I went
In solitude, such intercourse was mine ;
Mine was it in the fields both day and night,
And by the waters, all the summer long.

That is not Wordsworth at his very best, but fairly typical of him, and in the experience recorded, fairly typical of anyone of his readers. We read and we *understand* ; we are under its spell ; we see open before us "a bright or solemn vista into infinity", we feel we are one with the innumerable souls who have undergone similar experiences, felt similar regrets and similar exultations ; we are not rattled, as when we read the egotistical poetry of Byron,

and we see no need to be on our defensive against such a solitude of "self-indulging spleen"; we are subdued enough and made wise enough to realise with Professor Bradley that Wordsworth's solitariness "'carried far into his heart' the haunting sense of an 'invisible world'; of some Life beyond this 'transitory being' and 'unapproachable by death.'"

No paper on Wordsworth can be complete without a discussion of his attitude to Nature, of his Natural Religion. "All literary history," said Raleigh, "is a long record of the struggle between those two rival teachers of man—books, and the experience of man." Books first treasure human experience and for a time people model their conduct on books; other books follow, inspired by the existing books, and by and by literature becomes too conventional and bookish. Then independent men rebel against this state of affairs and announce a "return to Nature!" This is what happened in the Age of Wordsworth. Furthermore, this so-called naturalistic movement coalesced with the revival of Romance. And paradoxically enough, this revival of Romance was the outcome of a "new learning." The Renaissance Romance had been the result of the study of Greek and Latin: but in the Age of Wordsworth, Romance was the result of a revival of interest in the literature of the middle ages, books like *Ancient Chivalry* and *Northern Antiquities*. The poets of the Romantic Revival desired to be as wild and as natural as the weird, fantastic things described in those books. Return to the wild cult of Nature; fascination in the supernatural; the lure of mere or sheer distance, of seas and deserts and mountains, "of perilous seas in fairy lands forlorn"; the emotions of the human soul in tortuous or sublime loneliness; the assertion of the revolutionary spirit in politics and morals; a persistent egotism, an obsession to reveal one's personality,—these, in curious permutations and combinations, became the stuff out of which poetry was made. Wordsworth was in the movement, even though he did not quite comprehend his surroundings. He had romantic moments in his poetry without being a whole-hogger Romanticist; but as Nature poet he is unique in the whole range of English literature.

Wordsworth's early life in the Lake District and the crucial events in his career deeply coloured his attitude towards Nature. Born and bred in the countryside, he had more opportunities of coming into contact with the fugitive charms of Nature than stuffed dwellers in crowded and sooty cities. Sophisticated and severely rational life at Cambridge might have changed him, but the Revolution in France and Rousseau, the "father of the Literary Romantics", intervened. We have seen how Wordsworth was lured

to France, how he was crazed in his hopes and crossed in his love, and how he had, on his return to England, to bury his emotions deeper than ever plummet sounded. Such emotional defeat might have ruined him altogether had not Dorothy taken care of him about this time and showed him the way back to Nature. Helped by her guiding hand, Wordsworth learnt to find in Nature a compensation for his thwarted emotions and falsified idealisms :

For oft, when on my couch I lie
In vacant or pensive mood,
They flash upon that inward eye
Which is the bliss of solitude ;
And then my heart with pleasure fills,
And dances with the daffodils.

Wordsworth might have exclaimed thankfully, under the influence of his "natural religion" :

My soul, though yet confined to earth,
Rejoices in a second birth.

Wordsworth has been at pains to give us a correct account of the vicissitudes of his attitude to Nature in *Tintern Abbey* briefly and in *The Prelude* in elaborate detail. He marks three distinct stages in his approach to Nature. As a boy he had been contented with the "coarser" pleasures in nature that were appropriate to his "animal movements" For instance—

Sometimes it befell
In these night wanderings, that a strong desire
Overpowered my better reason, and the bird
Which was the captive of another's toil
Became my prey ; and when the deed was done
I heard among the solitary hills
Low breathings coming after me, and sounds
Of undistinguishable motion, steps
Almost as silent as the turf they trod.

Now Nature was

But secondary to my own pursuit.
And animal activities, and all
Their trivial pleasures.

Though he was in the midst of nature, he did not really give it any thoughtful consideration. He was only thinking of himself, thinking how best to get all the available kick out of it, without going through the unpleasant bother of rationalising or spiritualising it.

As the years advanced, Wordsworth learnt to experience an unselfish enjoyment in nature, though as yet he carefully looked upon himself as an entity quite distinct from it. But the externality of objects assaulted him with a sensuous significance :

The sounding cataract
 Haunted me like a passion : the tall rock,
 The mountain, and the deep and gloomy wood,
 Their colours and their forms, were then to me
 An appetite ; a feeling and a love,
 That had no need of a remoter charm,
 By thought supplied, nor any interest
 Unborrowed from the eye.

Again :

Nature by extrinsic passion first
 Peopled the mind with forms sublime or fair,
 And made me love them.

The wondrous Vale of Chamouny elicited the remarks :

With such a book
 Before our eyes, we could not choose but read
 Lessons of genuine brotherhood, the plain
 And universal reason of mankind,
 The truths of young and old.

If Wordsworth had earlier a selfish, boyish thrill and satisfaction in Nature, he had now a youthfully conscious and pleasurable objective awareness in the beautiful forms and colours of Nature : he was even trying to rationalise Nature's beneficent influences, trying half-heartedly to pierce through Nature's infinite variety, and grapple, if he may, the underlying norm.

After the crisis in his life, and break with Annette and France, Wordsworth was on the threshold of manhood. He forged his new and final attitude to Nature and learnt to assimilate from her "joys of subtler origin"

hearing oftentimes
 The still, sad music of humanity,
 Nor harsh, nor grating, though of ample power
 To chasten and subdue.

He now experienced

Those hallowed and pure emotions of the sense
 Which seem in their simplicity, to own
 An intellectual charm,

Nature became a presence

that disturbs me with the joy
 Of elevated thoughts ; a sense sublime
 Of something far more deeply interfused,
 Whose dwelling is the light of setting suns,
 And the round ocean, and the living air,
 And the blue sky, and in the mind of man.

In a word, he pierced through the externality of objects to discover the happy, unifying principle of Nature. The sensuous exhilaration

of youth was now transformed into a pensive and serene communion with the invisible forces of Nature. Several passages in *The Prelude* and *The Excursion* describe also this his final evaluation of Nature's importance to his being. Contemplation of Nature had become now, from his thirtieth year onwards, Wordsworth's religion. He came to believe that a Purpose ruled all Nature :

To every form and being is assigned
An active principle ;—however removed
From sense and observation, it subsists
In all things, in all natures.

He felt that the immeasurable height of woods, the stationary blasts of waterfalls, the torrents shooting from the clear blue sky, the rocks and black drizzling crags, the raving stream and the unfettered clouds

Were all like workings of one mind, the features
Of the same face, blossoms upon one tree,
Characters of the great Apocalypse,
The types and symbols of eternity,
Of first and last and midst and without end.

Like Goethe, Wordsworth thought that the same impulse ebbs and flows through all the vastnesses and minutenesses of the Universe. Man cannot isolate himself from Nature : he is (to adopt Mr. Read's figure of speech) the creative masculine principle wedded ever to Nature, the feminine, reproductive principle. And man and Nature, mind and the external world, "are geared together and in unison complete the motive principle of the Universe." Differences pass away, and things are revealed in their crucial identity : the One remains, the Many change and pass : with such faith well could Wordsworth address the "Wisdom and Spirit of the universe" :

Thou Soul that art the eternity of thought,
That givest to forms and images a breath
And everlasting motion, not in vain
By day or star-light thus from my first dawn
Of childhood didst thou intertwine for me
The passions that build up our human soul ;
Not with the mean and vulgar works of man,
But with high objects, with enduring things—
With life and nature—purifying thus
The elements of feeling and of thought,
And sanctifying, by such discipline,
Both pain and fear, until we recognise
A grandeur in the beatings of the heart,

As Walter Pater explains, Wordsworth "was attracted by the thought of a spirit of life in out-ward things, a single, all-pervading mind in them, of which man, and even the poet's imaginative energy,

are but moments." Professor Raleigh also notes that "it is this deep imaginative sense of unity in things, of real correspondences and connections working throughout the universe of perception and thought, which gives profundity to Wordsworth's treatment of Nature." And Myers goes so far as to maintain that "the essential spirit of the *Lines near Tintern Abbey* was for practical purposes as new to mankind as the essential spirit of the *Sermon on the Mount*."

Wordsworth's philosophy of Nature as above outlined has baffled several critics. It cannot be described as purely mystic, for Wordsworth was always a realist, passing through objective sensations to subjective realisations. The true reality of the world of Nature, Wordsworth thought, is spiritual; and he believed that by communing with this spirit "we may grow in wisdom through a process of unconscious receptiveness, far surer and more expeditious than science can insure" (Dr Rogers). We can now understand why Blake said: "I fear that Wordsworth loves Nature, and Nature is the work of the devil...I assert for myself that I do not behold the outward creation...I question not the corporeal eye, any more than I would question a window concerning a sight. I look through it and not with it." As Wordsworth did not worship Nature blindly, in an attitude of unquestioning and unsullied reverence, His philosophy can neither be called pantheistic. Man with his mind and the mighty world of eye and ear is on a par with multitudinous Nature: and mind interprets Nature and transfigures it into the eternal soul of the universe. The individual mind

keeps her own
Inviolate retirement, subject there
To conscience only, and the law supreme
Of that intelligence which governs all.

The Wordsworthian "nature", as Professor Abercrombie aptly diagnoses it, is "experience perfectly combining sense and Spirit, perfect equipoise of self against the manifestly more than self. It is the temper of classicism." Man and Nature, fact and aspiration, knowledge and imagination, outer and inner experience, this-worldliness of pain and frustration and the other-worldliness of happiness and fulfilment, these opposites Wordsworth has tried to bring together and harmonise in his philosophy: it is of a piece with the health of Art, with due concord of parts and equipoise of form and matter, and hence may this message be called, following Mr. Read's suggestion, humanistic.

Wordsworth's teaching in certain respects has been attacked by rationalistic critics. Wordsworth says, "Let Nature be your teacher", and adds:

One impulse from the vernal wood
 May teach you more of man,
 Of moral evil and of good,
 Than all the sages can.

He further elaborates the idea elsewhere :

Ye... might teach man's haughty race
 How without injury to take, to give
 Without offence ; ye who, as if to show
 The wondrous influence of power gently used,
 Bend the complying heads of lordly pines,
 And, with a touch, shift the stupendous clouds
 Through the whole compass of the sky ; ye brooks,
 Muttering along the stones, a busy noise
 By day, a quiet sound by silent night...
 Oh ! that I had a music and a voice
 Harmonious as your own, that I might tell
 What ye have done for me.

Viscount Morley replies : "No impulse from a vernal wood can teach us anything at all of moral evil and of good." And more recently, Mr. Aldous Huxley writes : "Nature, under a vertical sun, and nourished by the equatorial rains, is not at all like that chaste, mild deity who presides over the *Gemüthlichkeit*, the prettiness, the coey sublimities of the Lake District... The Wordsworthian adoration of Nature has two principal defects. The first... is that it is only possible in a country where Nature has been nearly or quite enslaved to man. The second is that it is only possible to those who are prepared to falsify their immediate intuitions of Nature. For Nature, even in the temperate zone, is always alien and inhuman, and occasionally diabolic." The point Mr. Huxley makes is that Wordsworth's natural religion would be meaningless in the face of such instances of Nature's cruelty and ugliness as we find during an earth-quake, in the depths of the sea or in the jungles of Africa. As Mr. Llewelyn Powys powerfully describes : "It is in accord with cosmic laws that the contraction of a planet should cause the death of three hundred thousand human beings. The thing is done blindly, accidentally ; but look more narrowly at the picture, as it is possible to do in Africa, and it will be seen that on the very planet's crust a sly contest is being waged, deliberately, consciously, and without quarter, hand against hide, claw against horn, and beak against fur. Kill ! kill ! kill ! that is the mandate of Africa." These, too, are manifestations of Nature ! How then can we say that Nature's purpose is always moral, beneficent, that it always fulfils the universal principle ? This is really allied to the larger question, posited already on an earlier page, whether or not Wordsworth falsifies his own intimate experience of man and Nature ?

It is too much to believe that Wordsworth resolutely shut his eyes to whatever is fiendish or ugly in life : poems like *Hart-Leap Well* tell a different life. But he just chose to consider these as aberrations, as the exceptions that prove the rule that Nature is on the whole beneficial to man. In his celebrated essay on Wordsworth, Matthew Arnold remarked that "poetry is at bottom a criticism of life ; that the greatness of a poet lies in his powerful and beautiful application of ideas to life,—to the question : How to live." The pure mystic may escape the contaminations of this world by just denying its existence and directly intuiting the other-worldliness of order, beauty and beatitude. But Wordsworth knows his world and the pain and wretchedness in it ; and all the more reason, he says, why we should also notice and meditate on the good and happy things in the world. As Professor Bradley beautifully puts it, Wordsworth "sang of pleasure, joy, gloe, blitheness, love, wherever in nature or humanity they assert their indisputable power ; and turning to pain and wrong, and gazing at them steadfastly, and setting himself to present the facts with a quiet but unsparing truthfulness, he yet endeavoured to show what he had seen, that sometimes pain and wrong are the conditions of a happiness and good which without them could not have been, that no limit can be set to the power of the soul to transmute them into its own substance, and that, in suffering and even in misery, there may still be such a strength as fills us with awe or with glory." It is the faith that proclaims with Shakespeare's Henry V :

There is a soul of good in things evil
Would men observingly distil it out.

It is the integrity and steadfastness of Wordsworth's Happy Warrior

Who, doomed to go in company with Pain,
And Fear, and Bloodshed, miserable train !
Turns his necessity to glorious gain ;
In face of these doth exercise a power
Which is our human nature's highest dower ;
Controls them and subdues, transmutes, bereaves
Of their bad influence, and their good receives.

It is also the code of conduct that Wordsworth eloquently outlined in his *Ode to Duty* ; the man who follows the path of duty is fulfilling God's purpose and triumphs over earthly terrors and temptations ; duty is the Law-giver of the Universe—

Thou dost preserve the stars from wrong ;
And the most ancient Heavens, through thee, are fresh and strong.

Duty has its place in the ordinary affairs of men just as it induces order and harmony in the vastnesses of Space and Time : to serve

duty is in fact to gain confidence and courage in our actions. And as explanatory and convincing exhibits, Wordsworth propped up before us the examples of Michael and the Leech-gatherer. Thus Wordsworth strove to show us "the deep power of joy" and "joy in widest commonalty spread." With all these apologies and special pleadings, a modern reader, a creature of disillusion that he unfortunately is, and even a creature of despair, fed alas, on the prickly-pear-like poetry of T. S. Eliot and Wystan Auden, feels constrained to conclude that Wordsworth's message of complacent adoration of Nature can never be a safe guide to us. He feels rather with Mr. Aldous Huxley: "Our direct intuitions of Nature tell us that the world is bottomlessly strange; alien, even when it is kind and beautiful; having innumerable modes of being that are not our modes; always mysteriously not personal, not conscious, not moral; often hostile and sinister; sometimes even unimaginably, because inhumanly, evil."

It is perhaps instructive to contrast, in general terms, Wordsworth's approach to Nature with that of his contemporaries, Coleridge, Byron, Shelley and Keats. Coleridge, the poet of *Kubla Khan* and *Christabel* and the *Ancient Mariner*, looked upon Nature as a thing of undying mystery, intriguing and awful; Man was a puny thing puzzled by the queer incomprehensibility of Nature. Byron found in the ocean, the winds and the mountains a symbol of Nature's freedom, energy and passion; Nature free was in lurid contrast to man being everywhere in chains:

Above me are the Alps,
The palaces of Nature, whose vast walls
Have pinnaced in clouds their snowy scalps,
And throed Eternity in icy halls
Of cold sublimity....

Shelley adored Nature and almost loathed man; he went to Nature as an escape from his own thralldom. The skylark is happy and free, for it has none of man's miseries:

Waking or asleep,
Thou of death must deem
Things more true and deep
Than we mortals dream,
Or how could thy notes flow in such a crystal stream?

The west wind is full of the tumult and strength of existence, for it is not like man, cribbed, cabined and confined within the prison-house of his sad thoughts. To Keats, on the other hand, single manifestations of Nature like the *Nightingale* or *Autumn*, "the season of mists and mellow fruitfulness", were adorable. He

was a pagan worshipping each distinct slice of Nature as a separate Godhead. But Wordsworth went further than them all and soared in the regions of a spiritual apprehension of the fact of Nature and of Man. He asserted the in-dwelling of Nature within the heart of man. He forged the links between Nature and Man closer and tighter till he simplified them into "a comfortable metaphysical unreality." Nature poetry in English literature, through the past five centuries, has had a distinguished record. Indeed, Nature, God and Man have been, in divers groupings and differentiations, the recurring themes of the poetry of all nations and of all times. But early Nature poetry, as evident in Chaucer and Spenser, Milton and Pope, seems to be objective and occasional rather than subjective and sustaining; and Nature descriptions appear decorative rather than interpretative. Perhaps, the first great Nature poem in the English language was James Thomson's *The Seasons*, but even there, the descriptions of the seasons and rural sights and sounds and incidents are always objective: the personality of the poet nowhere intrudes itself between the poem and the reader. Later poems like Gray's "Spring" and the never-to-be-sufficiently-praised Collins's rhyme-less "Ode to Evening" are nearer approaches to a subjective appreciation of Nature. Cowper's long poem, *The Task*, is a description of his own daily life and of the surrounding countryside. Nature had been to Cowper a healer of his misfortunes and thus he anticipates Wordsworth and the Lake Poets. Crabbe's *The Village* is full of realistic and naturalistic descriptions of the countryside and reveals the beauties as well as the horrors of Nature. In the Victorian period, poets were still under the influence of the Wordsworthian ideal: but the ideal was systematically diluted by Tennyson. Darwin's voice was being heard; science was laying bare the unvarnished truth about Nature. The scepticism or agnosticism of the age had its poetical mouthpiece in Matthew Arnold. *Philomela* is an antidote to the Nightingales and Skylarks and Green Linnets of the Wordsworthian Age. With Thomas Hardy shades gathered about Nature: *The Darkling Thrush* is symbolic of the new Nature poetry. In more recent years, D. H. Lawrence has given us an opulent legacy of characteristic Nature poetry. His poems on fruits, flowers, trees, reptiles, birds and animals combine knowledge of appearances as well biological truths about them, so much so, he has been called the "truest Nature poet." But whether we consider the Nature poetry written before the time of Wordsworth or after, we can see no reason to withhold the title that has been generally accorded to him, that he is the only Laureate of Nature, the Nature poet *sui generis*.

A foot-note to Wordsworth's philosophy of Nature is his attitude towards childhood. Like most great poets, Wordsworth was perennially interested in the problem of childhood. He unceasingly regretted his lost childhood and the innocent or profound pleasures incident to it. Lucy, the girl in "We are seven", the child in the sonnet "It is a beautiful evening", the little urchins playing their Christmas tune,—Wordsworth had observed them all and seen on their faces shine a revival of the light that as a child had been his. As a man, Wordsworth felt tougher, more rational, more responsible, but less happy, less intuitively sure of things, less free than he had been as a child. All this is described with reminiscent tenderness and vitality in his "Ode on the intimations of Immortality from recollections of Early Childhood":

Heaven lies about us in our infancy !
 Shades of the prison-house begin to close
 Upon the growing Boy,
 But he beholds the light, and whence it flows,
 He sees it in his joy ;
 The Youth, who daily farthest from the east
 Must travel, still is Nature's priest,
 And by the vision splendid
 Is on his way attended ;
 At length the Man perceives it die away,
 And fade into the light of common day.

It is, in substance, the same as Thomas Hood's regret—

now 'tis little joy
 To know I'm farther off from Heaven
 Than when I was a boy.

Poets so various as Shakespeare and Blake, Wordsworth and Browning, Walter de la Mare and Edith Sitwell, have fallen under the spell of childhood. The child's rare vision and insight into the core of existence has puzzled us all. Mr. Ernest Raymond has enumerated the four elements in the child's vision as eternal wisdom, temporal vision, healing touch and poignant humour. The child's wisdom indeed is beyond all knowledge, all *mere* knowledge ; it is the wisdom of people like Jesus, Tolstoi and Gandhi who, in the last stage of their lives, became children again. The child, too, brings to the world of its being an artist's eye and a poet's fancy. To the child anything is sweet enough ; she makes of stone a baby and of an empty card-board box a fairy's palace. She has the translucent faculty of make-believe, as Francis Thompson would say, to the *n*th power. The child, again, has the healing touch with which she can inspire us with hope, purify our pet prejudices, ennoble and exalt us. Lastly, the child has an inexhaustible fund

of humour and she is ever tripping and skipping, laughing and crying and dreaming : she is anything but being dull and prosaic. Wordsworth held fast to (as Arnold states it) "the idea of the high instincts and affections coming out in childhood, testifying of a divine home recently left and fading away as our life proceeds,"—

Our birth is but a sleep and a forgetting :
The soul that rises with us, our life's star,
Hath had elsewhere its setting,
And cometh from afar ;
Not in entire forgetfulness,
And not in utter nakedness,
But trailing clouds of glory do we come
From God who is our home.

Wordsworth observes children playing and laughing, lusting in the sheer fact of life, enjoying each passing moment to the uttermost, loading every rift of time with the ore of intense living : as for himself—

Turn whereso'er I may,
By night or day,
The things which I have seen, I now can see no more...
Whither is fled the visionary gleam ?
Where is it now, the glory and the dream ?

It is easy to dismiss the child's jollity and laughter as irrelevant and to say that the fertility of her imagination is merely meaningless caprice. On the contrary, some of the greatest philosophers and poets have preferred to find in the world of childhood nothing less than a reproduction of the world of God. In Mr. R. L. Megroz's words, "the earliest emotional situations formed in the child's mind are patterns of universal significance." We often ask ourselves how is it that the child, since the very moment of her birth, puts on a halo of joy and wreathes herself with the most enchanting smiles. She seems to be at peace in and with this world and to have no puzzles and phantasies about the fact of her existence. She seems to be eager to taste of the glory of life with neither hesitation nor care. To her everything is credible enough and everything is obvious. She seems to apprehend the purpose of creation in all its details and to find no cause to complain but to find every cause to exult and to enjoy :

See, at his feet, some little plan or chart,
Some fragment from his dream of human life,
Shaped by himself with newly-learned art...
Thou, whose exterior semblance doth belie
Thy Soul's immensity ;
Thou best philosopher, who yet dost keep
Thy heritage, thou Eye among the blind,

That, deaf and silent, read'st the eternal deep,
 Haunted for ever by the eternal mind,—
 Mighty Prophet ; Seer blest !

How can the riddle be solved? Wordsworth thought that it could only be due to the fact that grown-up man has somehow lost the secret of living—he has given his heart away a sordid boon, whereas the child has an inner light which enables her to see things with clarity, as it were in lightning flashes, though, to us, the purpose of all that divine laughter and joy may be quite unintelligible. However, Wordsworth adds, there is something in life to be thankful for; howsoever old we may be, we retain the power of reminiscence and this practice of reminiscence—or, in Marcel Proust's potent phrase, *a la recherche du temps perdu*—is at once our regret and our consolation. And Nature, though it may not assault us now with its luscious essences, can help us to recover our balance and our moral sanity :

I only have relinquished one delight
 To live beneath your more habitual sway.

As he said elsewhere, "Nature never did betray the heart that loved her." With such a faith, and following such a path of impassioned contemplation of Nature, Man may yet inherit the pleasures of this world and anticipate those of the world to come.

One last question remains to be answered: what exactly was the sum and summit of Wordsworth's achievement? Critics are here prone to separate the philosophy from the poetry and vote for one or the other according to their personal predilections. Thus Matthew Arnold wrote: "The Wordsworthians are apt to praise him for the wrong things, and to lay far too much stress upon what they call his philosophy. His poetry is the reality, his philosophy...is the illusion. Perhaps we shall one day learn to make this proposition general, and to say: Poetry is the reality, philosophy the illusion." To Professor A. E. Housman, too, what is durable and unique in Wordsworth's writings is "that thrilling utterance which pierces the heart and brings tears to the eyes of thousands who care nothing for his opinions and beliefs." According to this view, the dissolving pathos and humanity of *Ruth*, *The Affliction of Margaret*, the *Lacy* poems and *Michael* is the more important constituent of Wordsworth's achievements than the philosophical passages in *The Prelude* and *The Excursion* and the whole of the odes to Duty and on the intimations of Immortality. The issue between poetry and philosophy is an age-long thing: the matter becomes delicate only when the quarrel becomes internecine. With Plato it was so, and an open civil war it was in which the philosopher

triumphed; with Wordsworth it was less open but not less real. We had quoted Professor Garrod's view that Wordsworth's genius died of a metaphysical atrophy—and that is the truth of the matter. Wherein lies the antinomy between poetry and philosophy? Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch answers, as usual loading the dice heavily against the philosophers: "Philosophy and poetry work on different planes, and their terms belong to different categories. The one seeks to comprehend, the other to apprehend; the one moving round, would embrace the circumference of God's purpose, the other is content to leap from a centre *within* us to a point of the circumference, and seize it by direct vision." But, after all, do we gain anything by settling the priority of one over the other? One might as well decide if the nose or the eye is the more important human organ. I would rather share Mr. T. S. Eliot's belief: "Nothing in this world or the next is a substitute for anything else; and if you find that you must do without something, such as religious faith or philosophic belief, then you must just do without it." Let us not therefore quarrel with the ardent Wordsworthians; let them also have a place under the sun. Wordsworth's poetry is great, said Arnold, "because of the extraordinary power with which Wordsworth feels the joy offered to us in Nature, the joy offered to us in the simple primary affections and duties; and because of the extraordinary power with which, in case after case, he shows us this joy and renders it so as to make us share it." It is all true and yet not the whole truth. In poems like *Tintern Abbey* and the *Immortality Ode* it is fairly impossible to dissociate the thought from the emotion, the poetry from the philosophy: one is unescapably and intrinsically implicated in the other: there seems to be an entire inevitability of utterance. Wordsworth's Ruth and Margaret, the Highland Girl and the Leech-gatherer, his Matthew and Michael, they are all suffused with a poetic gleam that makes them radiant and human and immortal; when writing about them, Wordsworth indeed brings out those untranslatable, unwordable touches that, as Arnold said, Nature seems not only to have given the matter for the poems but to have actually written them. We are subdued and converted; we read on and on, dwelling more lingeringly perhaps on the more poetic passages, and page after page is turned, and we accept even the thousand odd pages of the "Complete Poetical Works" with loving gratitude; here and there, sometimes rarely and sometimes more often, we observe great Wordsworth nod but yet we dare not skip the pages; who knows what booby traps of compelling magnificence may have been inserted even in prolonged deserts of aridness and waste? No, we

cannot afford to miss the gems of purest ray serene that may lie hidden in the vast unfathomed caves of prosy sermonisings and recitals : the painstaking labour of wading through the marshy tracts of *The White Doe of Rylstone* and *The Recluse* and *The Excursion* is amply rewarded if, off and on, we stumble on some revealing searchlight into the profundities of the human heart : and since the initiated student of Wordsworth is always sure of this, he will have no reason to demur, no reason to wish that William Wordsworth had been somebody else.

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THREE CRITICS

(1) ARISTOTLE

In the tenth book of the *Republic*, Plato says "With the single exception of hymns to the gods and panegyrics on the good, no poetry ought to be admitted into a state. For if you determine to admit the highly-seasoned muse of lyric or of epic poetry, pleasure and pain will have sovereign power in your state, instead of law and those principles which, by the general consent of all time, are most conformable to reason";¹ and later, "we must not make a serious pursuit of such poetry [as that whose end is to please, and imitation] in the belief that it grasps truth, and is good."² Further, the poet "resembles the painter in producing things that are worthless when tried by the standard of truth; and he resembles him also in this, that he holds intercourse with a part of the soul which is like himself, and not with the best part. And this being the case, we shall henceforth be justified in refusing to admit him into a state that would fain enjoy a good constitution, because he excites and feeds and strengthens this worthless part of the soul, and, thus destroys the rational part; like a person who should strengthen the hands of the dissolute members of a state, and raise them to supreme power, and at the same time bring the educated class to destruction. Precisely in the same way we shall assert that the imitative poet likewise implants an evil constitution in the soul of each individual, by gratifying that senseless part which, instead of distinguishing the greater from the less, regards the same things now as great, and now as small, and manufactures fantastic phantoms that are very widely removed from truth";³ and "in the case of love, and anger, and all the mental sensations of desire, grief, and pleasure, which, as we hold, accompany all our actions, is it not true that poetic imitation works upon us similar effects? For it waters and cherishes those emotions, which ought to wither with drought, and constitutes them rulers, when they ought to be our subjects, if we

1. *Republic*, 607. (Translation by Davies and Vaughan).

2. *Republic*, 608.

3. *Republic*, 605.

wish to become better and happier instead of worse and more miserable."¹

These quotations represent what Plato had to say against poetry in the *Republic*, and make his two chief objections quite clear; that poetry, being imitation, has no claim to truth; and that, through its power to stimulate emotion, it has a bad moral effect upon people. When Plato's objections are looked at like this, it becomes clear what Aristotle was doing in the *Poetics*: he was justifying poetry against the tenth book of the *Republic*. The three cardinal points of his theory, his view of imitation, his doctrine of the universality of poetic truth, and his metaphor of tragic catharsis, are answers to Plato, although Plato's name is not mentioned in the *Poetics*. Aristotle, like Sidney and Shelley, was a defender and justifier of poetry against the Puritan attitude. Plato's attack on poetry is, like many Puritan things, logical, granted the premises and attitude; and if the *Poetics* were complete, it would offer a coherent theory in refutation of such attacks. And though it is not complete, we can see that the three points are very intimately connected, and provide at least a sketch of such a theory. To the questions: what is poetry? and what its place in human life?, Aristotle hardly returns an explicit answer, but answers are implicit in what he does say.

Character, emotion, and action— $\eta\theta\eta$, $\pi\alpha\theta\eta$ $\pi\rho\alpha\gamma\epsilon\iota\alpha$ ²—are the objects of imitation, and (as Butcher says) the phrase 'men in action'³— $\pi\rho\alpha\gamma\mu\alpha\tau\epsilon\varsigma$ —is 'virtually an equivalent for these'. Aristotle says that imitation is instinct in our nature; man "is the most imitative of living animals, and through imitation learns his earliest lessons; and no less universal is the pleasure in things imitated.....The cause of this again is, that to learn gives the liveliest pleasure, not only to philosophers but to men in general; whose capacity, however, for learning is more limited. Thus the reason why men enjoy seeing a likeness is, that in contemplating it they find themselves learning or inferring, and saying, perhaps, 'Ah, that is he'. For if you happen not to have seen the original, the pleasure will be due not to the imitation as such, but to the execution, the colouring, or some such other cause."⁴ The last sentence of this passage seems to be at variance with what precedes, since we not only learn from imitations of what we have already

1. *Republic*, 606.

2. *Poetics*, (Translated by Butcher) I. 5.

3. Butcher, *Aristotle's Theory of Poetry and Fine Art*, pp. 123-4.

4. *Poetics*, IV. 2-5.

experienced, but, as with pictures of places we have not visited, from imitations of things which we have not experienced. I suppose he means that the pleasure of recognition is peculiar to imitation, whereas that of learning and inferring, though it may be derived from imitation, is not peculiar to it. At any rate, it is clear that Aristotle attributed the pleasure derived from poetry to two sources, imitation, giving the pleasures of the recognition and learning, and other causes¹, in this case harmony and rhythm. Learning is not possible without recognition; in order to get new knowledge, we need some link between what is entirely new to us and what we already know.

Aristotle mentions music and dancing² as examples of imitative arts, akin to poetry. In these there is very little question of reproduction (which Plato's *imitation* tends to mean) but, on the contrary, emphasis on the difference between imitation and its object, even apart from the difference enforced by the medium in which the imitation is carried out. "Each single note is felt as an inward agitation. The regular succession of musical sounds, governed by the laws of melody and rhythm, are allied to those *παρὰ* or outward activities which are the expression of a mental state",³ says Butcher, describing what music meant to Aristotle. Music still stirs emotions, under the condition of a medium arranged with almost mathematical particularity, and thereby imitates the effects of life. The 'inward agitation' induced by music corresponds to certain 'outward activities': so one ingredient of Aristotelian imitation may be reproduction of the effects of life, which is the more probable since tragedy on the stage or in the study stirs pity and fear,⁴ the effects of the contemplation of tragedy in living experience. As for dancing, it too does not reproduce life. It is very different from the movements which it imitates, for its movements are organized in poise and rhythm, and very carefully differentiated from the ordinary movements of the life they imitate. A second ingredient seems to be organization, through which the unities of dancing and music are obtained. Aristotle continually emphasizes unity,⁵ attributing the superiority of tragedy over epic to its superior unity,⁶ a unity which, he points out, depends upon selection⁷ and organization.⁸ Qualities of poetic imitation, then, are pleasure, teaching, similarity in effect to the object imitated, and organized unity. This seems to fit the other points.

'Poetry', says Aristotle, 'is a thing more philosophical and

1. Poetics IV. 6. 2. Poetics I. 4-5. 3. Butcher p. 132. 4. Poetics VI, 2, IV. 11, XIII. 2, XIV.1. 5. v. Poetics *passim*. 6. Poetics V, 5, XXVI 4-6. 7. Poetics V. 5. 8. Poetics XXVI. 6.

more highly serious than history, for poetry tends to express the universal, and history the particular'. This has naively been supposed to mean that he thought characters ought to be generalized types, not individuals. Nothing could be further out. Aristotle is to shew, in reply to Plato, how poetry is truthful: he goes further, and asserts its truth to be of a particularly excellent kind. No sane person thinks that poetry tells the literal truth, especially in those branches with which Aristotle was concerned. What it does is to put before us an imitation of life from which we may learn truth about life. It does not give us mere facts, like history, nor general laws, like philosophy; but it gives us an imitation of life in a form which enables us to draw general conclusions about life. It differs in being selected, and organized in small compass; and in reaching farther afield than individual experience. These differences more than compensate for the disadvantages the imitation suffers in not being life. Our individual experience of life is at first hand, for we ourselves have the experience. It is direct, and affects our lives directly. But in poetry we get indirect experience, at second or third hand, which is not, however, like the direct, circumscribed by our senses, by physical necessity, and by those parts of space in which our bodies are able to be present. It need not be confused by the personal emotions which direct experience brings; we are not compelled to take it all in at once, under penalty of missing much of it. In range it covers all of human life that can be told in words: but it is not our *own* experience. In it we cannot be said to have, or even to share, other people's experiences, but we are enabled to understand and sympathize with them. We can understand because the imitation is selected and organized, and sympathize because we experience emotions akin to those the actuality imitated would arouse. And so we learn from poetry and through it are better able to 'see life steadily and see it whole'. How often do we gain a better understanding of our own experiences from the consummate imitation of similar experiences in poetry! In life, our major experiences are fraught with direct personal consequences for us, they meet us with great force, and often tend to overpower us: it is not easy for us to judge them and give them a true place in our lives. But poetry makes it easier for us to do this; by which, and by extending the range of our experience, it gives us universal truth. Unless, however, the elements of Aristotelian imitation are present, poetic universality is not possible.

Catharsis, as Aristotle presents it, is a particular case of the practical working of the other two points, and is the justification of poetry's power to stir emotion. The *Poetics* only deal with tragic

catharsis, but Aristotle probably had comedy in view also. A passage in the *Republic* challenges comedy to justify itself. "Does not the same reasoning apply to jokes which you would yourself be ashamed to make, but which in comic representations, or even in private life, you will be very well pleased to hear, and will not hate as immoral—acting in this just as you acted in your pity? For, on such occasions, you give the rein to that element, which, in your own case, you check by reason, when it would fain create laughter, because you dread the reputation of a buffoon; and, having thus given it strength and spirit, you have often, in your own conduct, been unconsciously seduced into adopting the character of a comic poet".¹ Plato holds that poetry encourages morbid emotions; Aristotle that it corrects them.

'Through pity and fear', Aristotle says, tragedy effects 'the proper *catharsis* of these emotions'.² The word is a descriptive metaphor, and whether it means purification or purgation is not a matter of desperate urgency. "The grammatical point... does not make very much difference to the final interpretation. *katharsis* is a well-known medical and ritual term and refers always to getting rid of something which is either ritually impure or medically unsound. If you purge a person then from these emotions, it means that you get rid of such emotions as are in themselves unsound, or alternatively, if you purify certain emotions, it means that you get rid of the unsound elements in these emotions. These two ideas as you see correspond for all practical purposes. It cannot be argued, however, that the emotions of pity and terror are altogether *per se* unsound, inasmuch as they are themselves to be used as elements of the cure".³ Catharsis is not an explanation of the psychological process by which tragedy has a beneficial psychological effect upon its audience, but a metaphorical description of it. It need not be intended that actual purgation of emotions takes place; enough that a similar effect to that of purging the body happens to the mind. "Tragedy is an imitation of an action that is serious, complete, and of a certain magnitude; in language embellished with each kind of artistic ornament, the several kinds being found in separate parts of the play; in the form of action, not of narrative; *through pity and fear effecting the proper purgation of these emotions*".⁴ All the rest describes tragedy as Aristotle knew it, but the last sentence tells what tragedy does. It produces

1. *Republic*, 606. 2. *Poetics*, VI, 3. 3. Prof. R. M. Henry (President of the Classical Association) in a letter to the writer.

4. *Poetics*, VI, 2-3.

emotional effects akin to those produced by tragic situations in life. As an imitation, it teaches and gives pleasure. As poetry, it enables us to understand, and so to generalize about life. We experience the emotions of pity and fear in a weakened form in which they cannot upset our judgment, and at this low intensity they are rather pleasant than painful. By means of tragedy, pity and fear are purged of whatever element in them throws, in actual life, our judgment out of balance.

καθαρσις, in Hippocratic medicine, is distinguished from *κένωσις*. That means the removal of alien matter; this, the removal of healthy but surplus humours—the difference between getting rid of pus, and of blood. Butcher argues that pity and fear are to be freed from a morbid element—*τα λυπουντα*—which causes pain.¹ This can only be, as has been suggested, their power to disturb mental balance, which is inherent in their occurrence in life, and not often or easily to be overcome. In modern psycho-therapy, a patient may be cured of a 'phobia' by having its cause recalled to his consciousness. He is then able to see it in its true perspective, and, though the 'phobia' is not wholly removed, it loses its panic quality. In the same way, by making understanding easier, pity and fear are purged, even in life. While the morbid element is present there is sentimentality and cowardice; when it is absent there is sympathy and prudence.

From a slightly different point of view, another practice of modern medicine offers an illustration. When we are inoculated against a disease like enteric, dead microbes (which may be said to be purged of their morbid element) are injected into our bodies, which metaphorically acquire an understanding of the microbes, and learn what to do with them when they are alive. This metaphor deserves to be taken about as literally as the catharsis metaphor. It serves the same sort of descriptive purpose. The important thing is that tragedy is a preventative of emotional unbalance, and a teacher of truth—which,

"with new acquit

Of true experience from this great event
With peace and consolation hath dismiss'd,
And calm of mind all passion spent".

2. 'LONGINUS'

'Longinus,' whoever he was, was a great critic and a great man. He has been called "the first romantic critic," and it has

1. Butcher, p. 253ff., and note.

been said that Horace represents the rule, and he the exception, among critics of antiquity. The reasons for these and similar judgments are, no doubt, the stress which he lays upon emotion, his personal approach to many authors, his preference of greatness over correctness, the intensity of his feeling for style, and the very subject of his treatise. But all the same, there is in the *περὶ ῥήσος* a great deal of what we are accustomed to call the classical.

The dating of the work in the first century A.D., the arguments for which Professor Atkins cogently summarizes,¹ is an aid to understanding, since it makes clear the reasons for its position. It was written "when efforts were being made to obtain distinction of style at all costs,"² with many unfortunate results, and it must have had these in mind, and been designed to show what distinction of style truly was, and how it was to be achieved. "... 'sublimity' in its modern sense is not wide enough to cover his treatment. What he has in mind is rather 'elevation,' all that raises style above the ordinary and gives to it distinction in its widest and truest sense; and sound ideas on this subject were what the age most needed, as was shown by the efforts of Tacitus directed to the same end. Hence the work has all the appearance of a treatise written to meet a pressing need of the time."³

Though he continually emphasizes the power over the emotions, and even to inspire awe, that *το ῥήσος* exercises, it would be a mistake to think that he considered the exercise of this power the function of literature. On the contrary, like other qualities of literature, it is a means to an end. This quality, so much sought after, and so unsuccessfully, by the writers of his own time, he found in the works of classical Greece, and his reference is continually to these standards. But since he is concerned with a particular question of style—the sublime—and not with poetry or literature in general, he deals with passages rather than with works, and with the particular rather than the general. It is therefore a natural consequence of his subject and his circumstances that he should emphasize those things emphasis on which is characteristic of a 'romantic' critic. But, as well as taking the great Greeks as his standards, he shows himself in much at one with Aristotle. He finds necessary to great expression the same quality which Aristotle found necessary to great composition—unity, achieved by selection and organization. "One factor of sublimity must necessarily be the power of choosing the most

1. Atkins, *Literary Criticism in Antiquity*, I, 210ff.

2. Atkins, I, 217.

3. Atkins, I, 217-8.

vital of the included elements, and of making these, by mutual superposition, form as it were a single body."¹ And of Sappho's ode, *φαίνεται εἰς*, he says: "All the symptoms are found severally in lovers; to the choice of those which are conspicuous, and to their concentration, is due the pre-eminent merit here."² Here he is dealing with matter rather than with form, in consonance with his principle that the first and most potent source of lofty style is the "faculty of grasping great conceptions,"³ since "great words issue, and it cannot be otherwise, from those whose thoughts are weighty."⁴ This is another side of Aristotle's emphasis on plot, on the bones as a necessary pre-condition of the living flesh. And he says, "Language is made grand in the highest degree by that which corresponds to the collocation of limbs in the body, of which no one, if cut off from another, has anything noticeable in itself, yet all in combination produce a perfect structure."⁵ In his remark upon Sappho's ode, he not only praises its unity, but there is also a suggestion of Aristotle's doctrine of poetic truth—the choice of conspicuous lovers' symptoms and their concentration into one is the way in which universal truth about love can be presented; as, in that poem, it is.

'Longinus' observed a number of things about *το νηος* and his observations can tell us a good deal about the nature of poetry. In the first place "it is not to persuasion but to ecstasy that passages of extraordinary genius carry the hearer."⁶ By itself, or in conjunction with such dicta as "Sublimity is the note which rings from a great soul"⁷ or "Great words issue from those whose thoughts are weighty,"⁸ this passage might be taken to mean no more than that emotional power in expression is the characteristic of literary genius. But he means more than that. In another place he says that "it is a fact of Nature that the soul is raised by true sublimity, it gains a proud step upwards, it is filled with joy and exultation, as though itself had produced what it hears. Whenever therefore anything is heard frequently by a man of sense and literary experience, but does not dispose his mind to high thoughts, nor leave in it material for fresh reflection, beyond what is actually said; while it sinks, if you look carefully at the whole context, and

1. Longinus (translated by A. O. Prickard) Sect. 10.
2. Long. Sect. 10.
3. Long. Sect. 8.
4. Long. Sect. 9.
5. Long. Sect. 40.
6. Long. Sect. 1.
7. Long. Sect. 9.
8. Long. Sect. 9.

dwindles away, this can never be true sublimity, being preserved so long only as it is heard. That is really great, which gives much food for fresh reflection; which it is hard, nay impossible, to resist: of which the memory is strong and indelible."¹ Here he makes it essential to sublimity that 'men of sense and literary experience' should be moved to fresh reflection, and have their minds disposed to high thoughts; and this happens when 'the soul is raised...and filled with joy and exultation,' when it is in ecstasy. Mere persuasion is something which affects its subject from outside; it does not enlist himself on its side, for he is not emotionally concerned in the issue, and his part is not dynamic. But sublimity makes an ally of the reader or hearer, and, by putting him into a state of ecstasy, adds his emotional force to its own; the part which he plays is dynamic, leading to fresh reflection and high thoughts. But of what sort are these? 'Longinus' does not say; but they can only be about one thing—life, in one aspect or another. And with 'men of sense and literary experience' fresh reflection and high thoughts about life must lead to a fuller and better understanding of it.

Some aspect or some part of life is imitated by the poet in such a way that he achieves sublimity, and the man who reads it experiences an intense emotional excitement, which nevertheless is not the same as the excitement which that part or aspect of life would itself actually have produced in him. Indeed, 'Longinus' does not seem to be referring to this side of the emotion, but rather to the peculiar quality of emotion which poetry produces—'the clear vision, the pure magic' which Kipling attributes to only a few lines, in the *Ode to a Nightingale* and *Kubla Khan*.² This quality is exceedingly difficult to describe, yet all lovers of literature know it, however differently they may express their reactions. 'How beautiful!', 'How perfect!', 'How good!', 'How brilliant!', 'How true!', 'How charming!'—they all express practically the same thing when they describe an involuntary emotional reaction to poetry.

The special virtue of 'Longinus' is his recognition of this emotional effect. But he does not make it the test of sublimity, like the really romantic critics. It is suggested by what he says that this ecstasy is not without reason, that it does not need to be accounted for by a direct effect of the words on the reader. When "the soul is filled with joy and satisfaction, as though itself had produced what it hears," it experiences a pleasure akin to that which the writer experienced when his expression of his high thoughts satisfied

1. Long. Sect. 7.

2. In *Wireless* (Traffic and Discoveries).

him. Pope had something like this in his mind when he said

"True wit is Nature to advantage drest—

What oft was thought, but ne'er so well exprest,"

but not the same, for it is perfectly clear that 'Longinus' was never thinking of mere expression when he speaks of sublimity. Greatness of thought was a *sine qua non*. A writer hardly experiences the joy and satisfaction which come from expression unless he has had something to express which seemed worth while to him; and a necessary element in that satisfaction is understanding. "He tames grief, that fetters it in verse." Inexplicable sorrow is much harder to bear than that which is understood. A great deal of the poet's pleasure in his work comes from the fact that, by being made communicable to others, his great thoughts are made intelligible to himself. "Beautiful words are, in a special sense, the light of thought"¹. The well-chosen word, the *mot juste*, lights up the thought clearly and vividly; it is understood in a flash, not taken in piecemeal and laboriously—"Sublimity, we know, brought out at the happy moment, parts all the matter this way and that, and like a lightning flash, reveals, at a stroke and in its entirety, the power of the orator"²; for the power of the orator cannot be revealed unless it "disposes the mind to high thoughts, and gives it material for fresh reflection."³

His remarks on music are also illuminating. Melody "is not only an instrument natural to man, which produces persuasion and pleasure; it is a marvellous instrument, which produces passion, but leaves him free... Do not the notes of the harp, which in themselves signify nothing, yet by the interchange of sounds, the mutual accompaniment, the mingled harmony, cast upon us a spell, which is, you well know, often marvellous, although these are but images and bastard copies of persuasion, not genuine forces operative upon human nature?"⁴ So "Composition... must... at once soothe us as we hear, and also dispose to stateliness, and high mood, and sublimity."⁵ The place, then, of sound in sublimity (for by 'composition' he means the arrangement of words for their rhythm and sound⁶) is to open the minds of the readers to the full acceptance of what is said to them. It produces passion yet leaves them free. Music, especially through its rhythms, has the power of stirring our

1. Long. Sect. 30.

2. Long. Sect. 1.

3. Long. Sect. 7.

4. Long. Sect. 39.

5. Long. Sect. 39.

6. Long. Sect. 39.

emotions without intellectual intervention—an inferior thing in itself; but literature can use this power to put its readers into the mood in which they most readily assimilate the things it says. The emotion produced by sound does not compel to action, or even to thought, as it would if it arose in life; but it is there, an ally to strengthen the understanding and the will towards action. In this way it leads to illumination; as if, in the dark before a flash of lightning, the pupils of our eyes were by some means already contracted exactly to suit the brightness of the coming light.

Perhaps the wisest of all the things that 'Longinus' had to say is "judgment of style is the last and ripest fruit of much experience"¹—experience, this must be, of both literature and life, the experience of "men of sense, accustomed to literature." It must be so, because from among the five sources² of lofty style which he enumerates, wise and intense experience of life can alone lead to understanding of the first two, while judgment of the others is chiefly a matter of literary education. Nor can we judge style without having some understanding of what is intended to be expressed. This cannot come wholly from style, since we cannot understand absolute novelty without having in our minds something to which we can refer it for classification, *per genus et differentiam*.

'Longinus' is actually concerned with a technical rather than a theoretical problem. Aristotle does not say how catharsis is brought about; he is content that it does take place. But 'Longinus' shews what sort of writing produces (in the widest metaphorical sense) a cathartic effect.

3. SIR PHILIP SIDNEY

The Elizabethan critics were chiefly concerned with two things: one, how to elevate English poesy to the position which they felt, as English, that it deserved and could reach; and the other, to defend it against Puritan attacks. And when they are dealing with the second, they give the impression of men drawn from their main interest, and eager to return to it, as soon as they can free themselves from the mosquito-like annoyances they are suffering. We hardly find a critic of the age who is not interested in technical matters, and

1. Long. Sect. 2.

2. The five sources are—

(1) Grandeur of conception.
 (2) Intensity of emotion.
 (3) The skilful use of figures.
 (4) Nobility of diction.
 (5) Harmonious word-order, (Long. Sect. 8).

the improvement and development of English poetry. In these things, they are original investigators, sometimes wrong-headed and absurd, but full of eagerness to find ways to their end, and deeply serious in their pursuit of it. This is not so where the justification of poetry is concerned. They saw that certain poetry seemed vulnerable to Puritan attack, but they were not interested in justifying that poetry. As a whole, they believed in poetry and were not very curious why they believed in it. What they wished to do was to silence the tiresome interrupters, and get back to business. And indeed the logic on both sides is no more sound than that of Berkeley, on the one hand, or Johnson's practical refutation of it, on the other. While these are reasons why the defence of poetry should have run along the lines it did, it seems likely that had any serious interest in the comprehension of the nature and value of poetry been roused, some less childish and inconsistent arguments in its favour would have appeared. Their position was superficially like that of Aristotle replying to Plato's attack, and fundamentally, no doubt, the quarrel was the same. But all the Puritans had in common with Plato was their subordination of all other things to one purpose: and all the defenders had in common with Aristotle was their love of poetry; and they were concerned, not to discover the true value and nature of poetry, but to defend it, as in a court of law.

Though in technical matters they are various, traditional or anti-traditional, authoritarians or innovators, or ready to take good where they find it, in poetical theory they are much bound by authority. Though the classics had usurped some of the Church's authority, the attitude had not greatly changed, and a quotation from a writer to be revered was a forcible argument, whoever the writer was. Even to-day, the cross-citation of authorities is hardly even an obsolescent method of controversy. The age of Elizabeth was a religious age. J. M. Robertson's *History of Free-thought* shows how religious it was, even while he is stressing the irreligious elements in the thought of the time. There was no one who did not pay lip-service to, and few who did not thoroughly accept, those parts of Christian belief on which Christian ethics depend, especially immortality and the salvation of the soul. Professor Michael Tierney says, in a recent article, "The dissociation between Christianity and the study of the classics is a very ancient tradition. It is probably even pre-Christian in origin, deriving, as I believe, ultimately from the old feud between philosophy and poetry, to which Plato, here undoubtedly reproducing a genuine Socratic idea, refers in the last book of his *Republic*. The Cynic and Stoic successors of Socrates passed on to the early Church their

side of the feud, which turned into one between the new religion and the old literature. In its more extreme forms it led to the rejection even of grammar itself, and to an implicit theory that fervour made up for all except the narrowest ecclesiastical training. It persisted right up to the Renaissance, which itself was in one sense only the reversal of the picture, the victory of the long-suppressed literature of Greece and Rome over its millennial rival."

In these 'spacious days,' this feud was important, for though the Renaissance gave strength to literature, the Reformation gave strength to Puritanism, as vigorous an opponent of literature as the Church had ever been; indeed, this particular Church tradition was carried on by the Puritans, by a strange but natural turn. Rebels, after all, are usually Utopists, and try to interfere with life, the corollary of which is to interfere with literature. And when power has made them conservative, and interference with life has turned out to be not altogether so useful as they had thought, interference with literature is what they cling to, as the last shred of their prophetic garment. The Puritans might have put up a defence of poetry on the grounds of freedom of conscience, but it would not likely have gone even as far as *Areopagitica*, for, after all, "orthodoxy is my doxy." In any case, their quarrel with the poets and lovers of poetry was not one of principle, for on that they were more or less agreed, but of fact: Was poetry, or was it not, an hindrance to the practice of virtue and the Christian life? The Puritans were perhaps the most independent of authority among the Elizabethans, but they drew on the Fathers for their ammunition. The question was the traditional one, whatever side a man was on. The defenders looked to the ancients for arguments, and, inclined to think that the classical ways were the best possible, based themselves on Horace especially; but they interpreted the *miscere utile dulci* in a way much coloured by their religious outlook.

The position of the Church, at its most favourable to literature, had been expressed in St. Basil's *De legendis libris gentiliū*; and it is curiously interesting that Sir John Harington, who owes so much to Sidney, in the *Briefe Apologie of Poetrie* prefixed to his translation of *Orlando Furioso* (1591), draws directly upon St. Basil when he comes to the Christian position and duty in this matter.¹

"I cannot denie," he says, "but to vs that are Christians, in respect of the high end of all, which is the health of our soules, not only Poetrie but all other studies of Philosophy are in a manner vaine and superfluous, yea (as the wise man saith) whatsoever is

1. Gregory Smith, curiously, did not notice this.

under the sunne is vanitie of vanities, and nothing but vanitie. But sith we live with men & not with saints, and because few men can embrace this strict and stoicall divinitie, or rather, indeed, for that the holy scriptures, in which those high mysteries of our salvation are contained, are a deepe & profound studie and not subject to euerie weake capacite, no nor to the highest wits and judgments, except they be first illuminat by Gods spirit or instructed by teachers and preachers : there we do first read some other authors, making them as it were a looking glasse to the eyes of our minde, and then after we haue gathered more strength, we enter into profounder studies of higher mysteries, hauing first as it were enabled our eyes by long beholding the sunne in a bason of water at last to looke vpon the sunne it selfe. So we read how that great *Moses*, whose learning and sanctitie is so renowned over all nations, was first instructed in the learning of the Egyptians before he came to that high contemplation of God and familiaritie (as I may so terme it) with God.¹ This is the argument of the second section of St. Basil's 'children's sermon,' and the examples of *Moses*, and the sun reflected in water, are taken directly from it. St. Basil, on the other hand, does not speak of living "with men and not with saints", but says that the minds of young people, which are yet scarcely ripe for the mysteries of Christianity, can be prepared for such study by reading the examples of virtue in the pagan poets, historians, and philosophers. He thought (though perhaps he did not feel) that all non-sacred literature was only of value when it gave direct instruction in the practice of virtue. In this light it is quite clear why the Elizabethans so emphasized allegorical interpretation : it was the easiest way to justify their desires to their principles. They were probably no less successful in deceiving themselves than other men have been at other times and in other matters.

Puttenham, arguing from the same premises, expatiates upon what Harington hints at when he speaks of living "with men and not with saints" ; and justifies even trifling poetry as being relatively not noticeably further removed from divine things than the most serious literature. "And as I can not denie but these conceits of mine be trifles, no less in very deepe be all the most serious studies of man, if we shall measure grauitie and lightnesse by the wise mans ballance, who, after he had considered of all the profoundest artes and studies among men, in th'ende cryed out with this Epyphoneme, *Vanitas vanitatum & omnia vanitas*."²

1. Gregory Smith, *Elizabethan Critical Essays*, II., 197-8.

2. E. C. E., II, 116.

To the Elizabethans, over whom Christian dogma had a hold which it is difficult for most of us to appreciate to-day, arguments of St. Basil's sort had great force. And since thought on most philosophical matters, for or against, was conditioned by Christian dogma, it did not occur to them to pursue subtle explanations, but to take the answer already suggested, which was next at hand, and, so to speak, meet the adversaries on their own ground. That answer was allegorical interpretation,¹ for which they could find support, not only from the fathers and the heritage of Platonic ideas, but from the current over-simple interpretation of Aristotle's poetic universality and Horace's whole attitude. According to Lodge; "in the person of Saturne our decaying yeares are signified; in the picture of angry Iuno our affections are dissiphered; in the person of Minerua is our vnderstanding signified, both in respect of warre as policie. When they faine that Pallas was begotten of the braine of Iupiter, their meaning is none other but that al wisdome (as the learned say) is from aboue, and cometh from the father of Lights: in the portraiture of Apollo all knowledge is denotated. So that, what so they wrot, it was to this purpose, in the way of pleasure to draw men to wisdome."² And "what is here prefigurde by our miraculous Artist," asks Chapman, "but the vniuersal world, which, being so spatious and almost unmeasurable, one circlet of a Shield represents and imbraceth?"³

On the other hand, they insist often on the delight of poetry, which, plainly, was something they valued greatly; though they all thought of it as a means to an end, sometimes they rather forgot the end in the means. It is possible however, to make too much of this as a prelude to a merely aesthetic view of poetry, such as was current within living memory. The Elizabethans enjoyed the *dulce*, but they did not think it valuable without the *utile*.

Sir Philip Sidney is representative of Elizabethan literary theory. He may go farther and see more than others, but the ideas and principles that underlie his work are the same. And what seems

1. Gregory Smith quotes Sir Thomas Wilson's *Arte of Rhetorique*—"For undoubtedly there is no one tale among all the poets, but under the same is comprehended some thing that pertaineth either to the amendment of manners, to the knowledge of truth, to the setting forth of Nature's work, or else to the understanding of some notable thing done . . . The Poets were wise men, and wished in heart the redress of things"—and comments: "This idea runs throughout the essays, alike in the general theory, and in the method used in the interpretation of literary examples."

2. E. C. E., I, 66.

3. E. C. E., II, 297.

most remarkable about his discussion, as about those of other Elizabethan critics, in spite of much that is brilliant, is its crudity and over-simplicity. Their answers to the fundamental problems about literature are so ready as to be immediately suspect of superficiality.

Sidney opens by arguing that the antiquity of poetry is proof of its value as the source of all other learning, but this takes no account of the possibility of other learning being an improvement on poetry. Neither has his argument from the universal occurrence of poetry in both barbarous and civilized nations any real weight for its defence. When he justifies the title *vates* on the ground that the *Sortes Virgilianae* had much faith put in them, and that the oracles of the Sybil and Delphic Apollo were in verse, and that "the holy David's Psalmes are a divine poem," the scholarship is purposeless. But there is more to be said for his argument from the words *poeta* and *makar*, since that leads him to consider the poet as creator, whence he passes to imitation. All arts,¹ he says, Astronomy, Geometry, Music, Natural and Moral Philosophy, Law, History, Grammar, Rhetoric, Logic, Medicine, Metaphysics, build upon Nature: "only the Poet, disdainyng to be tied to any such subjection, lifted vp with the vigor of his own inuention, dooth growe in effect another nature in making things either better than Nature bringeth forth, or, quite a newe, formes such as neuer were in Nature, as the *Heroes*, *Demigods*, *Cyclops*, *Chimeras*, *Furies*, and such like: so as hee goeth hand in hand with Nature, not inclosed within the narrow warrant of her gifts, but freely ranging onely within the Zodiack of his own wit. Nature never set forth the earth in so rich tapistrie as diuers Poets have done, neither with

1. c.f. Bacon's more orderly statement: "there is agreeable to the spirit of Man a more ample Greatnesse, a more exact Goodnesse, and a more absolute varietie than can bee found in the Nature of things. Therefore, because the Acts or Euent of *true Historie* haue not that Magnitude which satisfieth the minde of Man, *Poesie* faineth Acts and Euent Greater and more Heroicall; because *true Historie* propoundeth the successes and issues of actions not so agreeable to the merits of Vertue and Vice, therefore *Poesie* faines them more iust in Retribution and more according to Revealed Providence; because *true Historie* representeth Actions and Euent more ordinarie and lesse interchanged, therefore *Poesie* endueth them with more Rarenesse and more vnexpected and alternative Variations: So as it appeareth that *Poesie* serueth and conferreth to Magnanimitie, Morallitie, and to delectation. And therefore it was euer thought to haue some participation of diuinesse, because it doth raise and erect the Minde, by submitting the shewes of things to the desires of the Mind, whereas reason doth buckle and bowe the Mind unto the Nature of things."

pleasant riuers, fruitful trees, sweet smelling flowers, nor whatsoever else may make the too much loued earth more louely. Her world is brassen, the Poets only deliver a golden. But let those things alone and goe to man, for whom as the other things are, so it seemeth in him her vtter most cunning is employed, and know whether shee haue brought forth so true a louer as *Theagines*, so constant a friende as *Pilades*, so valiant a man as *Orlando*, so right a Prince as *Xenophons Cyrus*, so excellent a man euery way as *Virgils Aeneas*: neither let this be iestingly conceiued, because the works of the one be essentiall, the other, in imitation or fiction; for any vnderstanding knoweth the skil of the Artificer standeth in that *Idea* or fore-conceits of the work, and not in the work it selfe.¹ And that the Poet hath that *Idea* is manifest, by deliuering them forth in such excellencie as hee hath imagined them. Which deliuering forth also is not whollie imaginatiue, as we are wont to say by them that build Castles in the ayre: but so farre substantially it worketh, not onely to make a *Cyrus*, which had been but a particular excellencie, as Nature might haue done, but to bestow a *Cyrus* vpon the worlde, to make many *Cyrus's* if they wil learne aright why and how that Maker made him."²

This is a curious passage. Sidney has seen clearly that the world seen in literature is not the world seen in life, and therefore that poetic imitation is something very different from mere reproduction; but he seriously misconceives the difference, and reckons that the superiority of the poetic world lies in either the monstrosity or the abstract moral constitution of its inhabitants. And indeed they come to much the same thing, for Aeneas, considered as 'so excellent in every way,' is no less a moral monster than Polyphemus was a physical one.³ The creative-power of the poet, however, lies not only in his ability to create such monsters in his golden world, but, by that means, to bestow many such upon the brazen world of Nature, who have taken those creations for their example. But he says that poetry is an art of imitation, by Aristotle's authority: yet his metaphor of a 'speaking picture' shews rather a Platonic than an Aristotelian conception of imitation. And its end is to teach and delight. His conception of imitation is in fact vague, for according to him there are three classes of poets, the sacred, the

1. Bacon differed from him on this point: "I doe rather think that the fable was first and the exposition deuised then that the Morall was first and thereupon the fable framed."

2. E. C. E., I. 156-7.

3. Sidney justifies his conduct to Dido as obedience to diuine command.

philosophical, and those like the best painters "who, having no law but wit, bestow that in colours upon you which is fittest for the eye to see," and are "they which most properly do imitate to teach and delight, and to imitate borrow nothing of what is, hath been, or shall be: but range, onely rayned with learned discretion, into the divine consideration of what may be, and should be." What then do they imitate? Whatever it may be, it is a far cry from 'men in action.' It would seem that the objects of imitation are abstract qualities, for "it is that fayning notable images of vertues, vices, or what else, with that delightful teaching, which must be the right describing note to know a Poet by."¹ and so, in Sidney's hands, Aristotle's doctrines of imitation and poetic universality become simply allegory, "for whatsoever the Philosopher sayth shoulde be doone, hee (the Poet) giueth a perfect picture of it in some one, by whom hee presupposeth it was doone. So as hee coupleth the generall notion with the particular example."² And "if the Poet doe his part a-right he will shew you in *Tantalus*, *Atreus*, and such like, nothing that is not to be shunned; in *Cyrus*, *Aeneas*, *Vlisses*, each thing to be followed."³ It seems strange that Sidney should consider either Ulysses or Aeneas a perfect character—and one suspects that he is simply seizing on the most readily accessible argument to defend the poetry which he loves.

He concludes that the poet is superior to the historian because he offers examples of well-doing while the record of history continually shows bad men crowned with success: poetry therefore teaches better things than history. And it is superior to philosophy, not in teaching, where he is prepared to admit equality, with perhaps a slight balance in philosophy's favour, but in power to move, and so to lead to action. "I thinke," he says, "that no man is so much *Philosophos* as to compare the Philosopher, in moouing, with the Poet. And that moouing is of a higher degree then teaching, it may by this appeare, that it is well nigh the cause and the effect of teaching. For who will be taught, if hee bee not mooued with desire to be taught? and what so much good doth that teaching bring forth (I speak still of morrall doctrine) as that it mooueth one to doe that which it dooth teach?"⁴

It seems clear that in this instance, Sidney clearly recognized two things: that imaginative literature can be, and often is, more

1. E. C. E., I, 160.

2. E. C. E., I, 164.

3. E. C. E., I, 168.

4. E. C. E., I, 171.

enlightening morally than history, and that the emotional force of poetry has something to do with its superiority to philosophy in this respect also. And while it is true that his account of the way in which these things act and are brought about is thoroughly unsatisfactory, it is valuable that he should have realized that the facts were so. To regard literature as a direct stimulus to action is to hold the view that only the Censorship holds to-day.

He admits that "the Lirick is larded with passionate sonnets,"¹ though it "giueth praise, the reward of vertue, to vertuous acts."² It "giues morrall precepts, and naturall Problemes"³ and "sometimes rayseth vp his voice to the heights of the heauens, in singing the laudes of the immortal God."⁴ Pindar, indeed, in his opinion, sometimes exercised his faculty on subjects unworthy of it, but "it was the fault of the Poet, and not of the Poetry";⁵ and in love poetry (which he defends only as expressing the love of beauty) when the erotic becomes unduly prominent, the judgement is to be, not "that Poetrie abuseth mans wit, but that mans wit abuseth Poetrie."⁶ The sonnets to Stella are then, I suppose, the expression of a love for ideal beauty, for they hardly suit the other lyric qualities which he mentions, though, in the twenty-eighth sonnet, he seems to deny that they are allegorical. Not much lyric poetry, and that not the best, is worthy by this standard.

He does say of what comedy, "whom naughtie Playmakers and Stage-keepers haue iustly made odious,"⁷ is an imitation—"of the common errors of our life, which he representeth in the most ridiculous and scornfull sort that may be: so as it is impossible that any beholder can be content to be such a one."⁸ His conception of comedy is that it teaches men to shun evil, by representing evil in a ridiculous light, as a "great folle to perceiue the beauty of vertue"⁹ in "our priuate and domestical matters,"¹⁰ while the "high and excellent Tragedy . . . openeth the greatest wounds, and sheweth forth the Vicers that are coured with Tissue: . . . with sturring the effects of admiration and commiseration, teacheth the vncertainty of this

1. E. C. E., I. 186.

2. E. C. E., I. 178.

3. E. C. E., 178.

4. E. C. E., I. 178.

5. E. C. E., I. 178.

6. E. C. E., I. 187.

7. E. C. E., I. 176.

8. E. C. E., I. 176-7.

9. E. C. E., I. 177.

10. E. C. E., I. 177.

world."¹ Heroical poetry on the other hand, is "the best and most accomplished kinde of Poetry. For as the image of each action styrreth and instructeth the mind, so the loftie image of such Worthies most inflameth the mind with desire to be worthy."²

From all this it is not difficult to extract the general view of poetry to which Sidney committed himself. Poetry was an imitation, not necessarily in verse, of examples of virtue or vice, moving men to practise virtue or to shun vice. The implication is that admiration for virtue and abhorrence for vice are the emotions which lead to practice, yet in his personal remark about *Chery Chase*, it looks as if the emotion he felt was something less abstract, the direct thrill of what Saintsbury romantically calls "the mirific kiss of the spouse." No such thing, however, is in Sidney's theory: and even here he probably believed himself to be urged to emulation of the doughty deeds of Percy and Douglas by admiration for them. His conception of poetry's moral effect was allegorical. And though he lays great stress on delight, he certainly thinks it the sugar coating to the pill, for Poets "doe meere make to imitate, and imitate both to delight and teach, and delight to moue men to take that goodnes in hande, which without delight they would fyee as from a stranger; and teach, to make them know that goodnes whereunto they are moued."³

The value of Sidney's *Apologie* to the progress of English poetry was great, but its contribution to literary theory is not. As a reply, it was effectual; as an inquiry it achieves little. Much has to be allowed, it is true, for the traditions shaping Sidney's outlook, which were largely responsible for the attitude he took up, and the points of his defence. But he makes few observations which are instructive, and no deductions which are illuminating. He tells us little of his actual feeling about poetry. All that we can see is that he found poetry a source of moral teaching, that he recognized a difference between its world and the world of life, and that he loved it and delighted in it. But no critic among his contemporaries can tell us any more.

J. O. BARTLEY

1. E. C. E., I, 177.

2. E. C. E., I, 179.

3. E. C. E., I, 159.

MISCARRIAGE OF ATTEMPTED STRATIFICATION OF THE BHAGAVADGITA

Earnest students of Indian Religion and Philosophy are bound, sooner or later, to be attracted towards the Bhagavadgītā. There is a real human interest in the Poem. The question to which it seeks to furnish an answer is one of perennial interest to mankind; and because the appeal of the Poem, at any rate in its existing form, seems to be predominantly intellectual, critical students of the Poem are intrigued to discover and to set forth logically, and in a language conformable to modern ways of thinking, Śrīkṛṣṇa's answer to the problem of man's duty here below and his destiny hereafter. Indian commentators from Saṅkarācārya downwards have assumed that this answer is one and self-consistent. It is however the case that the commentators' interpretations differ from one another, and accusations of text-torturing have been freely bandied from one side to the other.

Modern scholars, particularly critical scholars from the West, have looked at the question from a slightly different point of view. The Poem offers now and then passages where even the most devoted and pains-taking student inevitably stumbles; and it becomes almost impossible for even the most conscientious reader to retain the threads of the very complicated arguments steadily in the hand and prevent them from getting hopelessly entangled or snapped asunder. Not a few have given up the task as intrinsically incapable of accomplishment, adducing, like Barnett,¹ in justification the argument of confused philosophical terminology or, like Deussen,² the transitional philosophy of the period when the Poem may be assumed to have been composed, or, like Edgerton³ the so-called "mysticism" of the Poem which could juxtapose 'yes' and 'no' and assert the validity of both. Others have essayed to set apart an "original nucleus" of the Bhagavadgītā with a continuous, cogent and consistent argument from "later accretions" to the Poem made by one or more

1. Compare his Translation of the Bhagavadgītā in the Temple Classics, p. 75.

2. *Vier Philosophischen Texte*, Introduction.

3. *Bhagavadgītā*, 1925, p. 95. Senart in his Introduction to the French Transl. of the Poem (1922) had urged similar arguments.

authors for some ascertainable purpose or other. Even W. von Humbolt, writing forty-three years after the first English translation of the Bhagavadgītā (1785) and five years after Schlegel's Latin translation of it, while on the one hand he thanked God for having spared him long enough to be able to read this noble Poem, could not help giving expression¹ to his conviction that the Poem probably ended at Adhyāya XI, with XVIII 63-78 superadded thereto, and that it had suffered several additions and interpolations; and Weber, Holtzmann, Hopkins, Oldenberg and Winternitz wrote in the same strain.

The most notable achievement of the kind, however, came from the late Prof. R. Garbe of Tübingen. In his German translation of the Bhagavadgītā (First edition 1905, Second edition 1921) Garbe essayed to prove that the existing text of the Gītā is a Vedāntic working over of an original Bhakti poem, based on Sāṅkhya metaphysics, of (700-172 =) 528 stanzas. Winternitz for a time accepted Garbe's views wholesale and, following Garbe's own line of reasoning, declared another 200 stanzas as later additions. Latterly he discovered faults in Garbe's reasoning, and was for regarding a very small fraction of the Bhagavadgītā as the original and genuine part of the teaching.² Schrader (ZDMG, 1910, p. 339f.) thought that the oldest Gītā ended with II. 38; Jacobi (ZDMG, 1918, p. 323f.) deleted stanzas II. 7-8, 13-17, 19-24 and 28-29 from Schrader's oldest Gītā, but added XVIII, 73 to it; Oldenberg,³ practically accepting the above conclusion, said that the first doctrinal addition to the Poem began at II. 38 and closed at chapter VI; while Pandit Rajaram Shastri Bhagwat, who is known to have held strong and eccentric views on many questions, thought⁴ that the original Bhagavadgītā was successively elaborated no less than seven times by "seven nameless editors."

The most strong point in Garbe's position was that he essayed to prove the interpolated character of specific passages in the Poem not merely upon subjective considerations but upon strictly objective

1. Compare Winternitz, *Indian Literature*, Eng. Transl., Vol. I, p. 18.

2. Winternitz: loc. cit. p. 436f.

3. NGWG, 1919, pp. 321-32. Compare also Charpentier in the *Indian Antiquary* for 1930, pp. 77-80, pp. 101-106 and 121-125. According to him the first doctrinal addition extended from II. 39 to XI. 50 with XVIII. 74-78 to cap it. The remnant he considered as a quasi-philosophical jargon added by some poetastor. He thus found three strata in the Poem.

4. "Divings into the Bhagavadgītā," in *The Christian Patriot* of 14th, 21st, and 28th January, 1905.

and philological grounds.¹ This is often lost sight of by Garbe's critics. In his concluding reply to Jacobi in the somewhat heated controversy that was carried on² between these *sevants*, to the contention that if Garbe's reasoning were sound he should have been led to reject a far greater number of passages as interpolations, but that if he wanted to retain these latter passages, he should have on the same ground retained several others that he had rejected, Garbe replied³ that he never entertained the illusion that he had ejected all interpolations from the Bhagavadgītā. Given convincing *objective* proofs similar to what he, in his own estimation, had adduced, he would not be unwilling to reject more stanzas if need be; but arguments based on a difference of style or poetic power he would not by themselves accept as decisive. Nobody⁴ to my knowledge has tackled, as such, Garbe's *objective* proofs in their entirety. I made the attempts in 1929 but Garbe had passed away in the meanwhile.⁵

A devoted pupil of Garbe and a student of some standing in the Bhakti literature of India and of Europe, Dr. Rudolf Otto, published in 1934 a small pamphlet of 48 pages calculated to set forth what he considered *Die Urgestalt* (Original Form) der Bhagavadgītā, and the next year another pamphlet of the same size setting forth eight *Lehrtraktate* (Doctrinal Tracts) which, according to Otto, came to be added to the original Poem in course of time, while a complete German translation of the Bhagavadgītā with a triple arrangement of types (one for the Original Poem, one for the Tracts, and a third for additions and minor glosses which came to be inserted some by the authors of the Tracts and others by other interpolators) was also published by him at about the same time, with valuable Introduction, Appendices and Notes. This is an outstanding series of publications on the Bhagavadgītā well worthy of being dedicated to the memory of Professor Garbe. It is at once scholarly, penetrating

1. The most outstanding illustration of this is II. 17. He also mentions III. 9-18, VI. 27-32, etc. See on them my *Basu Mallik Lectures*, pp. 94ff.

2. *Deutsche Literaturzeitung* for 24th December 1921, 11th February 1922, 8th April 1922 and 15th July 1922.

3. *Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, 1922, p. 102 and *Bhagavadgītā*, 2nd edn., p. 24.

4. Not even Oldenberg in *Nachrichten KGWG*, 1919, pp. 321ff., who even accepts some of Garbe's cases, e.g. III. 9-18.

5. E. Lamotte's attempt (*Notes sur la BG.*) published in 1929 became known to me only in 1936. Lamotte, who in most respects follows Oldenberg in NGWG, does not consider II. 17, and his remarks (p. 135) on XVII. 23-28 would seem to support Garbe.

and thought-provoking. The author has mercilessly, but in the cool and courageous spirit of science, dissected the Bhagavadgītā in at least eighteen separate fragments hailing from as many separate authors. The argumentation is highly complex, but adequately documented. It costs an effort to understand the author because his arguments have to be pieced together not only from three separate publications, but three separate parts of one of them, the Translation. His conclusion, which out-garbes Garbe with a vengeance, may be given in his own words¹: "The notion of the compact unity of the Gītā is to be given up. Within the frame-work of the original Gītā has been received a huge and motley assemblage of eight Tracts of varying nature, which claim to pass muster under the authority of Lord Kṛṣṇa. Their characteristic divergences are not to be brushed aside by any straining after homogeneity. They cannot possibly be made to resemble each other. One must on the contrary carefully trace out the manifoldness of Indian life and thought which is in evidence even in them."

After a careful scrutiny of the arguments marshalled out by Otto with rare diligence and insistence, the conviction has come upon me that the author has overshot the mark. His own arguments, as I hope to prove in the sequel, would go to establish the conclusion that the Bhagavadgītā in its present form is, not of course the unitary Poem which Dhalmann,² Oltramare and others found in it, but a philosophical synthesis made by a clear thinker who has scattered all through the Poem stanzas of his own calculated to modify the views which he decided to take over into his teaching. Let us in the first place concentrate our thoughts on what, according to Otto, is the original Bhagavadgītā. This we are told consists of just 133 stanzas. In the successive redactions of the Poem this part received an addition of 35 stanzas, which are of the nature of gloss. Fourteen of these stanzas³ can be identified as "Sāṃkhya gloss," twelve⁴ as "Bhakti gloss," while nine⁵ are of a doubtful nature. To help the reader we first give the text of the "Original Gītā," inserting therein the added stanzas in their proper place but in a smaller type. The original stanzas will be numbered in one sequence in Arabic numerals placed at the commencement of the stanzas and the stanzas of gloss in another sequence with starred Arabic numerals; while the

1. *Die Lehrtraktate*, p. 46.

2. *Genesis des Mahābhārata*, 1899, and *Die Sāṃkhya Philosophie*, 1902.

3. Starred Arabic numbers 1-14.

4. Starred Arabic numbers 15-17 and 27-35.

5. Starred Arabic numbers 18-22 and 23-26.

place of the stanzas in the present Gītā will be shown in Devanāgarī numerals at the end of the stanzas, the first numeral denoting the Chapter. The reader is advised to first ignore the glosses (with starred numbering) so as to get the full effect of the "original" Poem.

॥ श्रीमद्भगवद्गीता ॥

ORIGINAL TEXT

धृतराष्ट्र उवाच—

- 1 धर्मक्षेत्रे कुरुक्षेत्रे समवेता युयुत्सवः ।
मामकाः पाण्डवाश्चैव किमकुर्वत संजय ॥ १.१ ॥

संजय उवाच—

- 2 दृष्ट्वा तु पाण्डवानिकं ध्युयं दुर्योधनस्तदा ।
आचार्यमुपसंगम्य राजा वचनमब्रवीत् ॥ १.२ ॥
- 3 पश्यैतां पाण्डुपुत्राणामाचार्य महतीं बभूवुः ।
बभूवुः द्रुपदपुत्रेण तव शिष्येण धीमता ॥ १.३ ॥
- 4 अत्र शूरा महेष्वासा भीमार्जुनसमा युधि ।
युधामन्यु उिराटश्च द्रुपदश्च महारथः ॥ १.४ ॥
- 5 धृष्टकेतुर्विजितातः काशिराजश्च भीमवान् ।
पुरुजित् कुन्तिभोजश्च शैब्यश्च नरपुंगवः ॥ १.५ ॥
- 6 युधामन्युश्च विक्रान्त उत्तमौजाश्च भीमवान् ।
सौभद्रो द्रौपदेयाश्च सर्व एव महारथाः ॥ १.६ ॥
- 7 अस्माकं तु विशिष्टा ये तान्निबोध द्विजोत्तम ।
नायका मम सैन्यस्य संज्ञार्थं तान् ब्रवीमि ते ॥ १.७ ॥
- 8 भवान् भीष्मश्च कर्णश्च द्रुपश्च समितिजयः ।
अश्वत्थामा विकर्णश्च सौमदत्तिस्तथैव च ॥ १.८ ॥
- 9 अन्ये च बहवः शूरा मदर्थे त्यक्त्वाजीविताः ।
नानाशस्त्रप्रहरणाः सर्वे युद्धविशारदाः ॥ १.९ ॥
- 10 अपर्याप्तं तदस्माकं बलं भीष्माभिरक्षितम् ।
पर्याप्तं त्विदमेतेषां बलं भीष्माभिरक्षितम् ॥ १.१० ॥
- 11 भवनेषु च सर्वेषु ययामागमवस्थिताः ।
भीष्ममेवाभिरक्षन्तु भवन्तः सर्व एव हि ॥ १.११ ॥
- 12 तस्य संजनयन् हर्षं कुरुपुत्रः पितामहः ।
सिंहनादं विनोद्यैः शङ्खं दध्मौ प्रतापवान् ॥ १.१२ ॥
- 13 ततः शङ्खान् मेवैव पणवानकगोमुखाः ।
सहसैवाभ्यहन्यन्त स शब्दस्तुमुल्लेखनवत् ॥ १.१३ ॥

- 14 ततः श्वेतैर्हृदयैर्युक्ते महति स्यन्दने स्थितौ ।
माधवः पाण्डवश्चैव दिव्यौ राज्ञौ प्रदध्मतुः ॥ १.१४ ॥
- 15 पाण्डवजन्यं हृषीकेशो देवदत्तं धनंजयः ।
पौण्ड्रं दध्मौ महाशङ्खं भीमकर्मा वृकोदरः ॥ १.१५ ॥
- 16 अनन्तमिजयं राजा कुन्तीपुत्रो युधिष्ठिरः ।
मकुलः सहदेवश्च सुषोममणिपुष्पकौ ॥ १.१६ ॥
- 17 काश्यप परमेष्वासः शिखण्डी च महारथः ।
बृष्टसुम्नो विराटश्च सात्यकिश्चापराजितः ॥ १.१७ ॥
- 18 हुपदो द्रौपदेयाश्च सर्वशः पृथिवीपते ।
सौभद्रश्च महाबाहुः शङ्खान् दध्मुः पृथक् पृथक् ॥ १.१८ ॥
- 19 स घोषो धार्तराष्ट्रानां हृदयानि व्यदारयत् ।
नमश्च पृथिवीं चैव तुमुलो बभूवनादयन् ॥ १.१९ ॥
- 20 अथ व्यवस्थितान् दृष्ट्वा धार्तराष्ट्रान् कपिष्वजः ।
प्रवृत्ते राजसंघाते धनुस्सम्य पाण्डवः ॥ १.२० ॥
- 21 हृषीकेशं तदा वाक्यमिदमाह महीपते ।

अर्जुन उवाच—

- सेनबोरुमयोर्मध्ये रथं स्थापय मेऽच्युत ॥ १.२१ ॥
- 22 बाणदेवान् निरीक्षेऽहं योद्धुकामानवस्थितान् ।
कैर्मया सह योद्धव्यमस्मिन् रणसमुद्यमे ॥ १.२२ ॥
- 23 योत्स्यमानानवेक्षेऽहं य एतेऽत्र समागताः ।
धार्तराष्ट्रस्य दुर्योधेयुर्ध्वे त्रिवचिकीर्षवः ॥ १.२३ ॥

संजय उवाच—

- 24 एवमुक्तो हृषीकेशो गुडाकेशेन भारत ।
सेनबोरुमयोर्मध्ये स्थापयित्वा रथोत्तमम् ॥ १.२४ ॥
- 25 भीष्मद्रोणप्रसूतः सर्वेषां च महीक्षिताम् ।
उवाच पार्थ पश्यैतान् समवेतान् कुरुनिति ॥ १.२५ ॥
- 26 तत्रापश्यत् स्थितान् पार्थः पितृनथ पितृमहान् ।
आचार्यान् मातुलान् भ्रातृन् पुत्रान् पौत्रान् सखींस्तथा ॥ १.२६ ॥
- 27 श्वशुरान् सुहृदश्चैव सेनबोरुमयोरपि ।
तान् समीक्ष्य स कौन्तेयः सर्वान् बन्धूनवस्थितान् ॥ १.२७ ॥
- 28 कृपया परयाकिष्टो निषीदन्निदमब्रवीत् ।

अर्जुन उवाच—

- दृष्ट्वैव स्वजनं कृष्णं द्रुपदं समुपस्थितम् ॥ १.२८ ॥
- 29 सीदन्ति मम यात्राणि मुखं च परिचुष्यति ।
नेपथुश्च शरीरे मे रोमहर्षश्च जायते ॥ १.२९ ॥

- 30 गाम्भीर्यं खेसते हस्तात् त्वक्चैव परिदृष्टते ।
न च शक्नोम्यवस्थातुं भ्रमतीव च मे मनः ॥ १.३० ॥
- 31 निमित्तानि च पश्यामि विपरीतानि केशव ।
न च श्रेयोऽनुपश्यामि हत्वा स्वजनमाहवे ॥ १.३१ ॥
- 32 न काङ्क्षे विजयं कृष्ण न च राज्यं सुखानि च ।
किं नो राज्येन गोविन्द किं भोगैर्जीवितेन वा ॥ १.३२ ॥
- 33 येषामर्थे काङ्क्षितं नो राज्यं भोगाः सुखानि च ।
त इमेऽवस्थिता युद्धे प्राणांस्त्यक्त्वा धनानि च ॥ १.३३ ॥
- 34 आचार्याः पितरः पुत्रास्तथैव च पितामहाः ।
मातुलाः श्वशुराः पौत्राः श्यालाः संवन्धिनस्तथा ॥ १.३४ ॥
- 35 एतान् न हन्तुमिच्छामि प्रतोऽपि मधुसूदन ।
अपि त्रैलोक्यराज्यस्य हेतोः किं नु महीकृते ॥ १.३५ ॥
- 36 निहृत्य धार्तराष्ट्रान् नः का प्रीतिः स्वाज्जनार्दन ।
पापमेवाश्रयेदस्मान् हत्वैतान्नाततायिवः ॥ १.३६ ॥
- 37 तस्मान्नार्हा वनं हन्तुं धार्तराष्ट्रान् स्वजान्धवान् ।
स्वजनं हि कथं हत्वा सुखिनः स्याम मापव ॥ १.३७ ॥
- 38 यद्यप्येते न पश्यन्ति लोकभोपहतचेतसः ।
कुलक्षयकृतं दोषं मित्रद्रोहे च पातकम् ॥ १.३८ ॥
- 39 कथं न श्लेष्मस्मानिः पापादस्मान्निवर्तितुम् ।
कुलक्षयकृतं दोषं प्रपश्यद्भिर्जनार्दन ॥ १.३९ ॥
- 40 कुलक्षये प्रपश्यन्ति कुलधर्माः सनातनाः ।
धर्मे नष्टे कुलं कृत्स्नमधर्मोऽभिभवत्युत ॥ १.४० ॥
- 41 स्वधर्मान्निभवात् कृष्ण प्रवृण्वन्ति कुलधिनः ।
स्त्रीषु दुष्टाषु वार्ष्णेय जायते वर्णसंकरः ॥ १.४१ ॥
- 42 संकरो नरकायैव कुलघ्नानां कुलस्य च ।
पतन्ति पितरो ह्येषां लुप्तपिण्डोदकक्रियाः ॥ १.४२ ॥
- 43 दोषैरेतैः कुलघ्नानां वर्णसंकरकारकैः ।
उत्तापयन्ते जातिधर्माः कुलधर्माश्च शाश्वताः ॥ १.४३ ॥
- 44 उस्तावकुलधर्माणां मनुष्याणां जनार्दन ।
नरके नियतं वासो भवतीत्यनुशुश्रुम ॥ १.४४ ॥
- 45 अहो वत महत् पापं कर्तुं व्यवसिता वयम् ।
यद्वाज्यमुखलोभेन हन्तुं स्वजनमुद्यताः ॥ १.४५ ॥
- 46 यदि मामप्रतीकारमशस्त्रं शस्त्रपाणवः ।
धार्तराष्ट्रा रणे हन्तुस्तन्मे श्रेयतरं भवेत् ॥ १.४६ ॥

संजय उवाच—

- 47 एवमुक्त्वाहर्जुनः संख्ये रथोपस्थ उपाविशत् ।
विसृज्य सशरं चार्पं शोकसंविभ्रमानसः ॥ १.४७ ॥

- 48 तं तथा कृपयानिष्टमधुपूर्णकुल्लेश्वरम् ।
विधीदन्तमिदं वाक्यमुवाच मधुसूदनः ॥ २.१ ॥

श्रीभगवानुवाच—

- 49 कृतस्त्वा कमलमिदं विषमे समुपस्थितम् ।
अनायैजुष्टमस्वर्ग्यमकीर्तिकरमर्जुन ॥ २.२ ॥
50 क्लृप्तं मा स्म गमः पार्थ नैतत् त्वय्युपपद्यते ।
क्षुद्रं हृदयदीर्घलं त्यक्त्योत्तिष्ठ परंतप ॥ २.३ ॥

अर्जुन उवाच—

- 51 कथं भीष्ममहं संख्ये द्रोणं च मधुसूदन ।
इषुभिः प्रतियोत्स्यामि पूजार्हावरिसूदन ॥ २.४ ॥
52 गुरुनन्दनवा हि महानुभावान्
भेनो भोक्तुं भैक्ष्यमपीह लोके ।
हत्वार्थकामान्सु गुरुनिष्ठैव
भुञ्जीय भोगान् रुधिरप्रक्षिप्तान् ॥ २.५ ॥
53 न वैतद्विद्मः कतरन्नो गरीयो
यद्वा जयेम यदि वा नो जयेयुः ।
यानेव हत्वा न जिजीविषाम-
स्तेऽवस्थिताः प्रमुखे धार्तराष्ट्राः ॥ २.६ ॥
54 कार्पण्यदोषोपहतस्वभावः
पृच्छामि त्वां धर्मसंभूतचेताः ।
यच्छ्रेयः स्यान्निश्चितं कूटि तन्मे
शिष्यस्तेऽहं शाधि मां त्वां प्रपन्नम् ॥ २.७ ॥
55 न हि प्रपन्न्यामि ममापनुया-
द्यच्छोकमुच्छ्रोणमिन्द्रियाणाम् ।
अवाप्य भूमावसपत्नमृद्धं
राज्यं सुराणामपि नाधिपत्यम् ॥ २.८ ॥

सेनन उवाच—

- 56 एवमुक्त्वा हृषीकेशं गुडाकेशः परंतपः ।
न योत्स्य इति गोविन्दमुक्त्वा तूष्णीं बभूव ह ॥ २.९ ॥
57 तनुवाच हृषीकेशः प्रहसन्निव भारत ।
सेनयोद्धवयोर्मध्ये विधीदन्तमिदं वचः ॥ २.१० ॥

श्रीभगवानुवाच—

- 58 अशोच्यान्बन्धशोचस्त्वं प्रज्ञावादांश्च भाषसे ।
गतात्तुनगतासुंश्च नानुशोचन्ति पण्डिताः ॥ २.११ ॥
59 न त्वेषाहं जह्नु नासं न त्वं नेमे जनाधिपाः ।
न चैव न भविष्यामः सर्वे वयमतः परम् ॥ २.१२ ॥

60 देहिनोऽस्मिन् यथा देहे कौमारं यौवनं जरा ।
तथा देहान्तरप्राप्तिर्धारस्तत्र न मुह्यति ॥ २.१३ ॥

- * 1 मायास्पर्शास्त्रु कीर्त्येव शीतोष्णसुखदुःखदाः ।
आमनायाविनोऽनित्यास्तास्तितिक्षस्व भारत ॥ २.१४ ॥
- * 2 यं हि न व्यथयन्त्येते पुरुषं पुरुषर्षभ ।
समदुःखसुखं धीरं सोऽमृतायाम् वस्यते ॥ २.१५ ॥
- * 3 नास्तौ विद्यते भानो नाभानो निष्यते सतः ।
उभयोरपि दृष्टोऽनास्त्यनयोस्तत्पदमिति ॥ २.१६ ॥
- * 4 क्विनासि तु तद्विद्धि देन सर्वमिदं ततम् ।
विनाशमन्यथास्यात् न कश्चित् कर्तुमर्हति ॥ २.१७ ॥
- * 5 जन्तवन् इमे देहा नित्यस्योक्तः शरीरिणः ।
अनाशिनोऽयमेवस्य तस्माद्युधस्व भारत ॥ २.१८ ॥
- * 6 य एनं वेष्टि इन्दारं यद्विनं मन्वते हतम् ।
उन्मी ली न विजानीती भार्य हन्ति न हन्यते ॥ २.१९ ॥

61 न जायते जियते वा कदाचि-
न्नायं भूत्वा भविता वा न भूयः ।
अजो नित्यः शाश्वतोऽयं पुराणो
न हन्यते हन्यमाने शरीरे ॥ २.२० ॥

- * 7 वेदाविनाशिनं नित्यं य एतमयमन्ययन् ।
कथं स पुरुषः पार्थ कं वात्स्यति हन्ति कम् ॥ २.२१ ॥

62 बाह्यानि जीर्णानि यथा विहाय
नवानि गृह्णाति नरोऽपराधि ।
तथा शरीराणि विहाय जीर्णा-
न्यन्वानि संयाति नवानि देही ॥ २.२२ ॥

- * 8 नैनं छिन्दन्ति शस्त्राणि नैनं दहति पावकः ।
न चैनं ह्येदन्त्यापी न शोषयति मारुतः ॥ २.२३ ॥
- * 9 अच्छेद्योऽयमदाह्योऽयमवलेपोऽशोष्य एवं च ।
नित्यः सर्वगतः स्थाणुरचलोऽयं सनातनः ॥ २.२४ ॥
- * 10 अव्यक्तोऽयमचिन्त्योऽयमविकार्योऽयमुच्यते ।
तस्माद्देवं विदित्वैनं नानुशोषितुमर्हसि ॥ २.२५ ॥
- * 11 अथैनं नित्यजार्हं नित्यं वा मन्यसे मृतम् ।
तथापि त्वं महाबाहो नैवं शोषितुमर्हसि ॥ २.२६ ॥
- * 12 आतस्थ हि भुवो मृत्युर्भुवं जन्म मृत्युश्च य ।
तस्मात्परिहर्त्यैवं न त्वं शोषितुमर्हसि ॥ २.२७ ॥
- * 13 अन्नकादीनि भूतानि व्यक्तमध्यानि भारत ।
अव्यक्तनिधनान्येव तत्र का परिदेवना ॥ २.२८ ॥

63 आध्वर्यवत् पश्यति कविदेन-
माध्वर्यवद्भूतं तथैव चान्यः ।
आध्वर्यवश्चैवमन्यः शृणोति
श्रुत्वाप्येवं वेदं न वैव कश्चित् ॥ २.२९ ॥

- 64 देही नित्यमवध्योऽयं देहे सर्वस्य भारत ।
तस्मात् सर्वाणि भूतानि न त्वं शोषितुमर्हसि ॥ २.३० ॥
- 65 स्वधर्ममपि चावेक्ष्य न विकम्पितुमर्हसि ।
धर्म्यादि बुद्ध्याच्छ्रेयोऽन्यत् क्षत्रियस्य न विद्यते ॥ २.३१ ॥
- 66 यच्छ्रद्धया चोपपन्नं स्वर्गद्वारमपाकृतम् ।
सुखिनः क्षत्रियाः पार्थ क्लमन्ते दुष्टगीदृशम् ॥ २.३२ ॥
- 67 अथ चेत् त्वमिमं धर्मं संघर्षं न करिष्यसि ।
ततः स्वधर्मं कीर्तिं च हित्वा पापमवाप्स्यसि ॥ २.३३ ॥
- 68 अकीर्तिं चापि भूतानि कथयिष्यन्ति तैऽप्यनाम् ।
संभावितस्य चाकीर्तिर्मरणदतिरिच्यते ॥ २.३४ ॥
- 69 मयाद्रष्टुं परतः संस्यन्ते त्वां महारथाः ।
येषां च त्वं बहुमतो भूषा यास्यसि लाघवम् ॥ २.३५ ॥
- 70 अवाच्यवाशोश्च बहून् बहिष्पन्ति तवाहिताः ।
निन्दन्तस्तत्र सामर्थ्यं ततो दुःखतरं तु किम् ॥ २.३६ ॥
- 71 इतो वा प्राप्स्यसि स्वर्गं जित्वा वा भोक्ष्यसे महीम् ।
तस्मादुत्तिष्ठ कौन्तेय बुद्ध्या कृतनिश्चयः ॥ २.३७ ॥
- * 14 इच्छन्त्ये तमे कृत्वा कामाकामौ जयाजयौ ।
ततो बुद्ध्या युज्यस्व नैवं पापमवाप्स्यसि ॥ २.३८ ॥

[श्रीभगवानुवाच—]

- 72 भूय एव महाबाहो शृणु मे परमं वचः ।
यत् तैऽहं प्रीयमाणाय वक्ष्यामि हितकाम्यया ॥ १०.१ ॥
- 73 न मे विदुः सुरचनाः प्रभवं न महर्षयः ।
अहमादिर्हि देवानां महर्षीणां च सर्वशः ॥ १०.२ ॥
- 74 यो गामजमनादिं च वेत्ति लोकमहेश्वरम् ।
असंमूढः स मर्त्येषु सर्वपापैः प्रमुच्यते ॥ १०.३ ॥
- 75 बुद्धिर्ज्ञानमसंमोहः क्षमा सत्यं दमः शमः ।
सुखं दुःखं भवोऽभावो भयं चाभयमेव च ॥ १०.४ ॥
- 76 वह्निं सप्तमतां तृष्टिस्तपो दानं यशोऽयशः ।
भवन्ति भाषा भूतानां मत् एव कृपयिष्याः ॥ १०.५ ॥
- 77 महर्षयः सप्त पूर्वे चत्वारो मनुवस्तथा ।
मद्भावा मानसो जाता येषां लोक इमाः प्रजाः ॥ १०.६ ॥
- 78 एतां विभूतिं योगं च मम यो वेत्ति तत्त्वतः ।
सोऽविकल्पो योगेन युज्यते नात्र संशयः ॥ १०.७ ॥
- 79 अहं सर्वस्य प्रभवो मत्तः सर्वं प्रवर्तते ।
इति मत्वा भजन्ते मां बुधा भावसमन्विताः ॥ १०.८ ॥
- * 15 मन्विता मद्गतमाणा बोधयन्तः परस्परम् ।
कथयन्तश्च मां नित्यं ब्रुवन्ति च रमन्ति च ॥ १०.९ ॥

- * 16 तेषां सततबुक्तानां भजतां प्रीतिपूर्वकम् ।
वदामि बुधिवीर्यां तं येन बाधुपमानि ते ॥ १०.१० ॥
- * 17 तेषामेवानुत्कर्षार्थमहमज्ञानत्वं तमः ।
नाशयाम्यात्मभावस्थो ज्ञानदीपेन भास्वता ॥ १०.११ ॥

अर्जुन उवाच—

- 80 मदनुग्रहाय परमं शुद्धमध्यात्मसंश्रितम् ।
यत् त्वयोक्तं वचस्तेन मोहोऽयं विगतो मम ॥ ११.१ ॥
- 81 भवाभ्यसौ हि भूतानां श्रुतौ विस्तरसो मया ।
त्वत्तः कमलपत्राक्ष माहात्म्यमपि चाभ्यसम् ॥ ११.२ ॥
- 82 एवमेतद्यथास्व त्वमात्मानं परमेश्वर ।
ब्रह्मिच्छामि ते रूपमेश्वरं पुरुषोत्तम ॥ ११.३ ॥
- 83 मन्यसे यदि तच्छक्यं मया ब्रह्ममिति प्रभो ।
योगेश्वर ततो मे त्वं दर्शयात्मानमभ्यसम् ॥ ११.४ ॥

श्रीभगवानुवाच—

- 84 पश्य मे पार्थ रूपाणि शतशोऽप्य सहस्रशः ।
नानाविधानि दिव्यानि नानावर्णाकृतीनि च ॥ ११.५ ॥
- 85 पश्चाद्विद्यान् वसुन् छदानिनीं मयस्तथा ।
बहून्यष्टपूर्वाणि पश्चाद्वर्षाणि भारत ॥ ११.६ ॥
- * 18 इदं कर्तुं जगत् कृत्स्नं पश्यामि सत्त्वज्वरम् ।
मम देहे गुणकेयुः यथान्वद्ब्रह्मिच्छसि ॥ ११.७ ॥
- 86 न तु मां शक्यते ब्रह्मणेनैव स्वबद्धया ।
दिव्यं वदामि ते चक्षुः पश्य मे योगमेश्वरम् ॥ ११.८ ॥

संजय उवाच—

- 87 एवमुक्त्वा ततो राजन् महायोगेश्वरो हसिः ।
दर्शयामास पार्थाय परमं रूपमेश्वरम् ॥ ११.९ ॥
- 88 अनेकवक्त्रनयनमेकाद्भुतदर्शनम् ।
अनेकदिव्याभरणं दिव्यानेकोद्यतायुधम् ॥ ११.१० ॥
- 89 दिव्यनालाम्बरधरं दिव्यगन्धानुलेपनम् ।
सर्वाध्वर्यमयं देवमनन्तं विधृतोमुखम् ॥ ११.११ ॥
- 90 दिवि सूर्यसहस्रस्य भवैशुगपदुत्थिता ।
यदि भाः सरशी सा स्याद्भासस्तस्य गङ्गाभनः ॥ ११.१२ ॥
- * 19 तलैकत्वं जगत् कृत्स्नं प्रविभक्तमनेकधा ।
जगद्वयदेवदेवस्य शरीरे पाण्डवस्तदा ॥ ११.१३ ॥
- 91 ततः स विस्मयाविष्टो हृष्टोमा पनैजयः ।
प्रणम्य विरसा देवं कृताञ्जलिरभाषत ॥ ११.१४ ॥

अर्जुन उवाच—

- * 20 पश्यामि देवांस्तत्र देव देहे
सर्वांस्तथा भूतविशेषसंघात् ।
ब्रह्मागमीर्ष्व कमलालनस्थ-
वर्षीश्च सर्वानुरगांश्च दिव्यान् ॥ ११.१५ ॥
- * 21 अनेकबाहुदरवक्त्रनेत्रं
पश्यामि त्वां तर्षतोऽनन्तरूपम् ।
नानां न बन्धं न पुनस्तर्वादं
पश्यामि त्रिवेश्वर विश्वरूप ॥ ११.१६ ॥
- 92 किरीटिनं गद्दिनं चक्रिणं च
तेजोराशिं सर्वतो दीप्तिमन्तम् ।
पश्यामि त्वां बुनिरोक्ष्यं समन्ता-
दीक्षानलार्कशुक्तिप्रमेयम् ॥ ११.१७ ॥
- * 22 त्वमक्षरं परमं वेदितव्यं
त्वमस्य विशस्व परं निधानम् ।
त्वमन्वयः शाश्वतधर्मगोपा
तनाशनरूपं पुरुषो नमो मे ॥ ११.१८ ॥
- 93 ज्वादिमध्यान्तमनन्तवीर्य-
मनन्तबाहुं शशिसूर्यनेत्रम् ।
पश्यामि त्वां वीरपुतामनवर्त्रं
स्वतेजसा निश्चमिदं तपन्तम् ॥ ११.१९ ॥
- 94 यावाष्ट्रिव्योहिदमन्तरं हि
व्याप्तं त्वयैकेन दिशश्च सर्वाः ।
एष्टुमृतां रूपमुग्रं तवेवं
लोकत्रयं प्रव्यथितं महात्मन् ॥ ११.२० ॥
- 95 वमी हि त्वा गुरसङ्गा विशन्ति
केचिद्भीताः प्राञ्जलयो घृणन्ति ।
स्वस्तौल्युक्त्वा महर्षिण्डिसङ्गाः
स्तुवन्ति त्वां स्तुतिभिः पुष्कलाभिः ॥ ११.२१ ॥
- 96 खदाशित्वा वसवो ये च साप्या
विश्वेऽक्षिणौ महत्तथोष्मपाय ।
गन्धर्वैरक्षामुरसिदसङ्गा
वीक्षन्ते त्वां विस्मिताश्चैव सर्वे ॥ ११.२२ ॥
- 97 स्यं महत् ते बहुवक्त्रनेत्रं
महाबाहो बहुबाहुस्पादम् ।
बहुदरं बहुदंष्ट्रभ्रातं
दृष्ट्वा लोकाः प्रव्यथितास्तथाहम् ॥ ११.२३ ॥

- 98 नमःस्पृशं दीप्तमनेकवर्णं
व्याप्ताननं दीप्तविशालनेत्रम् ।
इष्टा हि त्वां प्रप्यधितान्तरात्मा
धृतिं न विन्दामि शमं च विष्णो ॥ ११.२४ ॥
- 99 इष्टाकरालानि च ते मुलानि
हृद्वै कालानिलसंनिभानि ।
विष्टो न पाप्मे न लभे च शमं
प्रसीद देवेश जगन्निवास ॥ ११.२५ ॥
- 100 ध्वमी च त्वां धृतराष्ट्रस्य पुत्राः
सर्वे सहैवावनिपालसङ्घैः ।
भीष्मो द्रोणः सूतपुत्रस्तथासौ
सह्यात्मवीर्यैरपि बोधमुख्यैः ॥ ११.२६ ॥
- 101 वक्त्राणि ते त्वरमाणा विशन्ति
दंष्ट्राकरालानि भवानकानि ।
केचिद्विलम्बा दशनान्तरेषु
संक्षयन्ते चूर्णितैस्तमाङ्गैः ॥ ११.२७ ॥
- 102 यथा नदीनां बहवोऽम्बुवेगाः
समुद्रमेवान्मुखा ब्रूयन्ति ।
तथा तवामी नरलोकवीरा
विशन्ति वक्त्राण्यभिविज्वलन्ति ॥ ११.२८ ॥
- 103 यथा प्रदीप्तं ज्वलनं पतङ्गा
विशन्ति नाशाय समुद्रवेगाः ।
तथैव नाशाय विशन्ति स्त्रोक-
स्तथापि वक्त्राणि समुद्रवेगाः ॥ ११.२९ ॥
- 104 लेलिहसे प्रसमानं समन्ता-
लोकान् समग्रान् बध्नैर्ज्वलद्भिः ।
तेजोभिरापर्यं जगत् समग्रं
भासस्तवोग्राः प्रतपन्ति विष्णो ॥ ११.३० ॥
- 105 आख्याहि मे को भवानुग्ररूपो
नमोऽस्तु ते देववर प्रसीद ।
विज्ञानुमिच्छामि भवन्तमार्यं
न हि प्रजानामि तव प्रवृत्तिम् ॥ ११.३१ ॥

श्रीभगवानुवाच—

- 106 कालोऽस्मि लोकक्षयकृत् प्रच्यो
लोकान् समाहर्तुमिह प्रवृत्तः ।
ऋतेऽपि त्वां न भविष्यन्ति सर्वे
येऽवस्थिताः प्रत्ननीकेषु योधाः ॥ ११.३२ ॥

- 107 तस्मात् त्वमुच्छिन्नं नशो लभस्व
शिलां कञ्चुन् मुक्त्वा राज्यं समृद्धम् ।
मयैवैते निहताः पूर्वमेव
निमित्तमार्जं भव सव्यसाचिन् ॥ ११.३३ ॥
- 108 द्रोणं च भीष्मं च जयद्रथं च
कर्णं तथा न्यायानपि योधवीरान् ।
मया हतांस्त्वं जहि मा व्यथिष्ठा
युध्यस्व जेतासि रणे सखानान् ॥ ११.३४ ॥

संज्ञय उवाच—

- 109 एतच्छ्रुत्वा वचनं केशवस्य
कृताञ्जलिर्वैधमानः किरीटी ।
नमस्कृत्वा भूय एवाह कृष्णं
सगद्गदं भीतभीतः प्रणम्य ॥ ११.३५ ॥

गर्जुन उवाच—

- 110 स्थाने हृषीकेश तव प्रकीर्त्या
जगत् प्रह्वयत्कनुरज्यते च ।
रक्षांसि भीतानि दिशो द्रवन्ति
सर्वे नमस्यन्ति च तिष्ठसङ्गः ॥ ११.३६ ॥
- * 23 यस्माच्च ते न जनेरन् महात्मन्
गरीयस्ते ऋषाणोऽन्यादिकर्तृ ।
अनन्ददेवेश जगन्निवास
स्वमक्षरं तव सत् तत्परं यत् ॥ ११.३७ ॥
- * 24 त्वमादिदेवः पुरुषः पुराण-
स्तमस्य स्थितस्य परं निधानम् ।
वेत्तासि वैश्वं च परं च धाम
त्वया ततो निश्चमनमस्तु च ॥ ११.३८ ॥
- * 25 बह्वर्चसोऽग्निर्वरुणः शशाङ्कः
प्रजापतिस्तुष्टं प्रपितामहश्च ।
मनो मनसोऽस्तु सहस्रकृत्यः
पुनश्च भूषोऽपि नमो नमसते ॥ ११.३९ ॥
- * 26 नमः पुरस्तादथ पूषतस्ते
नमोऽस्तु ते सर्वत एव सर्व ।
अमृतवीर्यो मितविहङ्गमस्त्वं
सर्वं समाप्नोषि ततोऽसि सर्वः ॥ ११.४० ॥
- 111 सखेति मत्वा प्रसभं यदुर्कं
हे कृष्ण हे यादव हे सखेति ।
अज्ञानता महिमानं तवेदं
मया प्रमादात् प्रगवेन वापि ॥ ११.४१ ॥

- 112 यथावहासाद्येनसत्कृतोऽसि
विहारश्चान्यासनभोजनेषु ।
एकोऽन्याप्यन्युत तत्समक्षं
तत् क्षामये त्वामहमप्रमेयम् ॥ ११.४२ ॥
- 113 पितासि लोकस्य चराचरस्य
त्वमस्य पूज्यश्च गुरुर्गरीयान् ।
न त्वत्समोऽस्त्यभ्यधिकः कुतोऽन्यो
लोकत्रयैऽप्यप्रतिमप्रभावः ॥ ११.४३ ॥
- 114 तस्मात् प्रणम्य प्रणिधाय कार्यं
प्रसादये त्वामहमीशमीडधम् ।
पितेव पुत्रस्य सखेव सख्युः
प्रियः प्रियायाहंसि देव सोऽहम् ॥ ११.४४ ॥
- 115 अदृष्टपूर्वं हृथितोऽस्मि दृष्ट्वा
भयेन च प्रव्यथितं मनो मे ।
तदेव मे दर्शय देव रूपं
प्रसीद देवेश जगन्निवासा ॥ ११.४५ ॥
- 116 किरीटीनं गच्छिन् चक्रहस्त-
मिच्छामि त्वां द्रष्टुमहं तथैव ।
तेनैव रूपेण बभूवुर्जेन
सहस्रबाहो भव निभमूर्ते ॥ ११.४६ ॥

श्रीभगवानुवाच—

- 117 मया प्रसन्नेन तवाहर्तुनेदं
रूपं परं दर्शितमात्मयोगात् ।
तेजोमयं विधमनन्तबाह्यं
यन्मे त्वदन्येन न दृष्टपूर्वम् ॥ ११.४७ ॥
- 118 न वेदयज्ञाप्ययनैर्न दानै-
र्न च क्रियामिर्न तपोभिर्युधिः ।
एवंरूपः शक्य अहं तुल्योक्ते
द्रष्टुं त्वदन्येन कुरुप्रवीर ॥ ११.४८ ॥
- 119 मा ते व्यथा मा च विमूढमात्रो
दृष्ट्वा रूपं धीरमीदृह्यमेवम् ।
व्यपेतभीः प्रीतमनाः पुनस्त्वं
तदेव मे रूपमिदं प्रपश्य ॥ ११.४९ ॥

संजय उवाच—

- 120 इत्थंरुने वासुदेवस्तयोक्त्वा
स्वकं रूपं दर्शयामास भूयः ।

आश्वासयामास च भीतमेनं

भूत्वा पुनः सौम्यवपुर्महात्मा ॥ ११.५० ॥

अर्जुन उवाच—

121 हृष्टं मन्त्रुयं रूपं तव सौम्यं जनार्दन ।

इदानीमस्मि संवृत्तः सचेताः प्रकृतिं गतः ॥ ११.५१ ॥

(धीमगवानुवाच—)

122 मन्त्रितः सर्वभूतानि मत्प्रसादात् तरिष्यसि ।

अथ चेत् त्वमहंकारात् शोष्यसि विगन्ध्यसि ॥ १८.५८ ॥

123 नदहंकारमाधित्य न योत्स्य इति मन्यसे ।

मिथ्यैव व्यवसायस्ते प्रकृतितत्त्वां निरोध्यति ॥ १८.५९ ॥

124 स्वभावत्वेन कौन्तेय निबद्धः स्वेन कर्मणा ।

कर्तुं मेच्छसि यन्मोहात् करिष्यस्यवशोऽपि तत् ॥ १८.६० ॥

125 ईश्वरः सर्वभूतानां हृद्देशेऽर्जुन तिष्ठति ।

आमनन् सर्वभूतानि यन्नास्त्वानि मायया ॥ १८.६१ ॥

* 27 तमेव शरणं गच्छ सर्वभवेन भारत ।

तत्प्रसादात् परां गन्ति स्थानं प्राप्स्यसि शान्तिम् ॥ १८.६२ ॥

* 28 इति ते ज्ञानमाश्रित्य गुह्यं ब्रूयामि ते ।

विमृश्यैतच्छ्लेषेण शृणु मे परमं वचनं ॥ १८.६३ ॥

* 29 सर्वगुह्यतमं मूयः शृणु मे परमं वचनं ।

ब्रूयिष्ये ते कुरुमिति ततो वक्ष्यामि ते हितम् ॥ १८.६४ ॥

* 30 नमना नम मन्त्राणां मन्त्राणां मां नमस्कुरु ।

मामेवैष्यसि सर्वं ते प्रतिजाने प्रियोऽसि मे ॥ १८.६५ ॥

126 सर्ववर्मान् परित्यज्य मामेकं शरणं व्रज ।

अहं त्वा सर्वपापेभ्यो मोक्षयिष्यामि मा शुचः ॥ १८.६६ ॥

* 31 इदं ते नमोपस्कृत्य नामिकाय कदाचन ।

न चाद्भुतं त्वे वार्ष्णेय न च मां वोऽन्वदसति ॥ १८.६७ ॥

* 32 य इदं परमं गुह्यं मद्भक्त्येवमिवास्ति ।

मत्ति मयि परं कृत्वा मामेवैष्यत्वसंशयः ॥ १८.६८ ॥

* 33 न च तस्मान्नमुष्येयुः संक्षिप्ते प्रियकृष्णः ॥

मन्त्रिता न च मे तस्मादन्यः प्रियतरो मुनिः ॥ १८.६९ ॥

* 34 आलोच्यते च य इमं वचनं संवादमावधोः ।

ज्ञानवहेन तेनाहमिष्टः त्वामिति मे मतिः ॥ १८.७० ॥

* 35 अज्ञानान्नलक्ष्य शृणुनाहपि नो नरः ।

सोऽपि मुक्तः क्षुण्णोऽहोनाम् प्राप्नुयात् पुण्यकर्मणाम् ॥ १८.७१ ॥

127 कश्चिदेतच्छ्रुत्वा पार्थ स्वयैकाग्र्येण चेतसा

कश्चिदज्ञानसंमोहः प्रपश्यते धनंजय ॥ १८.७२ ॥

अर्जुन उवाच—

128 नष्टो मोहः स्मृतिर्लब्धा त्वत्प्रसादान्मयाच्युत ।

स्थितोऽस्मि गतसंदेहः करिष्ये वचनं तव ॥ १८.७३ ॥

संजय उवाच—

- 129 इयं वाञ्छुदेवस्य पार्थस्य च महारथिनः ।
संवादमिममश्रीषमद्भुतं रोमहर्षणम् ॥ १८.७४ ॥
- 130 व्यासप्रसादाच्छ्रुतवानेतद्ब्रह्ममहं परम् ।
योगं योगेश्वरात् कृप्यात् साक्षात् कथयतः स्वयम् ॥ १८.७५ ॥
- 131 राजन् संस्मृत्य संस्मृत्य संवादमिममद्भुतम् ।
केशवाञ्जनयोः पुण्यं कृष्यामि च मुहुर्मुहुः ॥ १८.७६ ॥
- 132 तच्च संस्मृत्य संस्मृत्य रूपमत्यद्भुतं हरेः ।
विस्मयो मे महान् राजन् कृष्यामि च पुनः पुनः ॥ १८.७७ ॥
- 133 यत्र योगेश्वरः कृष्णो यत्र पार्थो धनुर्धरः ।
तत्र श्रीर्विजयो भूतिधुवा नीतिर्मतिर्मनः ॥ १८.७८ ॥

Now let us consider the arguments which led Otto to fix upon just these 133 stanzas as the Original Gita. Arjuna at the last moment is invaded by scruples. He refuses to fight and contribute to the death of those dearest and most venerated. If he is to be induced out of this mood it must be by arguments going straight at the situation. Do not worry about killing because nobody can really kill anybody is a plausible argument (stanzas 55-64 of the Orig. Gita). A Kṣatriya should never shirk fight is another that precisely hits the nail (Ibid., st. 65-71). But Kṛṣṇa's best argument, in the opinion of Otto, is when he tells Arjuna to fight because Kṛṣṇa the Almighty from whom everything proceeds (X. 8) orders him to fight and become the channel for carrying out God's purpose in this world (XI. 33), having previously ensured Arjuna's compliance with the divine command by displaying before his wondering eyes God's *ghorarūpa* (XI. 49). Thereafter Arjuna is a meek lamb willing to follow God wherever He bids him ; for, has not He said—

अहं त्वा सर्वपापेभ्यो मोक्षयिष्यामि ना दुःखः ॥

These, says Otto, are the only three arguments that exactly fit the situation. All else is an ill-assorted display of learning that falls outside the frame of the original poem.

Otto claims credit for having discovered in the Gita itself objective proof for thus narrowing the limits of the original poem. In stanzas 80-83 of the "Original Gita" (XI. 1-4) Arjuna requests Kṛṣṇa to favour him with the divine vision. This must be preceded naturally by a declaration by Kṛṣṇa that he is the Almighty God. This is not asserted upto II. 37. The first serious rift in the Poem is introduced by II. 38, which says that the stanzas immediately preceding afford the Sāṅkhya point of view, which II. 31-37 at any

rate do not give.¹ Everything in the Poem from II. 38 onwards is suspect until we come to X. 1. Here Kṛṣṇa, having argued (in the portion of the Poem closing with II. 37) his point on the basis of the soul's immortality and the warrior's code of duty, proceeds to reveal² to Arjuna his supreme reason (*paramāṁ vacaḥ*). This is contained in X. 1-8, the rest of the Tenth Chapter being an obvious interpolation. In the first two stanzas of Chapter XI Arjuna gives a résumé of what Kṛṣṇa had told him upto that time. Only three points are indicated: viz., (i) *guhyaṁ adhyātma-saṁjñitam* (= Orig. Gītā 58-64), (ii) *bhūtānāṁ bhāvāpyayau* (= Orig. Gītā 61-62, 63-64), and (iii) *avyavam mākātmyam* (Orig. Gītā 72-79). These are the only things that Arjuna had heard and Kṛṣṇa had taught so far. All else that is found in the present Gītā must therefore be pronounced as interpolation on the authority of the Gītā itself. Otto places very great reliance on this passage (XI. 1-2) and elevates it to the position of a "critical canon" for determining the original form of the Poem.

We are compelled to say that this so-called "canon" lets down Dr. Otto rather lamentably. In the first place *adhyātma-saṁjñitam* should imply that the word *adhyātma* was used in the earlier passage as a proper name to designate the teaching in question. This can be true of VIII. 3, or of IX. 1-6 where the Lord speaks of his ātman (IX. 5) and where the word *guhya* is also found (IX. 1, 2). In stanzas 58-64 of Otto's "Original Gītā" even the word ātman is not used. Secondly, *bhāva* according to Otto means the being or permanence of the soul and *apyaya* the [coming in and the] passing away of the bodies. But this is not a teaching distinct from the first or *adhyātma* teaching. Besides bodies are not the same as *bhūtas*,³ and whatever the *bhūtas* denote, both the *bhāva* and the *apyaya* must alike belong to them. The reference in question can legitimately be only to passages like IX. 6-8 or VIII. 18-19 or VII. 4-6 where the word *bhūta* actually occurs. It can also be to X. 4-5. Thirdly, amongst the things that Arjuna had "heard" was the disquisition on Kṣa-

1. I have fully gone into the question in my *Basu Mallik Lectures*, pp. 108-109. The arguments of F. Otto Schrader and H. Jacobi in the ZDMG of 1910 and 1918 had escaped me when I made the assertion there that nobody had proposed II. 38 as an interpolation.

2. Otto translates *bhūya* eve of X. 1 by "Jetzt nun" (*Urgestalt*, p. 10) or "Weiter jedoch." (Transl. p. 70). This is inexact. The words should mean not *now then* or *furthermore*, but *once again*, implying that the *paramāṁ vacaḥ* was already given in another form before.

3. In II. 28, 30, 34, III. 14, 33, IV. 35, etc. *bhūta* denotes not body but embodied soul.

triya's code of conduct in II. 31-38. The so-called "canon" passes this important discussion in silence and creates a strong prejudice against its claim to validity. Finally, how is the reflection that the Atman is deathless going to pacify by itself Arjuna's qualms of conscience in "killing" Bhīṣma? Would the reflection exculpate a murderer in a Court of Law? And how can Arjuna be told that "killing" is impossible, and in the same breath called upon to do the Kṣatriya's duty of "killing" in fair fight? If we succeed in harmonising these two teachings in the way in which I have indicated in my Lectures (p. 109), it will be seen that they *together* constitute the "Sāṅkhya" way to action as contrasted with which is the "Yoga" way to action detailed in II. 39-50, there being no difference in practice in these two "Niṣṭhās" *from Kṛṣṇa's ultimate point of view*.

Students of Dr. Rudolf Otto's other writings will not be surprised at the exaggerated importance which he is led to attach to the Theophany or God-vision of the Eleventh Chapter of the Bhagavadgītā. Whatever other part of the Gītā is or is not genuine, this is the one part of the Poem which is genuine, according to Otto. It is the incident which Sanjaya at the end particularly emphasises. The passage, Otto tells us, has its parallel in the God-vision with which Lord Kṛṣṇa humiliates the vaunting pride of Duryodhana in the Udyogaparvan.¹ After the display of such potency there can be no room for any more questionings; and Otto has omitted certain passages from the Theophany because by turning God's *ghora-rūpa* (or dreadful vision) into *viśva-rūpa* or (pantheistic apparition) its prevailing effect was either weakened or thwarted.² I am afraid I cannot see eye to eye with Dr. Otto in this respect. Such a miracle-mongering mysticism would convert the Poem into an *argumentum ad baculum*. Arjuna of all the persons in the world cannot be expected to meekly submit to such Hitlerism from the Olympic Heights. The Theophany certainly is there as a part (be it early or be it late) of the traditional story, but the present version of the Bhagavadgītā has given to it no more than its due place in the ultimate philosophical synthesis.

As before observed, after the Theophany the Original Poem comes to an end. From XI. 51 Otto takes a big leap to XVIII. 58,

1. Mbh. V. 131 (Kumbhakonam edn.). Otto more than once (*Urgestalt*, pp. 24-25) gives the reference as VI. 131. To the Parvan Otto has given the numbering of the Sub-parvan.

2. The passages omitted are XI. 7, 13, 15-16, 18, 37-40—all with the exception of a single stanza (19) already ejected by Garbe.

sacetaḥ in the former paving the way to *maccittaḥ* in the latter. Reading the passages in sequence Otto is nevertheless himself conscious of some defect in continuity and is driven to the surmise¹ that some connecting line or lines may have been here irrevocably lost. This amounts to giving up the thesis altogether.

Otto has given reasons to consider the 35 stanzas, indicated by us above by starred numbering and a difference of type, as later additions. Garbe had, omitting the Introductory 19 stanzas of Chapter I, only one type of interpolations, the Vedāntic or ritualistico-Vedāntic. Otto has several types of them coming from different authors. We will therefore consider these in their proper place along with the Doctrinal Tracts.

The 133 stanzas above given constitute, according to Otto, the original or "Epic" version of the Bhagavadgītā as yet uncontaminated by doctrinal bias or propaganda. Nevertheless the "Original" Poem is strongly sectarian; and if it belongs to the same authorship as the original Epic (the *Jaya*), the author will have to be supposed to favour the identity of Kṛṣṇa with the Almighty. There are parts of the Epic which have as much claim to constitute its original nucleus where this divine character of Kṛṣṇa is conspicuous by its absence. We do not wish to press this point much further.

Nor is it worthwhile criticising Otto's translation in detail. Words have been often omitted or misunderstood, and Sanskrit grammar seems to be sadly limping at times.² We are content to put these defects down to the score of the evident hurry with which the publications seem to have been rushed through the press. The list of errata given is quite inadequate. Even in a hurried reading we could note a pageful of them. The book is valuable in spite of these blemishes because, as I understand matters, it furnishes the *Reductio ad Absurdum* of all such attempted stratifications.

Seeing that the Gītā in its earliest form was a Kṛṣṇite poem, it is nothing strange if its first elaboration were to come from an ardent devotee of Lord Kṛṣṇa. The first Doctrinal Tract according to Otto is a complete whole in itself uninterrupted by any gloss, and it bears a special name of its own, viz., "Dharmyāmṛtam" (XII. 20). It teaches what is known as *prapatti* or absolute and unquestioning dependence upon the Lord's Will. Its ethics is not that of activism (which the Original Poem may be assumed to be preach-

1. *Urgestalt*, p. 14.

2. In a footnote on p. 28 of the Translation we are told that Arjuna was called Pārtha because he was the son of "Pṛthā"!

ing to Arjuna) but of sarhnyāsa or renunciation. It is in the fitness of things that the Tract should be inserted immediately after the Theophany, the author repeating sentiments occurring in the pre-coding part (e.g., XI. 53 repeating XI. 48) the better to smooth over the transition to the new Tract. Its text runs as follows—

FIRST TRACT

(Entitled धर्म्यास्तम् or Doctrine of प्रपल्लविक)

XI. 52 to XII. 20

श्रीभगवानुवाच —

- 1 सुदुर्दशमिदं रूपं दृष्टवानसि यन्मम ।
देवा अप्यस्य रूपस्य नित्यं दर्शनकाङ्क्षिणः ॥ ११.५२ ॥
- 2 नाहं वैदेर्न तपसा न दानेन न चेज्जया ।
शक्य एवविधो ब्रह्मं दृष्टवानसि मां यथा ॥ ११.५३ ॥
- 3 भक्त्या त्वनन्यया शक्य ब्रह्मेवविधोऽर्जुन ।
ज्ञातुं ब्रह्मं च तत्त्वेन प्रवेष्टुं च परंतप ॥ ११.५४ ॥
- 4 मत्कर्मकृन्मत्परमो मद्गुरुः सङ्गवर्जितः ।
निर्वैरः सर्वभूतेषु नः स मामेति पाण्डव ॥ ११.५५ ॥

अर्जुन उवाच—

- 5 एवं सततयुक्ता ये भक्तास्त्वां पर्युपासते ।
ये चाप्यक्षरमव्यक्तं तेषां कै योगवित्तमाः ॥ १२.१ ॥

श्रीभगवानुवाच—

- 6 मयावेक्ष्य मनो ये मां नित्ययुक्ता उपासते ।
धृदया परयोपेतास्ते मे युक्ततमा मताः ॥ १२.२ ॥
- 7 ये त्वक्षरमनिर्देश्यमव्यक्तं पर्युपासते ।
सर्वत्रगमचिन्त्यं च कूटस्थमचलं ध्रुवम् ॥ १२.३ ॥
- 8 संनिवम्येन्द्रियग्रामं सर्वत्र समबुद्धयः ।
ते प्राप्नुवन्ति मामेव सर्वभूतहिते रताः ॥ १२.४ ॥
- 9 ज्ञेशोऽधिश्तरस्तेषामव्यक्तासक्तचेतसाम् ।
अव्यक्ता हि गतिर्दुःसं देहवद्भिरनाप्यते ॥ १२.५ ॥
- 10 ये तु सर्वाणि कर्माणि मयि संन्यस्य मरपराः ।
अनन्येनैव योगेन मां ध्यायन्त उपासते ॥ १२.६ ॥
- 11 तेषामहं समुद्धर्ता मृत्युसंसारसागराद् ।
भवामि न चिराद् पार्थ मन्वाचेक्षितचेतसाम् ॥ १२.७ ॥
- 12 मय्येव मन आधत्स्व मयि बुद्धिं निवेशय ।
निवसिष्यसि मय्येव अतः कर्ष्यं न संशयः ॥ १२.८ ॥

- 13 अथ वित्तं समाधातुं न शक्नोषि मयि स्थिरम् ।
अभ्यासयोगेन ततो मामिच्छातुं धनं वय ॥ १२.९ ॥
- 14 अभ्यासेऽप्यसमर्थोऽसि मत्कर्मपरमो भव ।
मदर्थमपि कर्माणि कुर्वन् सिद्धिमवाप्स्यसि ॥ १२.१० ॥
- 15 अथैतदप्यशक्तोऽसि कर्तुं मयोगमाश्रितः ।
सर्वकर्मफलदायं ततः कुरु यतात्मवान् ॥ १२.११ ॥
- 16 श्रेयो हि ज्ञानमभ्यासाज्ज्ञानाद्वचनं विशिष्यते ।
ध्यानात् कर्मफलस्यागस्त्यागाच्छान्तिरनन्दरम् ॥ १२.१२ ॥
- 17 अद्वेष्टा सर्वभूतानां मैत्रः कृष्ण एव च ।
निर्भीमो निरहंकारः समदुःखसुखः क्षमी ॥ १२.१३ ॥
- 18 संतुष्टः सततं योगी यतात्मा दृढनिश्चयः ।
मत्परितमनोबुद्धिर्वां मे भक्तः स मे प्रियः ॥ १२.१४ ॥
- 19 यस्माद्भोद्विजते लोको लोकप्रभोद्विजते च यः ।
हर्षमर्षमयोद्वेगैर्मुक्तो यः स च मे प्रियः ॥ १२.१५ ॥
- 20 जगपेक्षः शुचिर्दक्ष उदासीनो यतव्ययः ।
सर्वारम्भपरित्यागी यो मजूक्तः स मे प्रियः ॥ १२.१६ ॥
- 21 यो न हृष्यति न द्वेष्टि न शोचति न काङ्क्षति ।
शुभाशुमपरित्यागी भक्तिमान् यः स मे प्रियः ॥ १२.१७ ॥
- 22 समः शत्रौ च मित्रे च तथा मानापमानयोः ।
शीतोष्णसुखदुःखेषु समः सन्नविभर्जितः ॥ १२.१८ ॥
- 23 तुल्यनिन्दास्तुतिर्मौनी संतुष्टो येन केनचित् ।
अनिकेतः स्थिरमतिर्भक्तिमान् मे प्रियो नरः ॥ १२.१९ ॥
- 24 ये तु भर्म्हानृतमिदं यथोक्तं पश्युपासते ।
श्रद्धाया नापरमा भक्तास्तेऽतीव मे प्रियाः ॥ १२.२० ॥

The author of this First Tract also added, according to Otto, XVIII. 50-57, 62-65, and 67-71—thereby endeavouring to take over to his side the "Original" Poem which had a slightly different view-point. Otto also credits him with the authorship of X. 9-11. His additions taken together made the Original Poem of 133 stanzas an enlarged work of 177 stanzas.

As against this contention of Otto it has to be pointed out, first, that Arjuna could not have asked the question (XII. 1) about the upāsana or worship of the non-manifest Akṣara if the question had not been mentioned or treated of before. Actually it is discussed in chapters VII-IX, but these are outside the 177 stanzas of the then Gītā. Secondly, Otto has not succeeded in showing how the stages (each easier than its predecessor) mentioned in XII. 9-11 are in fact arranged in an increasing degree of facility; nor how,

in the relative comparison of the means, *jñāna* (which, as alleged, was not mentioned previously) came to be at all included.

Bhakti is a personal and emotional relation of the individual to the God also conceived as a benign personality. In the highest or ecstatic reaches of this emotion the individual forgets his individuality and is absorbed into the Highest Lord Almighty, so that his language and experience become that of Advaita or Pantheistic Absolutism. Garbe's ignoring of this fact led him, says Otto, to strike out many passages as Vedāntic interpolations, which in reality were expressions of such advaita Bhakti (e.g. XIV. 26-27). The highest state of emotion attainable by such Bhakti can come by the way of *Prāṇāyāma*, *Samādhi* and other Yoga technique; but there can also be a rationalistic approach to it by what is called the *Akṣara-upāsanā*. As contrasted with both of these is the approach of emotional pietism or *Prapatti*, the doctrine of believing self-surrender, which is inculcated in the Bhaktisūtras of Nārada. The First Tract sets forth the view-point of such *Prapatti*. This being so, we have a right to ask whether the line (XI. 54)—

इदं शङ्खं च तत्त्वेन प्रवेष्टुं च परंतप ।

is no more than *Prapatti*. Otto translates *praveṣṭum* by "zu mir eingehen" following Garbe who enclosed the words *zu mir* in brackets. The German idiom here conceals a real difficulty. The devotee does not live in the house of God—in *Vaiṣṇava*—but becomes identical in essence with him; and that is not the point of view of mere *prapatti*, as the words *tattvena jñātum* should have already led us to suppose. The "*jñānī bhakta*" of VII. 16-17 would thus seem to be alluded to not only in XI. 54 but also in XII. 12, and it would be more reasonable to suppose that this Tract tries to hold the balance between different types of Bhakti.

We will shortly come to know that other types of Bhakti have had their share in the elaboration of the "Original" *Gītā*. Would it be too much to suppose that in the ultimate philosophical synthesis all the several approaches to Godhead—including not only pietistic (*prapatti*), the ecstatic (*yoga*), the rationalistic (*advaita*), but also that of the qualified-monist (*viśiṣṭādvaita*), and even of the dualist (*dvaita*) were arrayed and graded and recommended as being all alike steps towards one and the same ultimate goal? The "*Vyakta-upāsanā*" of the devotee and the "*Avyakta-upāsanā*" of the philosopher were alike means for attaining that mood of equipoise or *samāntva* which must precede and permeate every action, and then only that action can have no power to bind us. The discussions of the "*upāsanās*"

have arrogated too much room to themselves in the Bhagavadgītā, and we often fail to see the wood for the trees and think that they are introduced into the Poem in and for themselves, and as independent modes of salvation. But that is not so. The upāsana (of whatever variety) is to yield us strength of purpose in our daily actions. After a communion with the Highest we rise heartened and consoled for the day's labour. As the upāsana approaches perfection we *pari passu* approach Kṛṣṇa's ideal of *samānta* in conduct, when doubts such as those of Arjuna can no longer assail us.

We have shown how the first Doctrinal Tract of Prapatti-bhakti, which Otto regarded as a consistent and unitary whole, nevertheless introduces other view-points and shows even a readiness to make an alliance with them. Its prevailing view-point may be that of pietistic renunciation, but that has been bridged over. We can now pass on to the consideration of the Second Tract. The text runs as follows—

SECOND TRACT

(Doctrine of संपन्न-भक्ति with विशिष्टाद्वैत Metaphysics)

XIV—XV

धीमघवानुवाच—

- 1 परं भूयः प्रवक्ष्यामि ज्ञानानां ज्ञानमुत्तमम् ।
यज्ज्ञात्वा मुनयः सर्वे परं सिद्धिमितो गताः ॥ १४.१ ॥
- 2 इदं ज्ञानमुपाश्रित्य मम साधर्म्यमागताः ।
सर्गेऽपि गोपजायन्ते प्रलये न व्यथन्ति च ॥ १४.२ ॥
- 3 मम योनिर्मैद्वद्भ्रातास्मिन् गर्भे दधाम्यहम् ।
संभवः सर्वभूतानां ततो भवति भारत ॥ १४.३ ॥
- 4 सर्वयोनिषु कौन्तेय मूर्त्यः संभवन्ति वाः ।
तासां ब्रह्म महद्योविरहं बीजप्रदः पिता ॥ १४.४ ॥
- 5 सत्त्वं रजस्तम इति गुणाः प्रकृतिसंभवाः ।
निबध्नन्ति महाबाहो देहे देहिनमव्ययम् ॥ १४.५ ॥
- 6 तत्र सत्त्वं निर्मलत्वात् प्रकाशकमनामयम् ।
सुखसंज्ञेन यद्भाति ज्ञानसंज्ञेन चानघ ॥ १४.६ ॥
- 7 रजो रागात्मकं बिम्बि तृष्णासङ्गसमुद्भवं ।
तन्निबध्नाति कौन्तेय कर्मसंज्ञेन देहिनम् ॥ १४.७ ॥
- 8 तमस्तु ज्ञानजं बिम्बि मोहनं सर्वदेहिनाम् ।
प्रमादादव्यभिचारीति तन्निबध्नाति भारत ॥ १४.८ ॥
- 9 सत्त्वं बुद्धे सञ्जयति रजः कर्माणि भारत ।
ज्ञानमाकृत्य तु तमः प्रमादे सञ्जयत्युत ॥ १४.९ ॥

- 10 रजस्तथाभिभूय सत्त्वं भवति भारत ।
रजः सत्त्वं तमश्चैव तमः सत्त्वं रजस्तथा ॥ १४.१० ॥
- 11 सर्वद्वारेषु देहेऽस्मिन् प्रकाश उपजायते ।
ज्ञानं यदा तदा विद्याद्विष्टब्धं सत्त्वमित्युत ॥ १४.११ ॥
- 12 लोभः प्रवृत्तिरारम्भः कर्मणामशमः स्पृहा ।
रजस्येतानि जायन्ते विदूषे भरतर्षभ ॥ १४.१२ ॥
- 13 अप्रकाशोऽप्रवृत्तिश्च प्रमादो मोह एव च ।
तमस्येतानि जायन्ते विदूषे कुरुनन्दन ॥ १४.१३ ॥
- 14 यदा सत्त्वे प्रवृत्ते तु प्रलयं वाप्ति देहयुत ।
तदीतमविद्यां लोभानमलान् प्रतिपश्यते ॥ १४.१४ ॥
- 15 रजसि प्रलयं गत्वा कर्मसङ्गेषु जायते ।
तथा प्रलीनस्तमसि मूढयोनिषु जायते ॥ १४.१५ ॥
- 16 कर्मणः सुकृतस्याहुः सात्त्विकं निर्मलं फलम् ।
रजसस्तु फलं दुःखमज्ञानं तमसः फलम् ॥ १४.१६ ॥
- 17 सत्त्वात् संजायते ज्ञानं रजसो लोभ एव च ।
प्रमादमोहौ तमसो भवतोऽज्ञानमेव च ॥ १४.१७ ॥
- 18 कर्णं गच्छन्ति सत्त्वस्था मध्ये तिष्ठन्ति राजसाः ।
जघन्यगुणवृत्तिस्था अधो गच्छन्ति तामसाः ॥ १४.१८ ॥
- 19 नान्यं गुणैर्भ्यः कर्तारं यदा ब्रह्मतुषस्यति ।
गुणैर्भवद्य परं वेत्ति मद्भानं सोऽधिगच्छति ॥ १४.१९ ॥
- 20 गुणानेतानतीत्य ब्रान् देहो देहसमुद्भवान् ।
जन्ममृत्युमरादुःखैर्विमुक्तोऽमृतमश्नुते ॥ १४.२० ॥

अर्जुन उवाच—

- 21 कैर्लिङ्गैर्लान् गुणानेतानतीतो भवति प्रभो ।
किमाचारः कथं चैतांस्त्रीन् गुणानतिवर्तते ॥ १४.२१ ॥

श्रीभगवानुवाच—

- 22 प्रकाशं च प्रवृत्तिं च मोहमेव च पाण्डव ।
न द्वेष्टि संप्रवृत्तानि न निवृत्तानि काङ्क्षति ॥ १४.२२ ॥
- 23 उदासीनवदासीनो गुणैर्मो न विवाह्यते ।
गुणा वर्तन्त इत्येव बोधयतिष्ठति मेज्जते ॥ १४.२३ ॥
- 24 समदुःखसुखः स्वस्वः समलोभाश्मकाशनः ।
तुल्यप्रियाप्रियो धीरस्तुल्यनिन्दात्मसंस्तुतिः ॥ १४.२४ ॥
- 25 मानापमानयोस्तुल्यस्तुल्यो मित्रारिपक्षयोः ।
सर्वारम्भपरित्यागी गुणातीतः स उच्यते ॥ १४.२५ ॥
- 26 मां च बोध्यमभिचारेण भक्तियोगेन सेवते ।
स गुणान् समतीत्येतान् ब्रह्मभूयाय कल्पते ॥ १४.२६ ॥

- 27 ब्रह्मणो हि प्रतिष्ठाहमयुतस्याव्ययस्य च ।
शाश्वतस्य च धर्मस्य सुखस्यैकान्तिकस्य च ॥ १४.२७ ॥
- 28 कर्णमूलमयःशाश्वतमधत्तं प्रादुरव्ययम् ।
छन्दांसि यस्य पर्णानि यस्तं वेद स वेदवित् ॥ १५.१ ॥
- 29 अथधोर्व्यं प्रसूतास्तस्य शाखा
गुणप्रभृद्धा विषयप्रबालाः ।
अथश्च मूलान्यनुसंततानि
कर्मानुबन्धीनि मनुष्यलोके ॥ १५.२ ॥
- 30 न रूपमस्वेह तथोपलभ्यते
नान्तो न चादिर्न च संप्रतिष्ठा ।
अथास्तमेनं सुविस्लमूल-
मसङ्गशस्त्रेण दृष्टेन छित्त्वा ॥ १५.३ ॥
- 31 ततः पदं तत् परिमार्गितव्यं
वस्मिन् यता न निवर्तन्ति मयः ।
तमेव धार्यं पुरुषं प्रपद्ये
यतः प्रवृत्तिः प्रवृत्ता पुराणी ॥ १५.४ ॥
- 32 निर्माणमोहा जितसङ्गदोषा
अप्यात्मनिश्चा विनिवृत्तकामाः ।
द्वन्द्वानुक्ताः सुखदुःखसंज्ञै-
रगच्छन्त्यमूढाः पदमव्ययं तत् ॥ १५.५ ॥
- 33 न तद्भासयते सूर्यो न शशाङ्को न पावकः ।
यद्वत्त्वा न निवर्तन्ते तद्धाम परमं मम ॥ १५.६ ॥
- 34 समैवाशो जीवलोके जीवभूतः समातनः ।
मनःषष्ठानीन्द्रियाणि प्रकृतिस्थानि कर्षति ॥ १५.७ ॥
- 35 शरीरं यदवाप्नोति यथाप्नुक्तामतीश्वरः ।
पृष्टीत्वैतानि संयाति वायुरग्न्यानिवाशयात् ॥ १५.८ ॥
- 36 ध्रोत्रं चक्षुः स्पर्शनं च रसनं घ्राणमेव च ।
अधिष्ठाय मनधार्यं विषयानुपसेवते ॥ १५.९ ॥
- 37 उत्कामन्तं स्थितं वापि भुञ्जानं वा गुणान्वितम् ।
विमूढा नानुपश्यन्ति पश्यन्ति ज्ञानचक्षुषः ॥ १५.१० ॥
- 38 यतन्तो योगिनश्चैनं पश्यन्त्यात्मन्यवस्थितम् ।
यतन्तोऽप्यकृतात्मनो नैनं पश्यन्त्यचेतसः ॥ १५.११ ॥
- * 1 यदादित्यगतं देवो ब्रह्मभासयतेऽस्मिन् ।
यच्छब्दमस्ति यच्चाग्नौ तत् देवो विद्धि मामवाम् ॥ १५.१२ ॥
- * 2 गानाविषयं च भूतानि धारयन्त्यामोहमोहा ।
पुष्पाणि चोपधीः सर्वाः सोमो भूत्वा रसश्ममः ॥ १५.१३ ॥
- * 3 अहं वैश्वानरो भूत्वा प्राणिनां देहमाश्रितः ।
प्राणापानसमाहृत्वा पचाम्यन्नं चतुर्विधम् ॥ १५.१४ ॥

- * 4 सर्वस्य चाहं हृदि तन्निविष्टो
ममः स्मृतिर्ज्ञानमपोहनं च ।
वेदैश्च सर्वैरहमेव वेद्यो
वेदान्तकृद्विद्विष्य चाहम् ॥ १५.१५ ॥
- 39 द्वाविमौ पुरुषौ लोके क्षरश्चाक्षर एव च ।
क्षरः सर्वाणि भूतानि कूटस्थोऽक्षर उच्यते ॥ १५.१६ ॥
- 40 उत्तमः पुरुषस्तन्यः परमात्मैषुदाहृतः ।
यो लोकत्रयमाविश्य विभर्त्यव्यय ईश्वरः ॥ १५.१७ ॥
- 41 यस्मात् क्षरमतीतोऽहमक्षरादपि चोत्तमः ।
अतोऽस्मि लोके वेदे च प्रथितः पुरुषोत्तमः ॥ १५.१८ ॥
- 42 यो मामेवमसंमूढो जानाति पुरुषोत्तमम् ।
स सर्वं विद्वज्जति मां सर्वभावेन भारत ॥ १५.१९ ॥
- 43 इति शुक्लतमं शास्त्रमिदमुक्तं मया गव ।
एतद्ब्रूया बुद्धिमान् स्यात् कृतकृत्वश्च भारत ॥ १५.२० ॥

The second elaboration of the Bhagavadgītā came also from the Bhakti side; only it is now Bhakti based upon metaphysical knowledge, particularly the knowledge of the Sāṅkhya doctrine of three guṇas. The Sāṅkhya is of course theistic Sāṅkhya (XIV. 4), and its knowledge is merely a means to Bhakti and finds its fulfilment in the love of God (XV. 19). This is the viewpoint of the Śaṅḍilya-sūtras, just as *prapatti* is the view-point of the Nārada-sūtras. According to Otto we owe to the author of this Tract 43 stanzas which are continuous, but were subsequently enlarged by an addition from the Vedāntic side of 4 stanzas. Ignoring this last, the Gītā now became a poem of 220 stanzas. It is, says Otto, inconceivable that the author of Tract I could have written Tract II, or that of Tract II, Tract I. On the other hand the opening of Tract II suggests that its author is aware of Tract I and in contradistinction from it he is giving here a superior sort of Bhakti. I am afraid Otto is here allowing too free a play to his imagination.

Otto has furnished a neat analysis of the Tract. (i)—Introduction, XIV. 1-2 : Knowledge affords a more stable salvation through Bhakti. (ii)—XIV. 3-18 : The knowledge meant is the knowledge that the three guṇas springing from Prakṛti, into which the Lord plants His seed, are responsible for the chain of Saṁsāra. (iii)—XIV. 19-20 : Hence the realisation that activity belongs to the guṇas and not to the soul secures immortality. This answer, which is the legitimate Sāṅkhya answer, is hardly given (XIV. 21-25) when it is supplanted by the correct answer from the Bhakti

point of view. (iv)—XIV. 26-27 : Otto says that this very procedure of giving an inadequate answer and then proceeding to correct it marks the anxiety of the later author to draw older speculations into his service. He therefore blames Garbe for rejecting XIV. 26-27 where "Brahman" occurs twice. (v)—XV. 1-6 : An old hymn is next quoted and briefly explained. (vi)—XV. 7-18 (minus st. 12-15) present a Viśiṣṭādvaita cosmology in which the soul (=akṣara) is declared to be a real *aṁśa* or part of the Lord and the doctrine of "Triune-unity" definitely inculcated. (vii)—XV. 19-20 give the conclusion which agrees with the Introduction.

Our criticism of the above is as follows. The doctrine of the three *guṇas* is often held to be a pre-sāṅkhya tenet.¹ The doctrine which considers the soul as the real *aṁśa* of the Lord also considers² the soul as real agent (*kartṛ*) and not the *guṇas*, as XIV. 19 and even XIV. 23 emphatically assert. If this latter doctrine be a *pūrvapakṣa*, to be subsumed and transcended by XIV. 26, one would expect a clearer indication of it. To what period in the evolution of the Sāṅkhya philosophy would Otto assign a *śeṣvara*-Sāṅkhya holding these views about the *aṁśatva* and the *kartṛtva*? The Viśiṣṭādvaita doctrine of Triune-unity includes, besides the *Cit* or soul, the *Acit* or the world as together constituting the body of the Lord. The latter factor is brought in as the "*kṣara*" in XV. 16-17. Stanzas XV. 12-15, according to Otto, disturb the sequence by bringing in that factor too early and Otto, following Garbe, regards these four stanzas as an interpolation by the "Brahman-theologue." It is forgotten that of these stanzas the first two specify in detail the *Acit* factor and the last two the *Cit* factor. And then they could later be briefly alluded to as the *kṣara* and the *akṣara* factors. Otto, however, says³ that the real purpose of the "interpolated" stanzas is to mitigate the harshness of the dualism between the *kṣara* and the *akṣara* factors by drawing attention to the interpenetration by the Lord of both these factors in the sense of pantheistic *advaita*. If this be so, the interpolator would be proved to be a philosopher with a synthetic power of no mean order; and the oftener Otto is able to catch him in the act, the better it would be for our own ultimate thesis.

It is not quite clear to me whether the eight Tracts which Otto discovers in the *Bhagavadgītā* have been numbered by him in

1. Compare Jacobi, NGGW, 1896, pp. 43 ff. Compare also *Lehrtraktate*, p. 14.

2. See Rāmānuja on *Brahmasūtra* II, iii, 40.

3. *Lehrtraktate*, pp. 10-11.

a chronological sequence so that the first Tract was the first, and the eighth the last, to be added to the Poem. The Tracts he has divided into two groups: Tracts added to the latter half of the Gītā (viz. Tracts I to IV), and Tracts added to the first half (viz. Tracts V to VIII). In order to bring out Otto's thesis in a clearer relief it would have been better to assume that the first additions made to the "Original" Gītā all came from the Bhakti schools of various types and denominations. Then the Rationalist Sāṅkhya-Yoga schools may be supposed to have had their go at it; and finally, it may have been argued, came in the "Brahman-theologue" who seems to have made his intruding personality felt all along the line. There is nothing in such an assumption that would have been repugnant to Otto's thesis: he might have even welcomed it. It would of course involve our considering after Tracts I and II, Tracts VI, VIII and Appendix to Tract III in this sequence first, and then passing on to Tracts VII, IV, V, and III. As a matter of fact Otto gives no reasons why Tract III must come immediately after Tract II. Its character is so different from the Bhakti additions made hitherto. Tract VI which gives a form of Bhakti would form a better sequel to Tract II. Otto thinks that Tract VI purports to give a better answer to the question mooted at the opening of Tract V (stanza V. 1). But he himself tells us that the spirit of the two answers is radically different. However, in order not to introduce unnecessary complications we will follow Otto's sequence of the Tracts considering it as chronological. Tract III runs thus—

THIRD TRACT

(Ethico-Religious Dualism on देव-अनुर basis and a "Trialism" on त्रिगुण basis, with a Bhakti appendix XVIII, 50-55 by the author of Tract I)

XVI—XVIII. 49

श्रीभगवानुवाच—

- 1 अभयं सत्त्वसंशुद्धिर्ज्ञानयोगव्यवस्थितिः ।
दानं दमश्च यज्ञश्च स्वाध्यायस्तप आर्जवम् ॥ १६.१ ॥
- 2 अहिंसा सत्यमक्रोधस्त्यागः शान्तिरपेक्षुनम् ।
दया मृतेष्वलोलुप्त्वं मार्दवं ह्रीरवापलम् ॥ १६.२ ॥
- 3 तेजः क्षमा धृतिः शौचमद्रोहो नातिमानिता ।
भवन्ति संपदं देवीर्मानजातस्य भारत ॥ १६.३ ॥
- 4 दम्भो दर्पोऽतिमानश्च क्रोधः पाहव्यमेव च ।
अज्ञानं चाभिजातस्य पार्थ संपदमाप्सुरीम् ॥ १६.४ ॥

- 5 दैवी संपत्तिमोक्षाय निबन्धावाप्नुयी मता ।
मा झुवः संपदं दैवीमभिजातोऽसि पाण्डव ॥ १६.५ ॥
- 6 द्वौ मृतसर्गौ लोकेऽस्मिन् दैव आसुर एव च ।
दैवो विस्तरसः प्रोक्ष आसुरं पार्थ मे शृणु ॥ १६.६ ॥
- 7 प्रवृत्तिं च निवृत्तिं च जना न विदुरासुराः ।
न शौचं नापि व्याचारो न सत्यं तेषु विशते ॥ १६.७ ॥
- 8 असत्यमप्रतिष्ठं ते जगदादुरनीश्वरम् ।
अपरस्परसंभूतं किमन्यत्कामद्वैतुकम् ॥ १६.८ ॥
- 9 एतां दृष्टिमवष्टभ्य नष्टात्मानोऽल्पबुद्धयः ।
प्रभवन्त्युधक्प्राणः क्षयाच्च जगतोऽहिताः ॥ १६.९ ॥
- 10 काममश्रित्य दुष्पूरं दम्भमानमदान्विताः ।
मोहादुहीत्वासद्विप्राहान् प्रवर्तन्तेऽशुचिप्रताः ॥ १६.१० ॥
- 11 चिन्तामपरिभेयां च प्रलवान्तामुपाश्रिताः ।
कामोपभोगपरमा एतावदिति निश्चिताः ॥ १६.११ ॥
- 12 आशापाशशतैर्बद्धाः कामकोषपरावषाः ।
ईहन्ते कामनोकार्थमन्यायेनार्थसंचयान् ॥ १६.१२ ॥
- 13 इदमथ मया लब्धमिमं प्राप्ये मनोरथम् ।
इदमस्तीदमपि मे भविष्यति पुनर्धनम् ॥ १६.१३ ॥
- 14 असौ मया हतः शत्रुहनिष्ये चापरानपि ।
ईश्वरोऽहमहं भोगी सिद्धोऽहं बलवान् सुखी ॥ १६.१४ ॥
- 15 आलपोऽभिजनवानस्मि कोऽन्योऽस्ति सहस्रो मया ।
यस्ये दास्यामि मोक्षिष्य इत्यज्ञानविमोहिताः ॥ १६.१५ ॥
- 16 अनेकविश्विआन्ता मोक्षालसमाहृताः ।
प्रसक्ताः कामभोगेषु पतन्ति नरकेऽशुचौ ॥ १६.१६ ॥
- 17 आत्मसंभाविताः स्तब्धा धनमानमदान्विताः ।
यजन्ते नामचईस्ते दम्भेनाधिपिपूर्वकम् ॥ १६.१७ ॥
- 18 अहंकारं बलं दर्पं कामं क्रोधं च संश्रिताः ।
मानात्मपरधेहेषु प्रद्विष्यन्तोऽभ्यसूयकाः ॥ १६.१८ ॥
- 19 तानहं द्विषतः कूरान् संसारेषु नराधमान् ।
क्षिपाम्यजलमशुभानासुरीष्णेषु योनिषु ॥ १६.१९ ॥
- 20 आसुरीं योनिमापन्ना मूढा जन्मनि जन्मनि ।
मानप्राप्यैव कौन्तेय ततो बान्त्वधर्मा गतिम् ॥ १६.२० ॥
- 21 त्रिविधं नरकस्तेषां द्वारं नाशनमाश्रयः ।
कामः क्रोधस्तथा लोभस्तस्मादेतत् त्रयं त्यजेत् ॥ १६.२१ ॥
- 22 एतैर्विमुक्तः कौन्तेय ततोद्धारैस्त्रिभिर्नरैः ।
आन्तरस्यात्मनः श्रेयस्ततो याति परां गतिम् ॥ १६.२२ ॥

- 23 यः शास्त्रविधिसुत्तुज्य वर्तते कामकारतः ।
न स सिद्धिमवाप्नोति न सुखं न परां गतिम् ॥१६.२३॥
- 24 तस्माच्छस्त्रं प्रमाणं ते कार्याकार्यव्यवस्थितौ ।
ज्ञात्वा शास्त्रविधानोक्तं कर्म कर्तुमिहार्हति ॥१६.२४॥

अर्जुन उवाच—

- 25 ये शास्त्रविधिसुत्तुज्य यजन्ते श्रद्धयान्विताः ।
तेषां निष्ठा तु का कृष्ण सत्त्वमाहो रजस्तनः ॥१७.१॥

श्रीभगवानुवाच—

- 26 त्रिविधा भवति श्रद्धा देहिनां सा स्वभावजा ।
सात्त्विकी राजसी चैव तामसी चेति तां शृणु ॥ १७.२ ॥
- 27 सत्त्वानुरूपा सर्वस्य श्रद्धा भवति भारत ।
श्रद्धामयोऽयं पुरुषो यो बद्धदुःखः स एव सः ॥ १७.३ ॥
- 28 यजन्ते सात्त्विका देवान् बद्धरक्षांसि राजसाः ।
प्रेतान् भूतगणांश्चान्ये यजन्ते तामसा जनाः ॥ १७.४ ॥
- * 1 अशास्त्रविरहितं धीरे तज्यन्ते ये तपो जनाः ।
दम्भाहंकारसंयुक्ताः क्षामराजवशान्विताः ॥ १७.५ ॥
- * 2 कर्षणतः शरीरस्थं भूतग्राममचेतसः ।
मां चैवान्तांशरीरस्थं तान् विदधासुरविश्वयान् ॥ १७.६ ॥
- 29 आहारास्तपि सर्वस्य त्रिविधो भवति प्रियः ।
यज्ञस्तपस्तथा दानं तेषां भेदमिमं शृणु ॥ १७.७ ॥
- 30 ध्यायुःसत्त्वबलारोग्यसुखप्रीतिविवर्धनाः ।
रसाः स्निग्धाः स्विदा हृद्या आहाराः सात्त्विकप्रियाः ॥ १७.८ ॥
- 31 कटुम्ललवणात्पुष्पतीक्ष्णरुक्षविदाहिनः ।
आहारा राजसत्त्वेष्टा दुःखशोकमयप्रदाः ॥ १७.९ ॥
- 32 यातयामं गतरसं पूति पर्युषितं च यत् ।
उच्छिष्टमपि शमिर्था भोजनं तामसप्रियम् ॥ १७.१० ॥
- 33 अफलाकृष्टिभिर्यज्ञो विधिह्यो य इज्यते ।
यह्न्यमेवेति मनः समाधाय स सात्त्विकः ॥ १७.११ ॥
- 34 अभिलषन्तु तु कलं दम्भार्थमपि चैव यत् ।
इज्यते भरतश्रेष्ठ तं यज्ञं विद्धि राजसम् ॥ १७.१२ ॥
- 35 विधिहीनमसृष्टान् मन्त्रहीनमदक्षिणम् ।
श्रद्धाविरहितं यज्ञं तामसं परिचक्षते ॥ १७.१३ ॥
- 36 देवद्विजगुरुशृङ्गपूजनं शौचनार्जवम् ।
ब्रह्मचर्यमहिंसा च शारीरं तप उच्यते ॥ १७.१४ ॥
- 37 अनुद्वेगकरं वाक्यं सत्यं प्रियहितं च यत् ।
त्वाध्यानाभ्यसनं चैव वाङ्मयं तप उच्यते ॥ १७.१५ ॥

- 38 मनःप्रसादः सौम्यत्वं मौनमात्मनिग्रहः ।
भाषसंक्षुद्धिरित्येतत् तपो मानसमुच्यते ॥ १७.१६ ॥
- 39 धृष्ट्या परया तप्तं तपस्तत् त्रिविधं नरैः ।
अफलाकाङ्क्षिभिरुक्तैः सार्वर्षिकं परिचक्षते ॥ १७.१७ ॥
- 40 सत्कारमानपूजार्थं तपो दम्भेन वैष यत् ।
क्रियते तद्विद् ग्रीष्मं राजसं चलमधुनम् ॥ १७.१८ ॥
- 41 मूढप्रज्ञेणात्मनो यत् पीडया क्रियते तपः ।
परस्योत्सादनार्थं वा तत् तामसमुदाहृतम् ॥ १७.१९ ॥
- 42 दातव्यमिति यद्दानं दीयतेऽनुपकारिणे ।
देशे काले च पात्रे च तद्दानं सात्त्विकं स्मृतम् ॥ १७.२० ॥
- 43 नहं तु प्रत्युपकारार्थं फलमुद्दिश्य वा पुनः ।
दीयते च परिक्षिप्तं तद्दानं राजसं स्मृतम् ॥ १७.२१ ॥
- 44 अदेशकाले यद्दानमपात्रेभ्यश्च दीयते ।
असंयुक्तमवज्ञातं तत् तामसमुदाहृतम् ॥ १७.२२ ॥
- * 3 ॐ तत्सवितुर्वरेण्यं भर्गो देवस्य धियो रम्यतः ।
महागोप्तास्ते न वेदाश्च यथाश्च विहिताः पुरा ॥ २७.२३ ॥
- * 4 तस्मादोमित्युदाहृत्य यज्ञदानतपःक्रियाः ।
प्रवर्तन्ते विधानोक्ताः सततं ब्रह्मवादिनाम् ॥ २७.२४ ॥
- * 5 तदित्यनन्तिसंघातं कर्त्तुं यज्ञतपःक्रियाः ।
दानक्रियाश्च विविधाः क्रियन्ते मोक्षकाङ्क्षिभिः ॥ २७.२५ ॥
- * 6 सद्भावे साधुभावे च सदित्येतत् प्रयुज्यते ।
यज्ञस्तो कर्मणि तदा सच्छब्दः पार्थ युज्यते ॥ २७.२६ ॥
- * 7 यज्ञे तपस्ति दाने च स्थितिः सदिति बोध्यते ।
कर्मैव तदर्थैर्व सदित्येनाभिधीयते ॥ २७.२७ ॥
- * 8 अक्षय्या जुतं दत्तं तपस्तप्तं कृतं च यत् ।
असदित्युच्यते पार्थ न च तत् श्रेय नो हह ॥ २७.२८ ॥

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- 45 संन्यासस्य महाबाहो तत्त्वमिच्छामि वेदितुम् ।
त्यागस्य च हृषीकेश पृथक् केशिनिपूदन ॥ १८.१ ॥

श्रीभगवानुवाच—

- 46 काम्यानां कर्मणां न्यासं संन्यासं कवयो विदुः ।
सर्वकर्मफलत्यागं प्राहुस्त्यागं विचक्षणाः ॥ १८.२ ॥
- 47 त्याज्यं दोषवदित्येके कर्म प्राहुर्मनीषिणः ।
यज्ञदानतपःकर्म न त्याज्यमिति चापरे ॥ १८.३ ॥
- 48 निश्चयं शृणु मे तत्र त्यागे भरतसत्तम ।
त्यागो हि पुण्यव्याघ्र त्रिविधः संप्रकीर्तितः ॥ १८.४ ॥

- * 9 यश्च दानतपःकर्म न त्याज्यं कार्यमेव तत् ।
यश्चै दानं तपश्चैव पावनानि मनीषिणाम् ॥ १८.५ ॥
- * 10 यत्नान्पि तु कर्माणि सङ्गं त्यक्त्वा फलानि च ।
कर्त्ताभ्यानीति मे पार्थ निश्चितं मतमुत्तमम् ॥ १८.६ ॥
- 49 नियतस्य तु संन्यासः कर्मणो मोक्षपथते ।
मोहात् तस्य परित्यागस्तामसः परिकीर्तितः ॥ १८.७ ॥
- 50 दुःखमित्येव यत् कर्म कायहेम्भमयात् त्यजेत् ।
स कृत्वा राजसं त्यागं नैव त्यागकले लभेत् ॥ १८.८ ॥
- 51 कार्यमित्येव यत् कर्म नियतं कियतेऽर्जुन ।
सङ्गं त्यक्त्वा फलं नैव स त्यागः सात्त्विको मतः ॥ १८.९ ॥
- 52 न द्वेष्टकृशलं कर्म कुशले नानुब्रजते ।
त्यागी सत्त्वसमाविष्टो मेधावी छिन्नसंशयः ॥ १८.१० ॥
- 53 न हि देहसुता शक्यं त्यक्तुं कर्माण्यशेषतः ।
यस्तु कर्मफलत्यागी स त्यागीत्यभिधीयते ॥ १८.११ ॥
- 54 अनिष्टमिष्टं मित्रं च त्रिविधं कर्मणः फलम् ।
भवत्यस्याग्निनां प्रेत्य न तु संन्यासिनां क्वचित् ॥ १८.१२ ॥
- * 11 पश्यैतां महाबाहो कारणाणि निर्दोषा मे ।
सांख्ये ज्ञाने प्रोक्तानि तिरुत्ये सर्वकर्मणाम् ॥ १८.१३ ॥
- * 12 अविद्यानं तथा कर्ता कारणं च पृथग्विधम् ।
विविधाश्च पृथक् चैवा देवैर्वाच पञ्चमम् ॥ १८.१४ ॥
- * 13 शरीरबाह्यनोभिर्यत् कर्म धारयते नरः ।
न्याय्यं वा विपरीतं वा पश्येति तस्य ज्ञेयः ॥ १८.१५ ॥
- * 14 तत्रैवं सति कारमात्मानं वैफल्यं तु यः ।
पश्यत्यकृतशुद्धिमान् स पश्यति दुर्मतिः ॥ १८.१६ ॥
- * 15 यस्तु साहज्यतो भावो बुद्धिर्वैत्य न क्लिप्तते ।
इत्थापि स शर्मोक्ताश्च हन्ति न निवद्व्यते ॥ १८.१७ ॥
- 55 ज्ञाने ज्ञेयं परिज्ञाता त्रिविधा कर्मचोदना ।
करणं कर्म कर्तेति त्रिविधः कर्मसंग्रहः ॥ १८.१८ ॥
- 56 ज्ञानं कर्म च कर्ता च त्रिवैव गुणभेदतः ।
प्रोच्यते गुणसंख्याने यथापञ्चगुणं तान्यपि ॥ १८.१९ ॥
- 57 सर्वभूतेषु वैचैकं भावमव्ययमीक्षते ।
अविमक्तं निमज्जेतु सज्ज्ञानं विद्धि सात्त्विकम् ॥ १८.२० ॥
- 58 पृथक्त्वेन तु यज्ज्ञानं नानामावान् पृथग्विधानम् ।
वेति सर्वेषु भूतेषु तज्ज्ञानं विद्धि राजसम् ॥ १८.२१ ॥
- 59 वेति कृत्स्नवदेकस्मिन् कार्ये सत्त्वमहेतुकम् ।
अतएवार्थकदर्पं च तत् तामसमुदाहृतम् ॥ १८.२२ ॥
- 60 नियतं सत्त्वद्विमतमरागद्वेषतः कृतम् ।
अकृत्स्नप्रेम्भुना कर्म यत् तत् सात्त्विकमुच्यते ॥ १८.२३ ॥

- 61 यत् तु क्षमेन्मुवा कर्म साहकारेण वा पुनः ।
क्रियते बहुलाचारं तद्वाजसमुदाहृतम् ॥ १८.२४ ॥
- 62 अतुल्यत्वं सर्वं हिंसामनपेक्ष च पौरुषम् ।
मोहादारभ्यते कर्म यत् तत् तामसमुच्यते ॥ १८.२५ ॥
- 63 मुक्तसंज्ञोऽनर्हवादी श्रुतसाहसमन्वितः ।
लिङ्गपक्षिदयोर्निर्विकारः कर्ता सार्विक उच्यते ॥ १८.२६ ॥
- 64 रागो कर्मकल्लेनमुल्लेख्यो हिंसात्मकोऽशुचिः ।
हर्षशोकान्वितः कर्ता राजसः परिकीर्तितः ॥ १८.२७ ॥
- 65 अयुक्तः प्राकृतः स्तब्धः शठो नैष्कृतिकोऽलसः ।
विषादी दीर्घसूत्री च कर्ता तामस उच्यते ॥ १८.२८ ॥
- 66 बुद्धेर्भेदं धृतेर्यैव गुणतस्त्रिविधं शृणु ।
प्रोच्यमानमशेषेण पृथक्त्वेन धनंजय ॥ १८.२९ ॥
- 67 प्रकृतिं च निष्कृतिं च कार्यकारणं भवानये ।
बन्धे मोक्षं च वा वेत्ति बुद्धिः सा पार्थ सात्त्विकी ॥ १८.३० ॥
- 68 यथा धर्ममधर्मं च कार्यं चाकार्यमेव च ।
अयथावात् प्रजानाति बुद्धिः सा पार्थ राजसी ॥ १८.३१ ॥
- 69 अधर्मं धर्ममिति वा भ्रम्यते तमसाहृता ।
सर्वार्थान् विपरीतांश्च बुद्धिः सा पार्थ तामसी ॥ १८.३२ ॥
- 70 श्रुत्वा यथा धारयते मनःप्रापेन्द्रियक्रियाः ।
योगेनाभ्यभिचारिण्या धृतिः सा पार्थ सात्त्विकी ॥ १८.३३ ॥
- 71 यथा तु धर्मकार्थान् श्रुत्वा धारयतेऽर्हन् ।
प्रसङ्गेन कलाकाङ्क्षी धृतिः सा पार्थ राजसी ॥ १८.३४ ॥
- 72 यथा स्वप्नं भयं शोकं विषादं मदमेव च ।
न विमुञ्चति दुर्मेधा धृतिः सा पार्थ तामसी ॥ १८.३५ ॥
- 73 सुखं त्विदानीं त्रिविधं शृणु मे भस्तर्षभ ।
अभ्यासाव्रमते यत्र दुःखान्ते च निगच्छति ॥ १८.३६ ॥
- 74 यत् तदग्रे विषमिव परिणामेऽमृतोपमम् ।
तत् सुखं सात्त्विकं प्रोक्तमात्मबुद्धिप्रसादजम् ॥ १८.३७ ॥
- 75 विषयेन्द्रियसंयोगाच्चत् तदग्रेऽमृतोपमम् ।
परिणामे विषमिव तत् सुखं राजसं स्मृतम् ॥ १८.३८ ॥
- 76 यदग्रे चानुबन्धे च सुखं मोहनमात्मनः ।
निद्रालस्यप्रमादोत्थं तत् तामसमुदाहृतम् ॥ १८.३९ ॥
- 77 न तदस्ति पृथिव्यां वा दिशि देवेषु वा पुनः ।
सर्वं प्रकृतिजैर्गुणैः सदेभिः स्यात् त्रिभिर्गुणैः ॥ १८.४० ॥
- 78 ब्राह्मणक्षत्रियविशां शूद्राणां च परंतप ।
कर्माणि प्रविभक्तानि स्वभावप्रभवैर्गुणैः ॥ १८.४१ ॥

- 79 शमो दमस्तपः शौचं क्षान्तिराजैवमेव च ।
ज्ञानं विज्ञानमास्तित्वं ब्रह्मकर्म स्वभावजम् ॥ १८.४२ ॥
- 80 शौर्यं तेजो धृतिर्दायं बुद्धेः शान्तपत्तयनम् ।
दानमौश्रमावध क्षात्रं कर्म स्वभावजम् ॥ १८.४३ ॥
- 81 कृषिगौरक्षवाणिज्यं वैश्यकर्म स्वभावजम् ।
परिचर्यात्मकं कर्म शूद्रस्यापि स्वभावजम् ॥ १८.४४ ॥
- * 16 स्वे स्वे कर्मण्यनिरतः संसिद्धिं लभते नरः
स्वकर्मनिरतः सिद्धिं यथा विन्दति तच्छृणु ॥ १८.४५ ॥
- " 17 यतः प्रवृत्तिर्नृतात्मा वेन सर्वमिदं ततम् ।
स्वकर्मणा तमन्वन्त्यं सिद्धिं विन्दति मानवः ॥ १८.४६ ॥
- 82 श्रेयान् स्वधर्मो विमुनः परधर्मात् स्वनुष्ठितात् ।
स्वभावनियतं कर्म कुर्वन्नाप्नोति क्लित्विषम् ॥ १८.४७ ॥
- 83 सहजं कर्म कौन्तेय सदोषमपि न त्यजेत् ।
सर्वारम्भा हि दोषेण धूमेनाग्निरेवाहताः ॥ १८.४८ ॥
- 84 असक्तबुद्धिः सर्वत्र जितात्मा विगतस्सहः ।
नैष्कर्म्यसिद्धिं परमां संन्यासेनाधिगच्छति ॥ १८.४९ ॥
- § 1 सिद्धिं प्राप्नोति यथा ब्रह्म तथाप्नोति निबोध मे ।
समासेनैव कौन्तेय निष्ठा ज्ञानस्य या परा ॥ १८.५० ॥
- § 2 बुद्ध्या विद्वद्भ्यां युक्तो धृत्वाभ्यानं निश्चयः च ।
शब्दादीन् विषयांस्तु तत्त्वा रागद्वेषौ व्युदस्य च ॥ १८.५१ ॥
- § 3 विविक्तसेवी लब्धाशी वतवत्प्रायमानसः ।
भ्यानयोगपरो नित्यं वैराग्यं समुपाश्रितः ॥ १८.५२ ॥
- § 4 अहंकारं बले दपै कामं क्रोधं परिग्रहम् ।
विभुष्य निर्ममः शान्तो ब्रह्मभूयान् कल्पते ॥ १८.५३ ॥
- § 5 ब्रह्मभूतः प्रसन्नात्मा न शोचति न काङ्क्षति ।
समः सर्वेषु भूतेषु मङ्गलि लभते परम् ॥ १८.५४ ॥
- § 6 भक्त्या मामभिजानाति यावान् बद्धास्मि तत्त्वतः ।
ततो मां त्यक्तो ज्ञात्वा विशते तदनन्तरम् ॥ १८.५५ ॥
- § 7 सर्वकर्मण्यपि सदा कुर्वाणो महत्पराधयः ।
मत्प्रसादादवाप्नोति शाश्वतं पद्ममयम् ॥ १८.५६ ॥
- § 8 चेतसा सर्वकर्मणि मयि संन्यस्य मत्परः ।
मन्त्रितः सर्वदुर्गामि मत्प्रसादात् तरिष्यसि ॥ १८.५७ ॥

§ The eight stanzas constitute an independent appendix, intended to bridge the subsequent transition to the Orig. Poem, and calculated to enlist, says Otto, Tract III to the elaborator's purpose.

As observed before, the addition of this Tract at this stage to the *Gītā* as it then existed is utterly unmotivated. The Tract is followed by an Appendix (XVIII. 50-57) conceived from a Bhakti view-point which comes nearer to the philosophic Bhakti of Tract II or the mystic Bhakti of Tract VI. Otto blames Garbe for omitting XVIII. 53-54 as a Vedāntic interpolation and avers that the author of the whole Appendix including stanzas 53-54 is an advaita Bhakta. He however unnecessarily¹ multiplies entities by supposing that its author is a different Bhakta from the five other Bhakta interpolators whom he has raised up! As a matter of fact the different types of Bhakti in practice hardly remained water-tight.

The original tract consists of 84 or rather 86 stanzas.² It has, super-added to it a Sāṅkhya gloss of five stanzas (XVIII. 13-17 = *11-*15), the gloss of the "Brahman-theologue" of six stanzas (XVII. 23-28 = *3-*8), and four stanzas (viz. *9, *10, *16 and *17) of miscellaneous gloss. If Tract III was added after Tract II, the *Gītā* as it left the hands of the author of Tract III had become, ignoring the glosses and the appendix, a Poem of 306 stanzas.

The Tract falls into two main divisions. The first consists of Chapter XVI and gives a popular, non-scholastic and non-sectarian sermon on morality based on Deva-Asura dualism with a strong polemic against the heretic and an adjuration to follow the *Śāstra* on all matters of doubt. The second division consists of Chapter XVII (minus stanzas 23-28) and Chapter XVIII. 1-49 (minus stanzas 13-17 and 45-46). It also has the same popular character, but it bases its teaching on the triad of *guṇas*, and in a methodical manner describes categories like Faith, Food, Sacrifice, Penance and Gifts, on the basis of the Sattva-Rajas-Tamas division. It raises up the ethical problem of activism versus renunciation which gave rise to the Bhagavadgītā, and decides against renunciation by classifying renunciation on the same triple basis of *guṇas*. As to activism that in its turn leads to a similar classification of the result of action, of the conditions of action—viz., the knowledge, the knower and the known (or the act, the actor and the action)—of the intellect, and of the sustaining-power (*dhṛti*) during the activity, and

1. Otto's attempt (*Lehrtraktate*, pp. 19-20) to show how Brahman-knowledge was subsumed by this type of Bhakta under his own Bhakti view-point is not very convincing. I do not see anything of the "magical value of knowledge" anywhere in this Appendix, whatever may or may not be the case in the *Hārivaṃśa* passages quoted.

2. Stanzas XVII. 5-6 (= *1-*2) need not be regarded as a doubtful gloss. They would be, as Otto himself points out, in their place after XVII. 19.

of the pleasure which results from it. It concludes with an enumeration of the duties of the four castes, which are theoretically based on the same *traiguṇa* division, and a concluding adjuration for everyone to do his prescribed duty in a mood of detachment. The Tract is said to be a well-ordered unit save for the disturbing glosses (XVII. 23-28 and XVIII. 13-17 and XVIII. 45-46) the first and the last of which Garbe had also omitted. Stanzas XVIII. 5-6 are a sheer interpolation. As to the appendix (XVIII. 50-57) we have already made our comments (p. 98). We fail to see why it was attached by Otto to this Tract at all, unless it be because the last stanza of the Tract links itself on to the first stanza of the Appendix. But that is the normal trick of the trade, and its author may nevertheless have been the same as that of Tract II or preferably of Tract VI.

Tract IV sets forth the *Śeṣvara-Sāṅkhya* in a popular form. It nevertheless places very little emphasis on the *Bhakti* and the treatment is more rational than emotional. Hence, says Otto, its author cannot be the same as that of Tract II. The Tract constitutes the Thirteenth Chapter, but out of its 34 stanzas 12 (preceded by starred numbers) are Vedāntic glosses or interpolations. The general character of the Tract lent itself easily to comments and corrections so as to make its teaching in stricter accord with the "Brahman-theology." Garbe had already ejected all these 12 stanzas as interpolations. He had moreover suspected 3 more stanzas (XIII. 31-33) as also Vedāntic. Otto however finds pure *Sāṅkhya* teaching in them, that is to say, *Śeṣvara-Sāṅkhya*. The Tract increased the extent of the then *Gītā* to 328 stanzas. The text runs as follows:—

FOURTH TRACT

(*सेवरासांख्य* in popular form: *Bhakti* not stressed)

XIII. 1—34

श्रीभगवानुवाच—

- 1 इदं शरीरं कौन्तेय क्षेत्रमित्यभिधीयते ।
एतद्यो वेत्ति तं ब्राह्मः क्षेत्रज्ञ इति तद्विदः ॥१३.१॥
- * 1 क्षेत्रज्ञं चापि मां विद्धि सर्वक्षेत्रेषु भारत ।
क्षेत्रक्षेत्रज्ञविवर्तनं यत् तत्त्वज्ञानं मतं मम ॥ १३.२ ॥
- 2 तत् क्षेत्रं यच्च बाह्यं च यद्विकारि यत्तत्र यत् ।
स च यो यत्प्रभावश्च तत् समाम्नेन मे शृणु ॥१३.३॥
- * 2 कपिभिर्बहुधा वीर्यं छन्दोभिर्मिथिवैः दधत् ।
ब्रह्मसूत्रपदैश्चैव हेतुमद्भिर्मिथिलैः ॥ १३.४ ॥
- 3 महाभूतान्बह्विधकरो बुद्धिरव्यक्तमेव च ।
इन्द्रियाणि दशैकं च पञ्च चेन्द्रियगोचराः ॥१३.५॥

- 4 दृष्ट्या द्वेषः सुखं दुःखं संघातश्चेतना धृतिः ।
एतत् क्षेत्रं समासेन सविकारमुदाहृतम् ॥ १३.६ ॥
- 5 क्षमानित्यमदम्भित्वमहिंसा क्षान्तिरार्जवम् ।
आचार्योपासनं शौचं स्वेयमात्मनिग्रहः ॥ १३.७ ॥
- 6 इन्द्रियार्थेषु वैराग्यमनर्हकार एव च ।
जन्ममृत्युजराव्याधिवुःसर्वोषानुदर्शनम् ॥ १३.८ ॥
- 7 असत्किरनभिष्वङ्गः पुनर्दारसृष्टादिषु ।
दित्यं च समचित्तत्वमिष्टानिष्टोपपत्तिषु ॥ १३.९ ॥
- 8 भयि चाभयवोगेन भक्तिरव्यभिचारिणी ।
विभिक्तदेशतेनित्यमरतिर्जनसंसदि ॥ १३.१० ॥
- 9 व्याप्त्यात्मज्ञाननित्यसर्वं तत्त्वज्ञानार्थदर्शनम् ।
एतज्ज्ञानमिति प्रोक्तमज्ञानं यदतोऽन्वया ॥ १३.११ ॥
- * 3 क्षेत्रं यत् तत् प्रवक्ष्यामि बन्धालासृष्टममुते ।
जनादिमत् परं ब्रह्म न सत् तज्ज्ञानमुच्यते ॥ १३.१२ ॥
- * 4 सर्वतन्माणिपादं तत् सर्वतोऽभिक्षिरोद्गुलम् ।
सर्वतःश्रुतिमज्ञोक्तं सर्वनाशुल्य तिष्ठति ॥ १३.१३ ॥
- * 5 सर्वेन्द्रियगुणाभासं सर्वेन्द्रियविवर्धितम् ।
असक्तं सर्वमृषैव निर्गुणं गुणमोक्षं च ॥ १३.१४ ॥
- * 6 बहिरन्तरं भूतानामपरं चरमेव च ।
सूक्ष्मात्मा तद्विवेकं दूरस्थं चान्तिके च तत् ॥ १३.१५ ॥
- * 7 अविभक्तं च भूतेषु विभक्तमित्यत्र स्थितम् ।
भूतमर्तुं च यज्ज्ञेयं प्रसिष्यु प्रभविष्यु च ॥ १३.१६ ॥
- * 8 ज्योतिषामपि तत्त्वव्योक्तित्तमलः परमुच्यते ।
ज्ञानं क्षेत्रं ज्ञानान्वयं हृदि सर्वस्य चिह्नितम् ॥ १३.१७ ॥
- * 9 इति क्षेत्रं तथा ज्ञानं क्षेत्रं योक्तं समासतः ।
मन्त्रक प्लाविज्ञाय मन्त्राभायोपपद्यते ॥ १३.१८ ॥
- 10 प्रकृतिं पुरुषं चैव विद्वधनादी उभावपि ।
विकाराय गुणादीव विद्धि प्रकृतिसंभवान् ॥ १३.१९ ॥
- 11 कार्यकारणकर्तृत्वे हेतुः प्रकृतिरुच्यते ।
पुरुषः कुलकुःसानां भोक्तृत्वे हेतुरुच्यते ॥ १३.२० ॥
- 12 पुरुषः प्रकृतिर्यो हि भुङ्क्ते प्रकृतिजान् गुणान् ।
कारणं गुणसङ्गोऽस्य सदसद्योनिजन्मसु ॥ १३.२१ ॥
- 13 उपद्रष्टुमुन्मत्ता यः भर्ता भोक्ता महेश्वरः ।
परमात्मेति चायुक्तो देहेऽस्मिन् पुरुषः परः ॥ १३.२२ ॥
- 14 य एवं नेति पुरुषं प्रकृतिं च गुणैः सह ।
सर्वथा वर्तमानोऽपि न स भूयोऽभिजायते ॥ १३.२३ ॥
- 15 प्यानेनात्मनि पश्यन्ति केचिदात्मानमात्मना ।
अन्ये सांख्येन योगेन कर्मयोगेन चापरे ॥ १३.२४ ॥

- 16 अन्ये त्वेवमज्ञानतः श्रुत्वान्येभ्य उपासते ।
तेऽपि चातितरन्त्येव मृत्युं श्रुतिपरावणाः ॥ १३.२५ ॥
- 17 यावत् संजायते किञ्चित् सर्वं स्थावरज्जलमम् ।
क्षेत्रक्षेत्रज्ञसंयोगात् तद्विद्धि भरतर्षभ ॥ १३.२६ ॥
- * 10 समं सर्वेषु भूतेषु तिष्ठन्तं परमेश्वरम् ।
निश्चयस्त्वविन्दयन्तं यः पश्यति स पश्यति ॥ १३.२७ ॥
- * 11 समं पश्यन् वि सर्वत्र समवस्थितमीश्वरम् ।
न दिनस्नातननाह्वानं ततो याति परं गतिम् ॥ १३.२८ ॥
- 18 प्रकृत्यैव च कर्माणि कियमाणानि सर्वशः ।
यः पश्यति तथात्मानमकर्तारं स पश्यति ॥ १३.२९ ॥
- * 12 यदा भूतद्वन्द्वमावनेष्वक्षयननुपश्यति ।
तत एव च विस्तारं बद्धा संपश्यते तदा ॥ १३.३० ॥
- 19 अनादित्वात्त्रिगुणात्वाद् परमात्मायमव्ययः ।
शरीरस्थोऽपि कौन्तेय न करोति न लिप्यते ॥ १३.३१ ॥
- 20 यथा सर्वगतं सौक्ष्म्याद्वाक्यं नोपलिप्यते ।
सर्वत्रावस्थितो देहे तथात्मा नोपलिप्यते ॥ १३.३२ ॥
- 21 यथा प्रकाशस्यैकः कृत्स्नं लोकमिमं रविः ।
सर्वं क्षेत्री तथा कृत्स्नं प्रकाशयति भारत ॥ १३.३३ ॥
- 22 क्षेत्रक्षेत्रज्ञयोरेवमन्तरं ज्ञानचक्षुषा ।
भूतप्रकृतिमोक्षं च ये विदुर्वान्ति ते परम् ॥ १३.३४ ॥

Otto has frequently called attention to the way in which the Vedāntic corrector, by inserting his own peculiar doctrines at the proper point, creates a prejudice in favour of a Vedāntic interpretation of the whole passages by perverting its original Sāṃkhya bias. If this be really so, a strong case will have been made for the theory of a final synthetic redaction of the Bhagavadgītā by a philosopher of no mean order. We wish however to draw attention to just two points. In XIII. 7-11 knowledge is explained not by its contents (as we should have expected) but by its effects. It is not therefore the knowledge which comes from without, but is born from within. Secondly, the proper interpretation of stanzas XIII. 24-25, and particularly stanza 24 has an important bearing on the ultimate teaching that is here sought to be conveyed. Otto's translation (p. 86) and the note attached to it presuppose three parallel ways of knowing the Ātman : (i) the introspective or meditative method of direct intuition, (ii) the reflective or the anumāna method, and (iii) the Karma-yoga. One fails to see how Karma-yoga is to

lead to knowledge of Ātman. Otto, however, cleverly hoodwinks the unwary reader. In the line—

अन्ये सांख्येन योगेन, कर्मयोगेन चापरे ।

yogena is rendered as "by the method of." The methods are then two : Sāṅkhya and *karman*. Otto wants us to understand by "karman" the *prāṇāyāma* and other Yoga technique, as though the text read not *karmayogena* but *Yogayogena*. How, further, does this method of Yoga technique differ from (i) Dhyāna? The passage is rather ticklish. My own interpretation of it has been given by me in my *Basu-Mallik Lectures*, p. 130.

Tract V consists of the 29 stanzas of the fifth Chapter minus 11 stanzas of gloss by the ubiquitous "Brahman-theologue." It increases the extent of the Poem to 346 stanzas. Its text is as follows—

FIFTH TRACT

(Unity of Sāṅkhya and Yoga : an Appendix to Tract IV)

V. 1—29

अर्जुन उवाच—

- 1 संन्यासं कर्मणां कृष्ण पुनर्योगं च वससि ।
यच्छ्रेय एतयोरेकं तन्मे ब्रूहि मुनिश्रेष्ठम् ॥ ५.१ ॥

श्रीभगवानुवाच—

- 2 संन्यासः कर्मयोगश्च निःश्रेयसकरावुभौ ।
तयोस्तु कर्मसंन्यासात् कर्मयोगो विशिष्यते ॥ ५.२ ॥
- 3 ज्ञेयः स नित्यसंन्यासी यो न द्वेष्टि न काङ्क्षति ।
निर्द्वन्द्वो हि महाबाहो सुखं बन्धात् प्रमुच्यते ॥ ५.३ ॥
- 4 सांख्ययोगौ पृथग्भावतः प्रवृद्धन्ति न पण्डिताः ।
एकमव्याप्तिवत् सन्मग्नयोर्विन्दते फलम् ॥ ५.४ ॥
- 5 यत् सांख्यैः प्राप्यते स्थानं तद्योगैरपि शक्यते ।
एकं सांख्यं च योगं च यः पश्यति स पश्यति ॥ ५.५ ॥
- * 1 संन्यासस्तु महाबाहो दुःखमाहुर्मयोगतः ।
योगयुक्तो मुनिर्ब्रह्म न विरेणाधिगच्छति ॥ ५.६ ॥
- * 2 योगयुक्तो विदुर्ब्रह्मा विभितात्मा विवेकिवः ।
सर्वभूतात्मभूतात्मा कुर्वन्नपि न लिप्यते ॥ ५.७ ॥
- 6 नैव किंचित् करोमीति युक्तो मन्येत तत्त्वमित् ।
पश्यन्श्चक्षुष्यन् स्पृशन्श्चक्षिन्नश्च गच्छन् स्वपश्चसन् ॥ ५.८ ॥
- 7 प्रलयन् विश्रजन् गृह्णन्मिषन्मिथुनमपि ।
इन्द्रियाणीन्द्रियार्थेषु वर्तन्त इति धारयन् ॥ ५.९ ॥
- * 3 ब्रह्मण्युवाच कर्माणि तज्ज्ञं त्यक्त्वा करोति यः ।
लिप्यते न स पापेन पद्मत्रयमिवान्मसा ॥ ५.१० ॥

- 8 कावेन मनसा बुद्ध्या केवलैरिन्द्रियैरपि ।
योगिनः कर्म कुर्वन्ति सङ्गं त्यक्त्वात्मशुद्धये ॥ ५.११ ॥
- 9 युक्तः कर्मफलं त्यक्त्वा शान्तिमाप्नोति नैष्ठिकीम् ।
अयुक्तः कामकारेण फले सज्जो निबध्यते ॥ ५.१२ ॥
- 10 सर्वकर्माणि मनसा संन्यस्यास्तु सुखं वशी ।
नवद्वारे पुरे देही नैव कुर्वन्न कारयन् ॥ ५.१३ ॥
- 11 न कर्तृत्वं न कर्माणि लोकस्य सृजति प्रभुः ।
न कर्मफलसंयोगो स्वभावस्तु प्रवर्तते ॥ ५.१४ ॥
- 12 नादत्ते कस्यचित् पार्थ न वैव सुकृतं विभुः ।
अज्ञानेनायुतं ज्ञानं तेन मुह्यन्ति जन्तवः ॥ ५.१५ ॥
- 13 ज्ञानेन तु तदज्ञानं येषां नाशितमात्मनः ।
तेषामादित्यवज्ज्ञानं प्रकाशवति तत् परम् ॥ ५.१६ ॥
- 14 तदबुद्धयस्तदात्मानस्तन्निष्ठास्तत्परायणाः ।
गच्छन्त्यपुनरावृत्तिं ज्ञाननिर्धूतकल्मषाः ॥ ५.१७ ॥
- * 4 विषादिन्यवसंपन्ने ब्रह्मणे गवि हस्तिनि ।
शुनि नैव शपाके च पण्डिताः समदर्शिनः ॥ ५.२८ ॥
- * 5 इदं तैवितः स्वर्गो येषां सान्ये स्विर्तं मनः ।
निर्दोषं हि समं ब्रह्म तस्माद्ब्रह्मणि ते स्थिताः ॥ ५.२९ ॥
- * 6 न प्रहृष्येत् शिष्यं प्राप्य नोद्विजेत् प्राप्य चक्षुरियम् ।
स्थिरबुद्धिरसंमूढो ब्रह्मविद्वज्ज्ञानि स्थिताः ॥ ५.३० ॥
- * 7 ब्राह्मणस्यैव सत्कारमां विन्दत्वात्मनि यत् सुखम् ।
स ब्रह्मयोगयुक्तमां सुखमक्षय्यमश्नुते ॥ ५.३१ ॥
- * 8 ये हि संस्पर्शजा भोगा दुःखयोजनं यतः ते ।
आपन्नतन्तः कौन्तेय न तेषु रमते बुधः ॥ ५.३२ ॥
- 15 शक्नोतीदृशं यः सोढुं प्राक् शरीरविमोक्षणात् ।
कामक्रोधोद्वेगं वैराग्यं स युक्तः स सुखी नरः ॥ ५.३३ ॥
- * 9 ब्रौन्तऽशुखोऽन्तरारामस्तथान्तर्बोधिरेव यः ।
स योगी ब्रह्मनिर्वाणं ब्रह्मभूतोऽधिगच्छति ॥ ५.३४ ॥
- * 10 समन्ते ब्रह्मनिर्वाणयुवः क्षीणकल्मषाः ।
छिन्नद्वेषा दत्तात्मानः सर्वभूतहिते रताः ॥ ५.३५ ॥
- * 11 कामक्रोधविभुक्तानां कर्तॄणां यतचित्तसम् ।
अभिलो ब्रह्मनिर्वाणं वर्तते विदितात्मनाम् ॥ ५.३६ ॥
- 16 स्वर्धान् कृत्वा बहिर्बाह्यांश्चक्षुर्ब्रह्मान्तरे भूतोः ।
प्राणापानौ सनौ कृत्वा नासाभ्यन्तरचारिणौ ॥ ५.३७ ॥
- 17 यतोन्म्रियमनोबुद्धिर्मुनिर्मोक्षपरायणः ।
विमतेच्छामयक्रोधो यः सदा मुक्त एव सः ॥ ५.३८ ॥
- 18 भोक्तारं यद्धतपसां सर्वलोकमहेश्वरम् ।
सुहृदं सर्वभूतानां क्षात्रा मां शान्तिमृच्छति ॥ ५.३९ ॥

Tract V is regarded by Otto as a sort of an appendix or a complement of Tract IV, both presumably hailing from the same author, or same circle of thought. Like Tract IV this one also tries to establish the unity of Sāṅkhya and Yoga. One emphasises the intellect, the other the will, but both lead to the same goal of *Sānti* or peace. The Sāṅkhya is described in stanzas 8-9 and 13-17 and Yoga in stanzas 11-12, 23, and 27-29. Otto rejects Garbe's stigmatisation of stanzas 16-17 as Vedāntic interpolation, but in other respects he agrees in rejecting 11 stanzas (from a total of 29). Both the Master and the Pupil seem to alike fight shy of the word "Brahman", the former more consistently than the latter.

What Otto forgets is that Arjuna wanted definitely to know which of the two—not Sāṅkhya and Yoga but Karma-saṁnyāsa and Karma-yoga—was to be preferred. In stanza 2 Kṛṣṇa expresses his preference for Yoga or Karmayoga; but is he not expected to give reason for his preference? The analogy of Mahābhārata XII. 301 (= Kumbhakonam 306) which Otto adduces does not quite apply, as the topic dealt with is not exactly the same; but assuming it to be so for the sake of argument, the "Brahman-theologue" who, by inserting 11 stanzas here and there is able to produce nearly the same result as the person responsible for giving a Vedāntic ending to the Mahābhārata chapter in question, will have to be regarded as an author with a definite and comprehensive purpose in view. Further, in all seriousness, we must ask what could have possibly led our "Brahman-theologue" to intersperse his own interpolations in so haphazard a fashion? It would require more arguments than what Otto has in his armoury to convince an unbiased reader of his thesis.

Tract VI is the largest single addition to the Gītā that Otto permits. It extends over 107 stanzas, and it has undergone, according to Otto's showing, tampering to the extent of 32 additional stanzas (indicated by us by starred numbering) by at least five if not seven different glossators. Amongst these is of course our usual friend, the "Brahman-theologue," but there is also the Advaitic theist and the Dvaita theist, besides two or three petty, non-descript authors.¹

The Tract, according to Otto, is designed to set forth at first the Sēvara-Yoga as the basis for a superstructure of Viśiṣṭādvaita

1. Namely, the Brahman-theologue, starred numbers 28-32; Dvaita Theist, Nos. 22-27; Advaita Theist, Nos. 2-7; Mythologist, Nos. 16-21; Imitator of Tract VIII, Nos. 8-11; Miscellaneous, Nos. 1, 12-15.

Bhakti of an inchoate type and not yet as a completed system of philosophy. The Tract which covers Chapters VI to IX of the Gītā, says Otto, presupposes Tract V, i. e., Chapter V of the Gītā, and therefore necessarily Tract IV (Chapter XIII) to which Tract V is an appendix. Tract VI raises the same question as Tract V, but aims at giving a more precise and correct answer to it. There must have been, according to Otto, two separate authors of these Tracts. Tract VI sets forth (stanza VI. 15) the Nirvāṇa as the ideal and not the Sāṃkhya Kaivalya of Tract V. Subsequent to the addition of this Tract the Gītā became a Poem of 453 stanzas. The text of the Tract runs as follows—

SIXTH TRACT

(Bhakti-theology on the basis of सेवयोग)

VI—IX

श्रीभगवानुवाच—

- 1 अनाश्रितः कर्मफलं कार्यं कर्म करोति यः ।
स संन्यासी च योगी च न निरमिर्न वाक्विदः ॥ ६.१ ॥
- 2 यं संन्यासमिति प्रादुर्बोधिं ते विद्धि पाण्डव ।
न ह्यसंन्यस्तसंकल्पो योगी भवति क्वचन ॥ ६.२ ॥
- * 1 आरुह्योर्मुनेर्बोधिं कर्म कारमुच्यते ।
योगारूढस्य तत्त्वैव ह्यमः कारणमुच्यते ॥ ६.३ ॥
- 3 यदा हि नेन्द्रियार्थेषु न कर्मस्वमुपजते ।
सर्वसंकल्पसंन्यासी योगारूढस्तदोच्यते ॥ ६.४ ॥
- 4 उद्धरेदात्मनात्मानं नात्मानमवसादयेत् ।
वासीव ह्यात्मनो बन्धुरात्मैव रिपुरात्मनः ॥ ६.५ ॥
- 5 बन्धुरात्मात्मनस्तस्य येनात्मैवात्मना जितः ।
अनात्मनस्तु शत्रुत्वे वर्तेतात्मैव शत्रुवत् ॥ ६.६ ॥
- 6 जित्वात्मनः प्रशान्तस्व परमात्मा समाहितः ।
शीतोष्णसुखदुःखेषु तथा मानापमानयोः ॥ ६.७ ॥
- 7 ज्ञाननिष्ठाननृत्तहन्ता कूटस्थो विजितेन्द्रियः ।
तुल्य इत्युच्यते योगी समलोष्टाश्मकाक्षनः ॥ ६.८ ॥
- 8 सुहृन्मित्रार्युदासीनमध्यस्थद्वेष्यबन्धुषु ।
साधुष्वपि च पापेषु समबुद्धिर्विशिष्यते ॥ ६.९ ॥
- 9 योगी युञ्जीत सततमात्मानं रहति स्थितः ।
एकाकी बतपितृहन्ता निरावीरपरिग्रहः ॥ ६.१० ॥
- 10 शुचौ देशे प्रतिष्ठाप्य स्थिरमासनमात्मनः ।
नात्युच्छ्रितं नातिनीचं चैवाग्निमुत्तमम् ॥ ६.११ ॥

- 11 तत्रैकाग्रं मनः कृत्वा यतचित्तेन्द्रियक्रियः ।
उपविश्यासने युञ्ज्याद्योगमात्मविशुद्धये ॥ ६.१२ ॥
- 12 समं कायशिरोग्रीवं धारयन्नचलं स्थिरः ।
संश्लेष्य नासिकाग्रं स्वं दिशश्चातवलोकयन् ॥ ६.१३ ॥
- 13 प्रशान्तात्मा विगतभीर्ब्रह्मचारिव्रते स्थितः ।
मनः संशम्य मथितो युक्त आसीत मत्परः ॥ ६.१४ ॥
- 14 युञ्जन्नेवं सदात्मानं योगी नियतमानसः ।
कामान्तिं विर्वाणपरमां मत्संस्थामभिनयच्छति ॥ ६.१५ ॥
- 15 नात्यश्रतस्तु योगोऽस्ति न वैकान्तमनश्रतः ।
न चातिस्वप्नशीलस्य जाग्रतो नैव चार्जुन ॥ ६.१६ ॥
- 16 युक्ताहारविहारस्य युक्तचेष्टस्य कर्मसु ।
युक्तस्वप्नावबोधस्य योगो भवति दुःखहा ॥ ६.१७ ॥
- 17 यदा विनिवर्तं चित्तमात्मन्येवावतिष्ठते ।
निःस्पृहः सर्वकामेभ्यो युक्त इत्युच्यते तदा ॥ ६.१८ ॥
- 18 यथा दीपो निवातस्थो नेङ्गते सोपमा स्मृता ।
योगिनो यतचित्तस्य युञ्जतो योगमात्मनः ॥ ६.१९ ॥
- 19 यत्रोपरमते चित्तं निरुद्धं योगसेवया ।
यत्र चैवात्मनात्मानं पश्यन्मात्राणि तुष्यति ॥ ६.२० ॥
- 20 सुखमात्यन्तिकं यत् तद्बुद्धिप्राज्ञमतीन्द्रियम् ।
वेत्ति यत्र न वैबाह्यं स्थितञ्चलति उत्पततः ॥ ६.२१ ॥
- 21 वे लब्ध्वा चापरं लाभं मन्यते प्राधिकं ततः ।
यस्मिन् स्थितो न दुःखेन शुक्लापि विचाल्यते ॥ ६.२२ ॥
- 22 तं विद्यादुःखसंयोगवियोगं योगसंज्ञितम् ।
स निश्चयेन योक्तव्यो योगोऽनिर्विण्णचेतसा ॥ ६.२३ ॥
- 23 संकल्पप्रभवान् कामास्तक्त्वा सर्वानशेषतः ।
मनसैवेन्द्रियग्रामं विनियम्य समन्ततः ॥ ६.२४ ॥
- 24 शनैः शनैरुपरमेद्बुद्ध्या धृतिश्रद्धौतया ।
आत्मसंस्थं मनः कृत्वा न किञ्चिदपि चिन्तयेत् ॥ ६.२५ ॥
- 25 यतो यतो निश्चरति मनश्चञ्चलमस्थिरम् ।
ततस्ततो नियम्यैतदात्मन्येव वशं नयेत् ॥ ६.२६ ॥
- * 2 प्रशान्तमनसं धेनं योगिनं शृणुसुगमम् ।
उदैति शान्तरजसं ब्रह्मभूतमकलमपम् ॥ ६.२७ ॥
- * 3 युञ्जन्नेवं सदात्मानं योगी विगतकलमपः ।
सुषेनं ब्रह्मसंस्पृष्टमत्यन्तं सुखमवमुते ॥ ६.२८ ॥
- * 4 सर्वभूतहितमात्मानं सर्वभूतानि चाह्वानि ।
दृष्ट्वा योगयुक्तात्मा सर्वत्र समदर्शनः ॥ ६.२९ ॥
- * 5 यो मां पश्यति सर्वत्र सर्वं च न वि पश्यति ।
तस्याहं न प्रणश्यामि स च मे न प्रणश्यति ॥ ६.३० ॥

- * 6 सर्वभूतस्थितं यो मां भजत्येकत्वमास्थितः ।
सर्वथा कर्तव्योऽपि स योगी यदि वर्तते ॥ ६.३१ ॥
- * 7 आत्मीयम्येन सर्वत्र समं पश्यति योऽर्जुन ।
सुखं वा यदि वा दुःखं स योगी परमो मतः ॥ ६.३२ ॥

अर्जुन उवाच—

- 26 योऽयं योगस्त्वया प्रोक्तः साम्येन मधुसूदन ।
एतस्माद् न पश्यामि चञ्चलत्वाद् स्थितिं स्थिराम् ॥ ६.३३ ॥
- 27 चञ्चले हि मनः कृष्ण प्रमाथि बलवद्दृढम् ।
तस्माद् निग्रहं मन्ये वायोरिव सुतुण्डरम् ॥ ६.३४ ॥

श्रीभगवानुवाच—

- 28 असंशयं महाबाहो मनो दुर्निग्रहं चलम् ।
अभ्यासेन तु कौन्तेय वैराग्येण च युज्यते ॥ ६.३५ ॥
- 29 असंशयतात्मना योगो दुष्प्राप्त इति मे मतिः ।
वश्यात्मना तु यतता शक्तोऽब्रान्दुमुपायतः ॥ ६.३६ ॥

अर्जुन उवाच—

- 30 अयतिः श्रद्धयोपेतो योगाच्चलितमानसः ।
अप्राप्य योगसंसिद्धिं कां गतिं कृष्ण यच्छति ॥ ६.३७ ॥
- 31 कश्चिन्नोभयविभ्रष्टश्छिन्नाभ्रमिव नश्यति ।
अप्रतिष्ठो महाबाहो विमूढो ब्रह्मणः पथि ॥ ६.३८ ॥
- 32 एतन्मे संशयं कृष्ण छेत्तुमर्हत्स्वशेषतः ।
त्वदन्यः संशयस्यास्य छेत्ता न ह्युपपद्यते ॥ ६.३९ ॥

श्रीभगवानुवाच—

- 33 पार्थ नैवेह नामुत्र विनाशस्तस्य विद्यते ।
न हि कल्याणकृत् कश्चिद्गतिं तात यच्छति ॥ ६.४० ॥
- 34 प्राप्य पुण्यकृतां लोकानुषित्वा शाश्वतीः समाः ।
शुचीनां श्रीमतां गेहे योगभ्रष्टोऽमिनायते ॥ ६.४१ ॥
- 35 अथवा योगिनामेव कुले भवति धीमताम् ।
एतद्धि दुर्लभतरं लोके जन्म यदीदृशम् ॥ ६.४२ ॥
- 36 तत्र तं बुद्धिसंयोगं लभते पौर्वदेहिकम् ।
यतते च ततो भूयः संसिद्धौ कुलनन्दन ॥ ६.४३ ॥
- 37 पूर्वोभ्यासेन तेनैव हियते ह्यवशोऽपि सः ।
जिज्ञासुरपि योगस्य शब्दब्रह्मास्तिवर्तते ॥ ६.४४ ॥
- 38 प्रयत्नाद्यतमानस्तु योगी संशुद्धकिंत्विवः ।
अनेकजन्मसंसिद्धस्ततो याति परां गतिम् ॥ ६.४५ ॥
- 39 तपस्विभ्योऽधिको योगी ज्ञानिभ्योऽपि मतोऽधिकः ।
कर्मिभ्यश्चाधिको योगी तस्माद्योगी भवार्जुन ॥ ६.४६ ॥

- 40 योनिवानपि सर्वेषां मूढतेवान्तरात्मना ।
अज्ञानं भजते यो मां स मे युक्ततमो मतः ॥ ६.४७ ॥

[श्रीमद्भगवानुवाच—]

- 41 मय्यासक्तमनाः पार्थ योगं युजन् मदाश्रयः
असंशयं सनत्प्रमो यथा ज्ञास्यसि तच्छृणु ॥ ७.१ ॥
- 42 ज्ञानं तेऽहं समिधानमिदं वक्ष्याम्यशेषतः ।
वज्रज्ञात्वा नेह भूतोऽन्यज्ज्ञातव्यमवशिष्यते ॥ ७.२ ॥
- 43 मनुष्याणां सहस्रेषु कश्चित्ततति सिद्धये ।
यत्तत्तामपि सिद्धानां कश्चिन्मां वेत्ति तत्त्वतः ॥ ७.३ ॥
- 44 भूमिरापोऽनलो वायुः खं मनो बुद्धिरेव च ।
अहंकार इतीयं मे भिन्ना प्रकृतिरष्टधा ॥ ७.४ ॥
- 45 अपरैश्चित्तस्वन्यां प्रकृतिं विद्धि मे पराम् ।
जीवन्तूनां महाबाहो यथेदं धार्यते जगत् ॥ ७.५ ॥
- 46 एतद्योनीनि भूतानि सर्वाणीत्युपधारय ।
अहं कृत्स्नस्य जगत् प्रभवः प्रलयस्तथा ॥ ७.६ ॥
- 47 मत्तः परतरं नास्ति किञ्चिदस्ति घनंजय ।
मयि सर्वमिदं प्रोक्तं सूत्रे मयिगणा इव ॥ ७.७ ॥
- * 8 रसोऽहमष्टौ श्रीनन्द प्रमाप्तिं शशिसूर्ययोः ।
प्रणवः सर्वषेदेषु शब्दः के पीरुषं शृणु ॥ ७.८ ॥
- * 9 पुण्यो गन्धः पुष्पिण्यां च तेजश्चास्ति विभावली ।
जीवन् सर्वभूतेषु तन्वास्ति तपस्विषु ॥ ७.९ ॥
- * 10 बीजं मां सर्वभूतानां विद्धि पार्थ सनातनम् ।
बुद्धिर्बुद्धिमत्तामस्मि तेजसोज्ज्वलामहम् ॥ ७.१० ॥
- * 11 बलं बलवतामस्मि कामरुणविबलितम् ।
परायणिकदो भूतेषु पाप्मोऽस्मि भरतर्षभ ॥ ७.११ ॥
- 48 ये चैव सात्त्विका भावा राजसास्तामसाश्च ये ।
मत्त एवेति तान् विद्धि न त्वहं तेषु ते मयि ॥ ७.१२ ॥
- 49 त्रिभिर्गुणमयैर्भावैरेभिः सर्वमिदं जगत् ।
मोहितं नाभिजानाति मामेभ्यः परमव्ययम् ॥ ७.१३ ॥
- 50 दैवी श्रेष्ठा गुणमयी मम माया दुरत्यया ।
मामेव ये प्रपद्यन्ते मायामेतां तरन्ति ते ॥ ७.१४ ॥
- 51 न मां दुष्कृतिनो मूढाः प्रपद्यन्ते नराधमाः ।
माययापहतज्ञानां वाधुरं भावमाश्रिताः ॥ ७.१५ ॥
- 52 चतुर्विधा भजन्ते मां जनाः सुकृतिनोऽर्जुन ।
आर्तो जिज्ञासुरर्थार्थी ज्ञानी च भरतर्षभ ॥ ७.१६ ॥
- 53 तेषां ज्ञानी नित्ययुक्त एकभक्तिर्विशिष्यते ।
अयो हि ज्ञानिनोऽत्यर्थमहं स च मम प्रियः ॥ ७.१७ ॥

- 54 उद्धाराः सर्वे एवैते ज्ञानी त्वात्मैव मे मतम् ।
आस्थितः स हि युष्मात्मा मामेवानुत्तमां गतिम् ॥ ७.१८ ॥
- 55 बहुना जग्मनामन्ते ज्ञानवान् मां प्रपद्यते ।
बभूवुः सर्वमिति स महात्मा सुदुर्लभः ॥ ७.१९ ॥
- 56 कामैस्तैस्तैर्हृतज्ञानाः प्रपद्यन्तेऽप्यदेवताः ।
तं ते नियममास्थाय प्रकृत्या नियताः स्वया ॥ ७.२० ॥
- 57 यो यो वां यां तनुं भक्तः श्रद्धयार्चितुमिच्छति ।
तस्य तस्याचलां श्रद्धां तामेव विद्याम्यहम् ॥ ७.२१ ॥
- 58 स तवा श्रद्धया युक्तस्तस्या राघनमीहते ।
कमते च ततः कामान् मयैव विहितान् हि तान् ॥ ७.२२ ॥
- 59 अन्तवत् तु फलं तेषां तद्भवत्यल्पमेवसाम् ।
देवान् देवयजो यान्ति भद्रा यान्ति मामपि ॥ ७.२३ ॥
- 60 अव्यक्तं व्यक्तितत्पद्मं मन्यन्ते मामबुद्धवः ।
परं भावमजानन्तो ममाव्ययमनुत्तमम् ॥ ७.२४ ॥
- 61 नाहं प्रकाशः सर्वस्य योगमायासमावृतः ।
मूढोऽयं नाभिजानाति लोकौ मामजमव्ययम् ॥ ७.२५ ॥
- 62 वेदाहं समीतानि नतमानानि चाहुन ।
मविष्यामि च भूतानि मां तु वेद न कथय ॥ ७.२६ ॥
- 63 इच्छद्द्वेषसमुत्थेन हृन्दमोहेन भारत ।
सर्वभूतानि संमोहं सर्वे यान्ति परंतप ॥ ७.२७ ॥
- 64 येषां त्वन्तर्गतं पापं जनानां पुण्यकर्मणाम् ।
ते हृन्दमोहनिर्मुक्ता भजन्ते मां दृढव्रताः ॥ ७.२८ ॥
- 65 जरामरणमोहाय मामाश्रित्य यतन्ति ये ।
ते ब्रह्म तद्ध्रिदुः कुत्सनमप्यात्मं कर्म नास्त्रिलम् ॥ ७.२९ ॥
- 66 साधिनूताभिर्दिवं मां साधियज्ञं च ये विदुः ।
प्रयाणकालेऽपि च मां ते विदुर्व्युक्तचेतसः ॥ ७.३० ॥

अर्जुन उवाच—

- * 12 किं तद्ब्रह्म किमभ्यात्मं किं कर्म पुण्यौघम् ।
अधिभूतं च किं प्रोक्तमधिदैवं किमुच्यते ॥ ८.१ ॥
- * 13 अयि यज्ञः कथं योऽयं देहेऽस्मिन् मनुष्यहन् ।
प्रयाणकाले च कथं श्रेयोऽसि निवृत्तात्मनिः ॥ ८.२ ॥

श्रीमहाभारत—

- * 14 अर्जुन ब्रह्म परमं स्वभावोऽभ्यासमुच्यते ।
भूतभानौद्धकरी विसर्गः कर्मसंश्लेषः ॥ ८.३ ॥
- * 15 अधिभूतं क्षरी भावः पुण्यश्चाधिदैवान् ।
अधिशरीरश्चैव देहे देहभूतां पर ॥ ८.४ ॥
- 67 अन्तर्काले च मामेव स्मरन् मुक्त्वा कलेवरम् ।
यः प्रयाति स ब्रह्मार्थं याति नास्त्यत्र संशयः ॥ ८.५ ॥

- 68 यं यं वापि स्मरन् भावं त्यजत्यन्ते कलेवरम् ।
तं तमेवैति कौन्तेय सदा तद्भावाभावितः ॥ ८.६ ॥
- 69 तस्मात् सर्वेषु कालेषु मामनुस्मर शुभं च ।
मय्यर्पितमनोवृद्धिर्मानिष्यस्यसंशयम् ॥ ८.७ ॥
- 70 अभ्यासयोगयुक्तेन चेतसा नान्वगाश्रिता ।
परमं पुण्यं दिव्यं याति पार्शानुचिन्तयन् ॥ ८.८ ॥
- 71 कश्चिं पुराणमनुशास्त्रितार-
मनोरणीयांसमनुस्मरेणः ।
सर्वस्य भातारमचिन्त्यरूप-
मादित्यवर्णं तमसः परस्तात् ॥ ८.९ ॥
- 72 प्रयाणकाले मनसाचलेन
भक्त्या युक्तो योगबलेन वैव ।
सुषोमैव्ये प्राणमावेश्य सम्यक्
स तं परं पुरुषमुपैति दिव्यम् ॥ ८.१० ॥
- 73 यदक्षरं वेदविदो वदन्ति
विशन्ति यद्यतयो बीतरागाः ।
यदिच्छन्तो ब्रह्मचर्यं वरन्ति
तत् ते पदं संप्रहेण प्रवक्ष्ये ॥ ८.११ ॥
- 74 सर्वद्वाराणि संयम्य मनो हृदि निरुध्य च ।
मूर्धन्याधायात्मनः प्राणमास्थितो योगधारणाम् ॥ ८.१२ ॥
- 75 ॐ श्रियेकाक्षरं ब्रह्म व्याहरन् मामनुस्मरन् ।
यः प्रयाति त्यजन् देहं स याति परमां गतिम् ॥ ८.१३ ॥
- 76 अनन्यचेताः सततं यो मां स्मरति नित्यशः ।
तस्याहं सुलभः पार्थ निरययुक्तस्य योगिनः ॥ ८.१४ ॥
- 77 मामुपेत्य पुनर्जन्म दुःखालयनशाश्वतम् ।
नाप्नुवन्ति महात्मानः संसिद्धिं परमां गताः ॥ ८.१५ ॥
- 78 वा ब्रह्मभुवनान्नोक्ताः पुनरावर्तिनोऽर्जुन ।
मामुपेत्य तु कौन्तेय पुनर्जन्म न विन्दते ॥ ८.१६ ॥
- 79 सहस्रयुगपर्वन्तमहर्षद्वयद्वाणो विदुः ।
रात्रिं युगसहस्रान्तां तेऽहोरात्रविदो जनाः ॥ ८.१७ ॥
- 80 अव्यक्ताद्भवकथः सर्वाः प्रभवन्त्यहरागमे ।
रात्र्यागमे प्रलीयन्ते तत्रैवाव्यक्तसंज्ञके ॥ ८.१८ ॥
- 81 भूतप्रायः स एवायं भूत्वा भूत्वा प्रलीयते ।
रात्र्यागमेऽवकाः पार्थ प्रभवत्यहरागमे ॥ ८.१९ ॥
- 82 परस्तास्मात् तु भावोऽन्धोऽव्यक्तोऽव्यक्तात् सनातनः ।
यः स सर्वेषु भूतेषु नश्यत्सु न विनश्यति ॥ ८.२० ॥

- 83 अव्यक्तोऽक्षर इत्युक्तस्तनाहुः परमां गतिम् ।
वं प्राप्य न विवर्तन्ते तद्धाम परमे मम ॥ ८.२१ ॥
- 84 पुरुषः स परः पार्थ भक्त्या छम्पस्त्वन्मया ।
मत्स्थान्तःस्थानि भूतानि येन सर्वमिदं ततम् ॥ ८.२२ ॥
- * 16 यत्र काले त्वनावृत्तिमाकृतिं चैव योगिनः ।
प्रयाता वान्ति तं कालं वक्ष्यामि मरत्परम् ॥ ८.२३ ॥
- * 17 अश्रिज्योतिरहः शुद्धः षण्मासा उपराधनम् ।
तत्र प्रयाता गन्धन्ति बद्ध बद्धविदो जनाः ॥ ८.२४ ॥
- * 18 भूमौ रात्रिस्तावा कृष्णः षण्मासा दक्षिणाधनम् ।
तत्र चान्द्रमस्तं ज्योतिर्वागी प्राप्य निवर्तते ॥ ८.२५ ॥
- * 19 शुक्लकृष्णे गौरी श्वेते जगतः शाश्वते मते ।
पञ्चया वात्सनावृत्तिमन्यपावर्तते पुनः ॥ ८.२६ ॥
- * 20 नैवे सृती गर्भे आनन् योगी शुद्धतिं वक्ष्ये ।
तस्मात् सर्वेषु कालेषु योगयुक्ते मवाहुर्न ॥ ८.२७ ॥
- * 21 वेदेषु यज्ञेषु तपःसु चैव
दानेषु वत् पुण्यफलं प्रविष्टम् ।
अप्येति तत् सर्वमिदं विदित्वा
वीगी परं स्थानमुपैति पापम् ॥ ८.२८ ॥

[श्रीभगवानुवाच—]

- * 22 इदं तु ते शुद्धधर्मं प्रवक्ष्याम्यनुसस्ये ।
धामं विज्ञानसहितं यज्ज्ञात्वा मोक्षयसेऽशुभारम् ॥ ९.१ ॥
- * 23 राजविद्या राजगुह्यं पवित्रमिदमुच्यते ।
प्रत्यक्षावगमं धर्म्यं शुश्रूक्षं धर्तुमर्ह्यम् ॥ ९.२ ॥
- * 24 नमस्कृतानां पुरुषा धर्मत्वात् परतप ।
अपान्त्वं मां निवर्तन्ते सृष्टुर्लोकार्कमणि ॥ ९.३ ॥
- * 25 मया तत्तमिदं सर्वं जगदन्वक्तुमुत्तिना ।
मत्स्थानि सर्वभूतानि न चाहं तेभ्यवस्थितः ॥ ९.४ ॥
- * 26 न च मत्स्थानि भूतानि पश्य मे योगमैश्वरम् ।
भूतभुजं च भूतस्थीं समस्तमा भूतनाथनः ॥ ९.५ ॥
- * 27 यथाकाशस्थितो नित्यं बाहुः सर्वत्रगो महार ।
तथा सर्वाणि भूतानि मत्स्थानीत्युपधारय ॥ ९.६ ॥
- 85 सर्वभूतानि कौन्तेय प्रकृतिं वान्ति मामिकाम् ।
कल्पक्षये पुनस्तानि कल्पादौ सिद्ध्यन्महाहम् ॥ ९.७ ॥
- 86 प्रकृतिं स्वामवष्टभ्य विस्त्रजामि पुनः पुनः ।
भूतभ्रामर्षिणं हृत्स्नववर्षां प्रकृतेर्वशात् ॥ ९.८ ॥
- 87 न च मां तानि कर्माणि निबन्धन्ति धनंजय ।
उदासीनवदासीनसकृच्छं तेषु कर्मसु ॥ ९.९ ॥
- 88 मयाप्यक्षेपेण प्रकृतिः सृयते सत्परावरम् ।
हेतुनानेन कौन्तेय जगद्विपरिवर्तते ॥ ९.१० ॥

- 89 अवजानन्ति मां मूढा मातुषी तनुमाश्रितम् ।
परं भावमजानन्तो मम भूतमद्वेषरम् ॥ ९.११ ॥
- 90 मोक्षश्च मोक्षमार्गो मोक्षज्ञाना विचेततः ।
राक्षसीमासुरी चैव प्रकृति मोक्षिणी श्रिताः ॥ ९.१२ ॥
- 91 महात्मनस्तु मां पार्थ दैवीं प्रकृतिमाश्रिताः ।
भजन्त्यनन्यमनसो ज्ञात्वा भूतादिमव्ययम् ॥ ९.१३ ॥
- 92 सततं कीर्तयन्तो मां यतन्तश्च दृढमताः ।
तमस्यन्तश्च मां भक्त्या नित्ययुक्ता उपासते ॥ ९.१४ ॥
- * 28 ज्ञानपथेन ब्राह्मण्ये यजन्तो मामुपासते ।
एकत्वेन पृथक्त्वेन बहुधा विश्वतोमुखम् ॥ ९.१५ ॥
- * 29 अहं कतुरहं यक्षः स्वधाहमहमौषधम् ।
यन्मोहमहमेवान्यमहमग्निरहं हुतम् ॥ ९.२६ ॥
- * 30 पिताहमस्य जगतो माता धाता पितामहः ।
वेषं पवित्रमोक्षरं कक्षं लामं वसुरेव च ॥ ९.२७ ॥
- * 31 गतिर्भर्ता प्रभुः साक्षी निवासः शरणं शङ्करः ।
प्रभवः प्रलयः स्थानं निधानं बीजमन्यवम् ॥ ९.२८ ॥
- * 32 तयाम्यहमहं वर्षं निगृह्णाम्युत्प्लवामि च ।
अमृतं चैव सृष्टुश्च सदसच्चाहमर्जुन ॥ ९.२९ ॥
- 93 श्रैविद्या मां सोमपाः पूतपापा
वह्नैरिष्टा स्वर्गंति प्रार्थयन्ते ।
ते पुण्यमासाद्य भुरेन्द्रलोक-
मश्नन्ति दिव्यान् दिवि देवभोगान् ॥ ९.३० ॥
- 94 ते तं भुक्त्वा स्वर्गलोकं विशालं
क्षीणे पुण्ये मर्त्यलोके विशन्ति ।
एवं श्रुत्वा श्रीमन्नुग्रवा
गतागतं कामक्रमा लभन्ते ॥ ९.३१ ॥
- 95 अनन्याश्रितयन्तो मां ये जनाः पर्युपासते ।
तेषां नित्याभियुक्तानां योगक्षमे वह्न्याम्यहम् ॥ ९.३२ ॥
- 96 येऽन्यन्यदेवताभक्ता यजन्ते श्रद्धयान्विताः ।
तेऽपि मामेव कौन्तेय यजन्त्यविधिपूर्वकम् ॥ ९.३३ ॥
- 97 अहं हि सर्वयज्ञानां भोक्ता च प्रभुरेव च ।
न तु मामभिजायन्ति तत्त्वेनातश्च यवन्ति ते ॥ ९.३४ ॥
- 98 यान्ति देवमता देवान् पितॄन् यान्ति पितृमताः ।
भूतानि यान्ति भूतेज्या यान्ति मद्याजिनोऽपि माम् ॥ ९.३५ ॥
- 99 पत्रं पुष्पं फलं तोवं वो मे भक्त्या प्रयच्छति ।
तदहं भक्त्युपहृतमश्रमि प्रयत्नात्मनः ॥ ९.३६ ॥

- 100 सत् करोषि यदश्नासि यज्जुहोषि ददासि यत् ।
सत् तपस्वसि कौन्तेय तत् कुरुष्व मर्वणम् ॥ ९.२७ ॥
- 101 द्रुमाशुभकलैरेवं मोक्षये कर्मबन्धनैः ।
संन्यासयोगयुक्तात्मा निमुक्तो मामुपैष्यसि ॥ ९.२८ ॥
- 102 समोऽहं सर्वभूतेषु न मे द्वेषोऽस्ति न प्रियः ।
ये भजन्ते तु मां भक्त्या मयि ते तेषु चाप्यहम् ॥ ९.२९ ॥
- 103 अपि चेत् सुदुराचारो भजते मामनन्यभाक् ।
साधुरेषु च मन्तव्यः सम्यग्भवसितो हि सः ॥ ९.३० ॥
- 104 क्षिप्रं भवति धर्मात्मा शश्वच्छान्तिं निगच्छति ।
कौन्तेय प्रतिजानीहि न मे भक्तः प्रणश्यति ॥ ९.३१ ॥
- 105 मां हि पार्थ व्यपाश्रित्य चेऽपि स्युः पापबोधयः ।
श्रियो वैश्वास्तथा शूरास्तेऽपि शान्तिं परां गतिम् ॥ ९.३२ ॥
- 106 किं पुनर्ब्रह्मणाः पुण्या भक्ता राजर्षयस्तथा ।
अन्तिमसुखं लोकमिमं प्राप्य भजस्व माम् ॥ ९.३३ ॥
- 107 मन्मथा भव मद्भक्तो मयाजी मां नमस्कुरु ।
मामेवैष्यसि युक्तत्वैवमात्मानं मत्परायणः ॥ ९.३४ ॥

Faced with any alleged interpolation of this sort, the first question that has naturally to be asked is, what could have been the plausible motive of such continuous additions and interpolations? Otto assures us that Tract VI means to give a more correct reply to the same question that was mooted in Tract V. But Otto has perhaps misunderstood the question raised in Tract V. All along, the *Gītā* never loses sight of the main question of Action or No-action which was its starting point; and even in this Tract that theme props up at the most unexpected place—e.g., stanza VIII. 7: *mām anusmara yudhya ca*—when the discussion was about the power of one's thoughts at the moment of death. That main theme our Poem considers from various points of view with a full setting forth of concrete cases, conditions and contingencies. This inevitably leads into an occasional excursus or digression. But unless there are compelling reasons, it would be an error in methodology to regard every new point-of-view as a new interpolation.

Much of Otto's discussion here is concerned with certain differences of opinion between Garbe and himself as regards the alleged interpolated character of certain passages. The difference is set forth in the following :—

Interpolation acc. to Garbe	Interpolations acc. to Otto	Remarks and criticisms of Otto
...	VI. 3	Repugnant to the main theme.
VI. 27-32	VI. 27-32	Not Vedāntic, but Advaita-Bhakti.
VII. 7	...	The stanza fits in with the context.
VII. 8-11	VII. 8-11	Imitating Tract VIII in style and thought.
VII. 14-15	...	Māyā does not here mean Illusion, but Creative-power.
VII. 19	...	Not pantheism, but Advaita Bhakti.
VII. 25-26	...	See above, VII 14-15.
VII. 29-30	...	Not subordinating of Is'vara to Brahman, but vice versa.
VIII. 1-4	VIII. 1-4	Gloss which perverts the sense of VII. 29-30.
VIII. 30-23*	...	Absolutely needed to complete VIII. 18.
VIII. 23-28	VIII. 23-28	Mythological gloss.
IX. 1-6	IX. 1-6	Dvaita character of this overlooked by Garbe.
...	IX. 15	By including IX. 15 Otto disarms a criticism against Garbe for rejecting the following passage, which, both agree, is "Vedāntic" in tone.
IX. 16-19	IX. 16-19	Garbe, following Boetlingk, gives a note to explain why he rejects the passage. Otto passes it all in silence, as far as I was able to discover.
IX. 29	...	
Total rejected by Garbe: 42	Total rejected by Otto: 32	

After a careful review of the above passages in their context, the air of conviction with which both Garbe as well as Otto dub certain lines as Vedāntic or non-Vedāntic, pro-Bhakti or anti-Bhakti, cannot but fail to arouse an incredulous smile in a third party who may not be personally interested in the above display of differences between the Master and the Pupil. Garbe had only one enemy to fight and every word or idea which aroused a suspicion of his influence was declared to be taboo. His more

* It is strange to find Otto rendering *sarvam idam* in st. VIII, 22 by "das OM."

conscientious pupil draws discriminating lines. He is afraid lest one that ought not to be suspected is suspected, not lest one that ought to be suspected escapes suspicion. The result is that the lines of demarcation are so finely drawn that one crosses and re-crosses them continuously and almost unconsciously. And the transition is made with all the greater facility because every glossator or interpolator, Otto tells us,¹ disguises the newness of his own contribution by repeating verbatim or in substance an idea already present in an earlier part: for example, the Dvaita Bhakta in IX. 3-4 repeats the phraseology of the Advaita Bhakta in VII. 12. May we take Otto's permission to tell him that even Vedāntists of the type of Śaṅkara in the well-known lines—

सत्यपि भेदावगमे नाथ तवाहं न नामकीनस्त्वम् ।

सामुद्रो हि तत्रः कचन समुद्रो न तत्रः ॥

have perceived nothing inconsistent in subscribing to such sentiments in their entirety.

The next Tract—Tract VII—begins from II. 39 (the first passage which causes every new reader of the Bhagavadgītā to stumble) and goes on to the end of the Fourth Adhyāya. It consists of 99 stanzas which the "Brahman-theologue" has inflated by another 20 stanzas of his usual "gloss." After the addition of the Tract the Gītā reaches the extent of 552 stanzas. Otto points out that the Tract claims to set forth, as contrasted with the "Sāṅkhya" view-point treated upto that point, the "Yoga" view-point (buddhir Yoge tvimāṁ śṛṇu), but is actually permeated by Sāṅkhya ideas, and affords nothing of Yoga technique. One should have imagined that this very circumstance should have compelled Otto to reconsider his own notions of "Sāṅkhya" and "Yoga" as the words are used in the present context. The ideal of ecstatic equipoise—Buddhi- or Samata-Yoga—which is here preached has points of similarity with the Stoic ideal of *Ataraxia*, and it is said to have emanated from Kṛṣṇa himself as the Ādiguru (IV. 1 ff.). The Sāṅkhya of the Tract can therefore be said to be Śeṣvara-Sāṅkhya; but Īśvara as the object of devotion (Bhakti) is conspicuous here by utter absence.² It is the magical power of knowledge whereby to know a thing is to become one with it that is here emphasised. The Tract runs as follows—

1. *Lehrtraktate*, p. 36.

2. "Nicht ein einziges Wort" says Otto. If a solitary word were to suffice, it would be easy to point to "matparaḥ" in II. 61; cf. also III. 30.

SEVENTH TRACT

(समस्य or बुद्धियोग subsumed under कृष्णभक्ति as गुरुभक्ति.)

II. 39—IV. 42

(श्रीमद्वाणुवाच—)

- 1 एषा तेऽभिहिता सांख्ये बुद्धियोगे त्विमां शृणु ।
बुद्ध्या युक्तो यथा पार्थ कर्मबन्धं प्रहास्यसि ॥ २.३९ ॥
- 2 नैवाभिक्रमनाद्योऽस्ति प्रत्यवायो न विद्यते ।
स्वल्पमप्यस्य धर्मस्य प्रायते महतो भवात् ॥ २.४० ॥
- 3 व्यवसायात्मिका बुद्धिरेकेह कुरुनन्दन ।
बहुश्रद्धा ह्यनन्ताश्च बुद्धयोऽव्यवसायिनाम् ॥ २.४१ ॥
- 4 यामिमां पुष्पितां वाचं प्रवचन्त्यविपश्चितः ।
वेदबाधरताः पार्थ नान्यदस्तीति वादिनः ॥ २.४२ ॥
- 5 कामात्मानः स्वर्गपरा जन्मकर्मफलप्रदाम् ।
किवाविशेषबहुलां भोगैश्वर्यगतिं प्रति ॥ २.४३ ॥
- 6 भोगैश्वर्यप्रसक्तानां तयापहृतचेतसाम् ।
व्यवसायात्मिका बुद्धिः समाधौ न विधीयते ॥ २.४४ ॥
- 7 त्रैगुण्यविषया वेदा निक्षेपग्राह्यो मर्षाञ्जुन ।
निर्वृन्दो नित्यसत्त्वस्थो निर्योगक्षेम आत्मवान् ॥ २.४५ ॥
- 8 यावानर्थं उदपाने सर्वतः संश्रुतोदके ।
तावान् सर्वेषु वेदेषु ब्राह्मणस्य विजानतः ॥ २.४६ ॥
- 9 कर्मण्येवाधिकारस्ते मा फलेषु कदाचन ।
मा कर्मफलहेतुर्भूर्मा ते सङ्गोऽस्त्वकर्मणि ॥ २.४७ ॥
- 10 योगस्यः कुरु कर्माणि सङ्गं त्यक्त्वा धनंजय ।
सिद्धयतिदयोः समो भूत्वा समत्वं योग उच्यते ॥ २.४८ ॥
- 11 दूरेण ह्यवरं कर्म बुद्धियोगाद्धनंजय ।
बुद्धौ शरणमन्विच्छ कृपणाः फलहेतवः ॥ २.४९ ॥
- 12 बुद्धियुक्तो जहातीह उभे सुकृतदुष्कृते ।
तस्माद्योगाच्च युव्यस्व योगः कर्मसु कौशलम् ॥ २.५० ॥
- 13 कर्मजं बुद्धियुक्त्य हि फलं त्यक्त्वा मनोयोगः ।
बन्धनधन्विनिर्मुक्ताः पदं गच्छन्त्यनामयम् ॥ २.५१ ॥
- 14 यदा ते मोहकलिले बुद्धिर्व्यतितरिष्यति ।
तदा गन्तासि निर्वेदं श्रोतव्यस्य श्रुतस्य च ॥ २.५२ ॥
- 15 श्रुतिविप्रतिपन्ना ते यदा स्थास्यति निश्चला ।
समाधायचला बुद्धिस्तदा योगमवाप्स्यसि ॥ २.५३ ॥

(अर्जुन उवाच—)

- 16 स्थितप्रज्ञस्य का भाषा समाधिस्थस्य केशव ।
स्थितधीः किं प्रभाषेत किमासीत ब्रजेत किम् ॥ २.५४ ॥

श्रीमन्नानुवाच—

- 17 प्रजहाति यदा कामान् सर्वांन् पार्श्वं मनोगतान् ।
आत्मन्येवहमना ब्रुष्टः स्थितप्रज्ञस्तदोच्यते ॥ २.५५ ॥
- 18 दुःखेष्वनुद्विग्नमनाः सुखेषु विगतस्तुहः ।
वीतरागभयक्रोधः स्थितधीर्मुनिरुच्यते ॥ २.५६ ॥
- 19 यः सर्वज्ञानमिच्छेदस्तत्तत् प्राप्य शुभाशुभम् ।
नाभिनन्दन्ति न द्वेष्टि तस्य प्रज्ञा प्रतिष्ठिता ॥ २.५७ ॥
- 20 यदा संहरते चायं कूर्मोऽज्ञानीव सर्वशः ।
इन्द्रियाणीन्द्रियार्थेभ्यस्तस्य प्रज्ञा प्रतिष्ठिता ॥ २.५८ ॥
- 21 विषया विनिवर्तन्ते निराहारस्य देहिनः ।
रसवर्जं रसोऽन्यस्य परं दद्यात् निवर्तते ॥ २.५९ ॥
- 22 यततो ह्यपि कौन्तेय पुरुषस्य विपश्चितः ।
इन्द्रियाणि प्रमाथीनि हरन्ति प्रसभं मनः ॥ २.६० ॥
- 23 तानि सर्वाणि संयम्य युक्त आसीत मत्सरः ।
यशे हि यस्येन्द्रियाणि तस्य प्रज्ञा प्रतिष्ठिता ॥ २.६१ ॥
- 24 श्वायतो विषयान् पुंसः सज्जस्तेषु प्रजायते ।
सङ्गात् संजायते कामः कामात् क्रोधोऽभिजायते ॥ २.६२ ॥
- 25 क्रोधाद्भवति संमोहः संमोहात् स्मृतिविभ्रमः ।
स्मृतिभ्रंशदुस्मिनाशो बुद्धिनाशात् प्रणश्यति ॥ २.६३ ॥
- 26 रागद्वेषभिरुचैस्तु विषयानिन्द्रियैश्चरन् ।
आत्मवश्यैर्विधेयात्मा प्रकाममभिनच्छति ॥ २.६४ ॥
- 27 प्रसादे सर्वदुःखानां हानिरस्योपजायते ।
प्रसन्नचेतसो ह्याशु बुद्धिः पर्यवतिष्ठति ॥ २.६५ ॥
- 28 नास्ति बुद्धिरयुक्तस्य न चायुक्तस्य भावना ।
न चाभावयतः शान्तिरशान्तस्य क्लृप्तः सुखम् ॥ २.६६ ॥
- 29 इन्द्रियाणां हि चरतां यन्मनोऽदुर्विधीयते ।
तदस्य हरति प्रज्ञां वायुर्नावमिवाम्भसि ॥ २.६७ ॥
- 30 तस्मात्तस्य महाबाहो निवृत्तीतानि सर्वशः ।
इन्द्रियाणीन्द्रियार्थेभ्यस्तस्य प्रज्ञा प्रतिष्ठिता ॥ २.६८ ॥
- 31 या निश्च सर्वभूतानां तस्यां जागर्ति संयमी ।
यस्यां जाग्रति भूतानि सा निश्च पश्यतो मुनेः ॥ २.६९ ॥
- 32 वापूर्वमाणमनन्तप्रतिष्ठं
समुद्रमापः प्रविशन्ति यद्वत् ।

तद्वत्कामा ये प्रविशन्ति सर्वे

स शान्तिमाप्नोति न कामकामी ॥ २.७० ॥

- 33 विहाय कामान् यः सर्वान् पुनाश्चरति निस्पृहः ।
निर्ममो निरहंकारः स शान्तिमधिगच्छति ॥ २.७१ ॥

- 34 एषा ब्राह्मी स्थितिः पार्थ नैनां प्राप्य विमुह्यति ।
स्थित्वास्यामन्तकालेऽपि ब्रह्मनिर्वाणमृच्छति ॥ २.७२ ॥

अर्जुन उवाच—

- 35 ज्यायसी चेत् कर्मणस्ते मता बुद्धिर्जनार्दन ।
तत् किं कर्मणि धोरे मां नियोजयसि केशव ॥ ३.१ ॥

- 36 व्यामिश्रेणैव वाक्येन बुद्धिं मोहयसीव मे ।
तदेकं वद निश्चित्य येन श्रेयोऽहमाप्नुयाम् ॥ ३.२ ॥

श्रीभगवानुवाच—

- 37 लोकेऽस्मिन् द्विविधा निष्ठा पुरा प्रोक्ता मया न च ।
ज्ञानयोगेन सांख्येना कर्मयोगेण योगिनाम् ॥ ३.३ ॥

- 38 न कर्मणामनारम्भापेक्षमर्थं पुरुषोऽस्तुते ।
न च संप्रसन्नाचेव सिद्धिं समधिगच्छति ॥ ३.४ ॥

- 39 न हि कश्चित् क्षणमपि जातु तिष्ठत्यकर्मकृत् ।
कार्यते ह्यवशः कर्म सर्वः प्रकृतिजैर्गुणैः ॥ ३.५ ॥

- 40 कर्मेन्द्रियाणि संवम्य य आस्ते मनसा स्मरन् ।
इन्द्रियाचार्यो विमूढात्मा मिथ्याचारः स उच्यते ॥ ३.६ ॥

- 41 यस्मिन्द्विबाणि मनसा नियम्यारभतेऽर्जुन ।
कर्मेन्द्रियैः कर्मयोगमसृजः स विशिष्यते ॥ ३.७ ॥

- 42 नित्यं कुरु कर्म त्वं कर्म ज्यायो ह्यकर्मणः ।
शरीरबाजापि य ते न असिद्धयेदकर्मणः ॥ ३.८ ॥

- * 1 यश्चाथोक्तं कर्मणोऽन्यत्र लोपोऽयं कर्मण्यनः ।
तदर्थं कर्म कौन्तेय मुक्तसङ्गः समाचर ॥ ३.९ ॥

- * 2 सङ्घर्षज्ञाः प्रजाः सृष्टुं पुरोवाच प्रजापतिः ।
अनेन प्रलभिष्यन्त्येष मोऽस्ति ह्यत्रमशुक्लः ॥ ३.१० ॥

- * 3 देवान् नावयतानेन ते देवा नावयन्तु नः ।
परस्परं भावयन्तः श्रेयः परमवाक्यम् ॥ ३.११ ॥

- * 4 ब्रह्मन् भोगान् हि वो देवा दास्यन्ते यज्ञमाविताः ।
तैर्दानमब्रवीम्यो वो भुङ्क्ते सौम एव सः ॥ ३.१२ ॥

- * 5 यश्चरिष्यति शिनः सन्तो मुच्यन्ते सर्वकिंश्चिदैः ।
मुक्तो ते स्वर्गं याया ये पचन्त्यात्मकारणात् ॥ ३.१३ ॥

- * 6 अशङ्कयन्ति भूतानि पर्जन्यादजस्रतनवः ।
यश्चाह्नयति पर्जन्यो ययः कर्मसमुद्भवः ॥ ३.१४ ॥

- * 7 कर्म बद्धौद्धवं विद्धि ब्रह्माक्षरसमुद्भवम् ।
तस्मात् सर्वगतं ब्रह्म नित्यं यद्वा प्रतिष्ठितम् ॥ ३.१५ ॥
- * 8 एवं प्रवर्तितं कर्म नानुवर्तयतीह वः ।
अवलुरिन्द्रियारामो मोघं पार्थ स जीवति ॥ ३.१६ ॥
- * 9 यस्य वासरतिरेव स्यादात्मलुब्ध मानवः ।
आत्मन्येव च संतुष्टस्तस्य कार्यं न विन्दते ॥ ३.१७ ॥
- * 10 नैव तस्य कृतेनार्यो नाकृतेनेह कथनम् ।
न चास्य सर्वभूतेषु कश्चिदर्थव्यपाश्रयः ॥ ३.१८ ॥
- 43 तस्मादसक्तः सततं कार्यं कर्म समाचर ।
असक्तो ह्याचरन् कर्म परमाप्नोति पूरुषः ॥ ३.१९ ॥
- 44 कर्मणैव हि संसिद्धिमास्थिता जनकादयः ।
लोकसंग्रहमेवापि संपश्यन् कर्तुमर्हसि ॥ ३.२० ॥
- 45 यद्यदाचरति चेष्टस्तत्तदेवेतरो जनः ।
स यत् प्रमाणं कुरुते लोकस्तदनुवर्तते ॥ ३.२१ ॥
- 46 न मे पार्थास्ति कर्तव्यं त्रिषु लोकेषु किञ्चन ।
नानवाप्तमवाप्तव्यं वर्त एव च कर्मणि ॥ ३.२२ ॥
- 47 यदि ह्यहं न वर्तेयं जातु कर्मण्यतन्द्रितः ।
मम वर्तमानुवर्तन्ते मनुष्याः पार्थ सर्वशः ॥ ३.२३ ॥
- 48 उत्तीयेयुर्हि मे लोका न कुर्वा कर्म चेदहम् ।
संकरस्य च कर्ता स्यामुपहन्यामिमाः प्रजाः ॥ ३.२४ ॥
- 49 सक्ताः कर्मण्यविद्वांसो यथा कुर्वन्ति भारत ।
कुर्याद्विद्वांस्तापासपक्विकीर्षुलोकसंग्रहम् ॥ ३.२५ ॥
- 50 न युद्धिभेदं जनयेदहानां कर्मसङ्गिनाम् ।
जोषयेत् सर्वकर्माणि विद्वान् युक्तः समाचरन् ॥ ३.२६ ॥
- 51 प्रकृतेः क्रियमाणानि गुणैः कर्माणि सर्वशः ।
अहंकारविमूढात्मा कर्ताहमिति मन्यते ॥ ३.२७ ॥
- 52 तत्त्ववित् तु महाबाहो गुणकर्मविभागधोः ।
गुणा गुणेषु वर्तन्त इति मत्वा न सज्वते ॥ ३.२८ ॥
- 53 प्रकृतेर्गुणसंमूहाः सज्वन्ते गुणकर्मसु ।
तानकृत्स्नविदो मन्दान् कृत्स्नवित्र विचालयेत् ॥ ३.२९ ॥
- 54 मयि सर्वाणि कर्माणि संन्यस्याप्यात्मचेतसा ।
निराशीर्निर्ममो भूत्वा बुधस्य विगतज्वरः ॥ ३.३० ॥
- 55 ये मे मतमिदं नित्यमनुतिष्ठन्ति मानवाः ।
श्रद्धावन्तोऽनसूयन्तो मुच्यन्ते तेऽपि कर्मभिः ॥ ३.३१ ॥
- 56 ये त्वैतदभ्यसूयन्तो नानुतिष्ठन्ति मे मतम् ।
सर्वज्ञानविमूर्खस्तान् विद्विगद्यानघेतसः ॥ ३.३२ ॥

- 57† सहस्रं चेष्टते स्वस्याः प्रकृतेर्ज्ञानवामपि ।
प्रकृतिं याप्ति भूतानि निग्रहः किं करिष्यति ॥ ३.३३ ॥
- 58† इन्द्रियस्तेन्द्रियस्वार्थे रागद्वेषौ बन्धस्थितौ ।
तयोर्न वशमागच्छेत् तौ ह्यस्य परिपन्थिनौ ॥ ३.३४ ॥
- 59† श्रेयान् स्वधर्मो विगुणः परधर्मात् स्वनुष्ठितात् ।
स्वधर्मे निधनं श्रेयः परधर्मो भयात्कृहः ॥ ३.३५ ॥

अर्जुन उवाच—

- 60 अथ केन प्रयुक्तोऽयं पापं वरति पूरुषः ।
अनिच्छन्नपि सार्धंय बद्धाविव नियोजितः ॥ ३.३६ ॥

श्रीभगवानुवाच—

- 61 ज्ञान एव कोव एष रजोगुणसमुद्भवः ।
महाशभो महापाप्मा विद्ध्येनमिह वैरिणम् ॥ ३.३७ ॥
- 62 धूमेनाव्रियते वह्निर्यथादर्शो मलेन च ।
यथोत्तेजनाद्भूतो योगस्तथा तेनेदमावृतम् ॥ ३.३८ ॥
- 63 आवृतं ज्ञानमेतेन ज्ञानिनो नित्यवैरिणा ।
कामरूपेण कीर्त्तेय दुष्पूरेणानिलेन च ॥ ३.३९ ॥
- 64 इन्द्रियाणि मनो बुद्धिरस्याधिष्ठानमुच्यते ।
एतैर्विमोहयत्वेष्ट ज्ञानमावृत्य देहिनम् ॥ ३.४० ॥
- 65 तस्मात् त्वमिन्द्रियाणादी निवम्य भरतर्षभ ।
पाप्मानं प्रजहि ह्येनं ज्ञानविज्ञाननाशनम् ॥ ३.४१ ॥
- 66 इन्द्रियाणि पराज्यादुरिन्द्रियेभ्यः परं मनः ।
मनसस्तु परा बुद्धिर्यो बुद्धेः परतस्तु सः ॥ ३.४२ ॥
- 67 एवं बुद्धेः परं दुष्टा संस्तभ्यास्मानमात्मना ।
अहि शत्रुं महाबाहो कामरूपं दुरासदम् ॥ ३.४३ ॥

[श्रीभगवानुवाच—]

- 68 इमं विवस्वते योगं प्रोक्तवानहमव्ययम् ।
विषस्वान् मनषे प्राह मनुषिषाकवेऽब्रवीत् ॥ ४.१ ॥
- 69 एवं परंपराप्राप्तमिमं राजर्षयो विदुः ।
स कलेनेह महता योगो नष्टः परंतप ॥ ४.२ ॥

† Verses III 33-35, are in the *Lehrtraktate*, p. 42, said to be marginalia, but as they are printed in the translation in the regular type of a Traktate, I have included them in the Tract. A note to the Translation indeed goes one better and is for omitting all the stanzas from III 33 to III 43. This is one of the several indications available to prove that our author was unable to claim absolute certainty of conviction for many of his conclusions.

- 70 स एवार्थं मया तेऽयं योगः प्रोक्तः पुरातनः ।
मत्तोऽस्ति मे सखा चेति रहस्यं ह्येतदुत्तमम् ॥ ४.३ ॥

अर्जुन उवाच—

- 71 अपरं भवतो जन्म परं जन्म विवस्वतः ।
कथमेतद्विजानीयां त्वमादौ प्रोक्तवानिति ॥ ४.४ ॥

श्रीकृष्णमुवाच—

- 72 बहूनि मे व्यतीतानि जन्मानि तव चार्जुन ।
तान्यहं वेद सर्वाणि न त्वं वेत्स्य परंतप ॥ ४.५ ॥
- 73 अजोऽपि सन्नव्ययात्मा भूतानामोश्नरोऽपि सन् ।
प्रकृतिं स्वामधिष्ठाय संभवाम्बात्ममायया ॥ ४.६ ॥
- 74 यदा यदा हि धर्मस्य ग्लानिर्भवति भारत ।
अभ्युत्थानमधर्मस्य तदात्मानं सृजाम्यहम् ॥ ४.७ ॥
- 75 परित्राणाय साधूनां विनाशाय च दुष्कृताम् ।
धर्मसंस्थापनार्थाय संभवामि युगे युगे ॥ ४.८ ॥
- 76 जन्म कर्म च मे दिव्यमेव यो वेत्ति तत्त्वतः ।
त्वक्त्वा देहं पुनर्जन्म नैति मामेति सोऽर्जुन ॥ ४.९ ॥
- 77 वीतरागभयक्रोधा मन्मथा मासुपाशिताः ।
बहवो ज्ञानतपसा पूता मद्भावमागताः ॥ ४.१० ॥
- 78 ये यथा मां प्रपद्यन्ते तास्तथैव भजाम्यहम् ।
मम वर्त्मानुवर्तन्ते मनुज्याः पार्थ सर्वशः ॥ ४.११ ॥
- 79 काङ्क्षन्तः कर्मणा सिद्धिं यजन्त इह देवताः ।
क्षिप्रं हि मानुषे लोके सिद्धिर्भवति कर्मजा ॥ ४.१२ ॥
- 80 चातुर्वर्ण्यं मया सृष्टं गुणकर्मविभागशः ।
तस्य कर्तारमपि मां विदध्यकर्तारमव्ययम् ॥ ४.१३ ॥
- 81 न मां कर्माणि लिम्पन्ति न मे कर्मफले श्रुहा ।
इति मां योऽभिजानाति कर्मभिर्न स बध्यते ॥ ४.१४ ॥
- 82 एवं ज्ञात्वा कृते कर्म पूर्वैरपि सुसुष्ठुभिः ।
कुरु कर्मैव तस्मात् त्वं पूर्वैः पूर्वतरं कृतम् ॥ ४.१५ ॥
- 83 किं कर्म किमकर्मेति कवयोऽप्यत्र मोहिताः ।
तत् ते कर्म प्रवक्ष्यामि कृत्वात्मा मोक्षयेऽश्रुभट्ट ॥ ४.१६ ॥
- 84 कर्मणो ह्यपि बोद्धव्यं बोद्धव्यं च विकर्मणः ।
अकर्मणश्च बोद्धव्यं गहना कर्मणो गतिः ॥ ४.१७ ॥
- 85 कर्मण्यकर्म यः पश्येदकर्मणि च कर्म यः ।
स बुद्धिमान् मनुष्येषु स युक्तः कृत्स्नकर्मकृत् ॥ ४.१८ ॥
- 86 यस्य सर्वे समारम्भाः कामधर्मकत्ववर्जिताः ।
ज्ञानाभिदग्धकर्माणं तमाहुः पण्डितं बुधाः ॥ ४.१९ ॥

- 87 त्यक्त्वा कर्मफलासक्तं नियतृतो निराश्रयः ।
कर्मन्वभिप्रवृत्तोऽपि नैव किञ्चित् करोति सः ॥ ४.२० ॥
- 88 निराशीर्यतचित्तात्मा त्यक्तसर्वपरिग्रहः ।
शरीरं केवलं कमे कुर्वन्नाप्नोति किल्बिषम् ॥ ४.२१ ॥
- 89 बहष्पाख्यमसंलुप्तो द्वन्द्वातीतो विमरसरः ।
समः सिद्धावसिद्धौ च कृत्वापि न विवर्ष्यते ॥ ४.२२ ॥
- 90 मत्तसङ्गस्य मुक्तस्य ज्ञानावस्थितचेतसः ।
यज्ञावाचरतः कर्म समग्रं प्रविलीयते ॥ ४.२३ ॥
- * 11 ब्रह्मार्पणं ब्रह्म हविर्ब्रह्माग्नी ब्रह्मणा हुतम् ।
ब्रह्मैव तेन गन्तव्यं ब्रह्मकर्मसमाधिना ॥ ४.२४ ॥
- * 12 दैवमेवापरे यज्ञं योगिनः पर्युपासते ।
ब्रह्माज्ञापरे यज्ञं यजेन्नैवोपलुङ्गति ॥ ४.२५ ॥
- * 13 श्रोत्रादीनीन्द्रियाण्यन्वे संयमाभिषु जुह्वति ।
शब्दादीन् विषयानन्व शब्दियाद्भिषु जुह्वति ॥ ४.२६ ॥
- * 14 सर्वांगोन्द्रियकर्माणि प्राणकर्माणि चापरे ।
भक्षणसंयमयोगाभौ जुह्वति शान्तधीर्यते ॥ ४.२७ ॥
- * 15 द्रव्यब्रह्मास्तपोयज्ञा योगैश्चैवास्तवापरे ।
स्वाध्यायज्ञानवैराग्यं यत्परः संशितश्रद्धाः ॥ ४.२८ ॥
- * 16 अपाने जुह्वति मार्गं प्राणैऽपानं तथापरे ।
प्राणापानगतीं स्वभूत्वा प्राणात्मानमपराधयाः ॥ ४.२९ ॥
- * 17 अपरे निश्चिन्ताकाराः प्राणान् प्राणैर्षु जुह्वति ।
सर्वेऽप्येते यत्किञ्चिद्विशिष्टकर्मसाः ॥ ४.३० ॥
- * 18 यथाशिक्षयुतमुच्यते यानि ब्रह्मा सनातनम् ।
नार्य लोकोऽस्त्ययशस्य कुतोऽयं कुरुतस्तमः ॥ ४.३१ ॥
- * 19 परं बहुविधा यज्ञा नितता ब्रह्मणो मुखे ।
कर्मणान् विद्धि तान् सर्वानेवं ज्ञात्वा विमोक्षयसे ॥ ४.३२ ॥
- 91 ज्ञेयान् द्रव्यमयान् यज्ञाज्ज्ञानयज्ञः परंतप ।
सर्वं कर्माश्रितं पार्थ ज्ञाने परिसमाप्यते ॥ ४.३३ ॥
- 92 तद्विद्धि प्रणिपातेन परिप्रश्नेन सेवया ।
उपवेश्यन्ति ते ज्ञानं ज्ञानिस्तत्त्वदर्शिनः ॥ ४.३४ ॥
- * 20 ब्रह्मात्मा न पुनर्गोहमेवं यास्पसि पाण्डव ।
येन भूतान्यशेषेण ब्रह्मस्वात्मन्यथो मयि ॥ ४.३५ ॥
- 93 अपि चेदसि पापेभ्यः सर्वेभ्यः पापकृत्तमः ।
सर्वं ज्ञानहवेनैव वृजिनं संतरिष्यसि ॥ ४.३६ ॥
- 94 यवैधांसि समिद्धोऽग्निर्भस्मसात् कुरुतेऽर्जुन ।
ज्ञानाग्निः सर्वकर्माणि भस्मसात् कुरुते तथा ॥ ४.३७ ॥
- 95 न हि ज्ञानेन सरसं पवित्रमिह विद्यते ।
तत् स्वयं योगसंतिद्धः कालेनात्मनि विन्दति ॥ ४.३८ ॥
- 96 भ्रष्टाबौद्धमते ज्ञानं तत्परः संयतेन्द्रियः ।
ज्ञानं लब्ध्वा परं शान्तिमचिरेणाधिगच्छति ॥ ४.३९ ॥

- 97 अज्ञात्वा ब्रह्मानाथ संशयात्मा विनश्यति ।
नायं लोकोऽस्ति न परो न सुखं संशयात्मनः ॥ ४.४० ॥
- 98 योगसंन्यस्तकर्माणं ज्ञानसंछिन्नसंशयम् ।
आत्मवन्तं न कर्माणि निबद्धानि धनंजय ॥ ४.४१ ॥
- 99 तस्मादज्ञानसंभूतं हृत्स्थं ज्ञानासिनात्मनः ।
छित्तैर्न संशयं योगमातिष्ठोत्तिष्ठ भारत ॥ ४.४२ ॥

On a careful reading of this Tract by itself it will be clear that the arguments urged therein have a fairly close bearing upon the situation which supplied the occasion to the Bhagavadgītā. Otto says¹ with reference to stanzas IV. 16 ff. that the issue raised herein is much too general. "For, in the *śloka* of Arjuna nothing at all was asked about the general relation between Karman and No-karman. Such theological finesses had not troubled him in his *viśāda*. It was not whether action binds, but the altogether concrete concern as to whether one should kill worthy teachers, whether one could dare to ignore the sacred ties of relationship, that had aroused his *viśāda*." One is surprised to read this in the work of a philosophical thinker of the calibre of Rudolf Otto. It is because Arjuna had, by his arguments towards the end of the First Chapter, raised the question of the moment from the sphere of the particular to that of the universal that a general discussion on Dharma-Adharma, Action-No-action had to find a place in the sequel. As Śaṅkara says—

सर्वलोकानुग्रहार्थमर्जुनं निमित्तीकृत्याह भगवान् बाह्येभ्यः ॥

Arjuna is thus the "nimitta" of the Lord, but in another sense than what Otto understands in XI. 33.

Secondly, when Kṛṣṇa had taken all the trouble² in Chapter IV to prove that Vedic sacrifice is not the only kind of sacrifice, but that there were many varieties of it, and that properly interpreted any postponement of the immediate and the lower for the remote and the higher (e.g. the farmer sowing his seed and not immediately consuming it) is a sacrifice, to quarrel with *yajñāyācarataḥ Karma* (sein Werk zum Opfer bringen) as though the passage meant to recommend Vedic sacrifice, and to suggest that it is *jñāna-yajña*, the magical might of *jñāna*, that is here sought to be emphasised, is

1. *Lehrtraktate*, p. 43.

2. Otto credits a "Brahman-theologue" with this. But to dub certain verses in the immediate context, necessary for the proper understanding of the passage, as interpolations, and then to proceed to interpret what remains of the text as involving a contradiction or inconsistency is bad methodology.

wholly unnecessary.¹ What is the real nature of this "jñāna?" It is, as stanza IV. 18 says, the Sāṅkhya doctrine of perceiving and realising no-action in action and action in no-action; i. e. in other words, action freed from yearning and purposefulness (*kāma-saṅkalpavarjita* in stanza IV. 19). And how is this achieved? Of course by the conviction that all individual actions are part and parcel of a cosmic scheme of actions in which God's will or purpose is working itself out. Such a conviction may come to one intellectually (by the method of the *avyakta-upāsanā*) or emotionally (through personal or *vyakta upāsanā*). Is this then so very different from the Vedāntic conception of *sarvaṁ khalu idam Brahma* expressed in stanza IV. 24 or IV. 35 that we must separate one set of passages from the other as with a hatchet, and invoke the convenient hypothesis of a multiple authorship with a view to absolve one from the task of building up a philosophical synthesis of the whole?

We pass over as not of much consequence the difference of opinion between Garbe and Otto as to the interpolatory character of certain stanzas in Chapter IV. Stanzas IV. 24 to IV. 32 Otto would all reject. Garbe rejects only those (*viz.* IV. 24, 31 and 32) that contain the compromising word *Brahman*. Further Otto, while confessing that the sense to the passage (IV. 26-30) is obscure,² is ready to accuse the "Brahman-theologues" of an intention to deliberately pervert the meaning of the soul-liberating *jñāna* preached in IV. 34, 36-42 as though it meant the ritualistic knowledge of the magically potent *yajña* of Brahmanic orthodoxy. This is hardly fair.

We next pass on to Tract VIII, which is a very simple affair. It is what Otto inaptly calls the "Kṛṣṇa-stotra" in X. 12-42 of 31 stanzas, which would make the elaborated *Gītā*, prior to the addition of the glosses, a poem of 583 stanzas. Its text runs as follows—

EIGHTH TRACT

INTERPOLATED STOTRA OF KṚṢṆA

X. 12—42

(अर्जुन उवाच—)

1 परं ब्रह्म परं धाम पवित्रं परमं भवान् । •

पुण्यं शश्वत् दिव्यमादिदेवमजं विभुम् ॥१०.१२॥

1. The words, says Otto, might more properly have been not *yajñāya ścarataḥ*, but *pasitrāya ścarataḥ*.

2. Notes to the Translation, p. 153.

- 2 बाहुस्त्वामृषयः सर्वे देवर्षिनारदस्तथा ।
असितौ देयलो व्यासः स्वयं चैव ब्रवीषि मे ॥ १०.१३ ॥
- 3 सर्वमेतदतं मन्ये यन्मां वदसि केशव ।
न हि ते भगवन् व्यक्तिं विदुर्देवा न दानवाः ॥ १०.१४ ॥
- 4 स्वयमेवात्मनात्मानं वेत्थ त्वं पुरुषोत्तम ।
भूतभावेन भूतेश देवदेव जगत्पते ॥ १०.१५ ॥
- 5 वक्तुमर्हस्यशेषेण दिव्या श्चात्मविभूतयः ।
गामिर्विभूतिभिलोकानिमांस्त्वं व्याप्य तिष्ठसि ॥ १०.१६ ॥
- 6 कथं विद्यामहं योगिस्त्वं सदा परिचिन्तयन् ।
केषु केषु च भाषेयुः चिन्तयोऽसि भगवन् मया ॥ १०.१७ ॥
- 7 विस्तरैणात्मनो श्रोत्रं विभूतिं च अनादय ।
भूयः कथय तृप्तिर्हि शृण्वतो नास्ति मेऽमृतम् ॥ १०.१८ ॥

श्रीभगवानुवाच—

- 8 हन्त ते कथयिष्यामि दिव्या श्चात्मविभूतयः ।
आधान्तः कुरुश्रेष्ठ नास्त्यन्तो विस्तरस्य मे ॥ १०.१९ ॥
- 9 अहमात्मा गुहाकेश सर्वभूताणवस्थितः ।
अहमादिश्च मय्यं च भूतानामन्त एव च ॥ १०.२० ॥
- 10 आदित्यानामहं लिप्सुर्ज्योतिषां रश्मिरञ्जमान् ।
मरीचिर्मैस्तमस्मि नक्षत्राणामहं शशी ॥ १०.२१ ॥
- 11 नैदानां सामवेद्योऽस्मि देवानामस्मि वासवः ।
इन्द्रियाणां मनश्चास्मि भूतानामस्मि चेतसा ॥ १०.२२ ॥
- 12 रुद्राणां शंकरश्चास्मि वितेशो यक्षरक्षसाम् ।
वसूनां पावकश्चास्मि मेरुः शिखरिणामहम् ॥ १०.२३ ॥
- 13 पुरोधसां च मुरुवं मां विद्धि पार्थ बृहस्पतिम् ।
सेनानीनामहं स्कन्दः सरसामस्मि सागरः ॥ १०.२४ ॥
- 14 महर्षीणां शृगुरहं निरामस्त्येकमक्षरम् ।
वज्रानां लघयश्चोऽस्मि स्वावरणां द्विमाख्यः ॥ १०.२५ ॥
- 15 अश्वत्थः सर्ववृक्षाणां देवर्षीणां च नारदः ।
गन्धर्वाणां चित्ररथः सिद्धानां कपिलो मुनिः ॥ १०.२६ ॥
- 16 उच्चैःश्रवसमन्थानां विद्धि माममृतोद्भवम् ।
ऐरावतं गजेन्द्राणां नराणां च नराधिपम् ॥ १०.२७ ॥
- 17 आयुधानामहं वज्रं धेनूनामस्मि कामधुक् ।
प्रजनश्चास्मि कन्दर्पः सर्पाणामस्मि बाहुकिः ॥ १०.२८ ॥
- 18 अनन्तश्चास्मि नागानां वरुणो वादसामहम् ।
पितृणामर्षेमा चास्मि यमः संयमतामहम् ॥ १०.२९ ॥
- 19 प्रह्लादश्चास्मि दैत्यानां काळः कलयतामहम् ।
मृगाणां च मृगेन्द्रोऽहं वैनतेयश्चपक्षिणाम् ॥ १०.३० ॥

- 20 पवनः पवतामस्मि रामः शस्त्रशतमहम् ।
झषाणं मकरधामि श्रोतसामस्मि जाह्नवी ॥ १०.३१ ॥
- 21 सर्गानामादिरन्तश्च मय्यं चैवाहमर्जुन ।
अभ्यात्मविद्या विद्यानां वाद्ः प्रवदतामहम् ॥ १०.३२ ॥
- 22 अक्षरागामध्वरोऽस्मि द्वन्द्वः सामासिकस्य च ।
अहमेवाक्षयः कालो घाताहं विधत्तेमुखः ॥ १०.३३ ॥
- 23 शृत्युः सर्वहरथाहमुद्रवश्च भविष्यताम् ।
कीर्तिः श्रीर्वाक् च नारीणां स्मृतिर्मैत्रा धृतिः क्षमा ॥ १०.३४ ॥
- 24 कुतस्ताम तथा साम्नां शिवत्री छन्दसामहम् ।
मासानां मार्गशीर्षोऽहसुतृणां कुमुदाकरः ॥ १०.३५ ॥
- 25 शूलं छल्लतामस्मि तेजस्तेजस्विनामहम् ।
जयोऽस्मि व्ययसायोऽस्मि सत्त्वं सत्त्ववतामहम् ॥ १०.३६ ॥
- 26 पुष्पीनां वासुदेवोऽस्मि पाण्डवानां धनंजयः ।
मुनीनामप्यहं व्यासः कवीनामुशना कविः ॥ १०.३७ ॥
- 27 दण्डो दमयतामस्मि नीतिरस्मि जिगीषताम् ।
मौनं चैवास्मि गुह्यानां ज्ञानं ज्ञानवतामहम् ॥ १०.३८ ॥
- 28 यथापि सर्वभूतानां बीजं तदहमर्जुन ।
न तदस्ति बिना यत् स्वान्मया भूतं चराचरम् ॥ १०.३९ ॥
- 29 नान्तोऽस्ति मम विष्वानां विभूतीनां परंतप ।
एष तद्देशतः प्रोक्तो विभूतेर्विस्तरो मया ॥ १०.४० ॥
- 30 सद्यस्मिन्मृतिमत् सत्त्वं धीमदूर्जितमेव वा ।
तत्तदेवावगच्छ त्वं मम तेजोऽशसंभवम् ॥ १०.४१ ॥
- 31 अथवा बहुनैतेन किं ज्ञातेन तवार्जुन ।
विद्वन्म्याहमिदं कृत्स्नमेकांशेन स्थितो जगत् ॥ १०.४२ ॥

Otto tells us that the *Vibhūti-varṇana* here given shows a clearly Paurāṇic character. Garbe had already pointed out its analogy to the *Kūrma-purāṇa* II. 7. 3-17. The four stanzas, VII. 8-11, which exhibit the same character, must have, we are told, come from a different author and furnished a hint to the author of our Tract. Otto however suggests that the passage may have been modelled on the *Bālāki-Ajātaśatru* dialogue in the *Kauṣītaki-upaniṣad* IV. It is intended to set forth the view that God is not so much the one in the many (*unum in omnibus*) as the best in everything (*optimum in omnibus*). But I do not know why both Garbe and Otto are led to dub the passage as "Vedāntic." If the words "Yo lokatrayam āviśya" in XV. 17—translated by Otto as "indem er in sie (die Dreiwelt) eingeht"—can pass muster as Bhakti doctrine of the

Viṣiṣṭādvaita type, I do not see why this stotra (can a text where God speaks of himself in the First Person be called stotra?) should not be a Bhakti text.

The "Original" Gītā and the eight "Tracts" have thus far covered 583 stanzas¹ of the Bhagavadgītā. The 117 stanzas that remain are glosses, interpolations and marginalia. We have already given them above in small type and preceded by starred numberings in their proper sequence. We can group them together as follows—

(i)	Sāṃkhya gloss to Original Poem (II. 14-19, 21, 23-28, 38) and to Tract III (XVIII. 13-17)—	
	Total stanzas	19
(ii)	Brahman-theologue's gloss to Tract II (XV. 12-15); to Tract III (XVII. 23-28); to Tract IV (XIII. 12-18); other Vedāntic corrections to Tract IV (XIII. 2, 4, 27-28, 30); gloss to Tract V (V. 6-7, 10, 18-22, 24-26); to Tract VI (IX. 15-19); to Tract VII (III. 9-18, IV. 24-32, 35)—Total stanzas	58
(iii)	Bhakti glosses, namely Viṣiṣṭādvaita gloss to Tract VI (VI. 27-32) and Dvaita gloss to the same (IX. 1-6)—Total stanzas	12
(iii a)	Bhakti glosses definitely attributable to Tract authors and counted along with the Tracts: viz., by author of Tract I (X. 9-11, XVIII. 62-65, 67-71—all to the "Original" Gītā); by author of Tract III (XVIII. 50-57, constituting an appendix of ecstatic mysticism to "Original" Gītā)—Total stanzas	20
(iv)	Miscellaneous and doubtful glosses: namely, to Original Poem (XI. 7, 13, 15-16, 18, 37-40) with a view to convert <i>ghora rūpa darśana</i> into <i>viśvarūpa darśana</i> ; to Tract III (XVIII. 5-6, 45-46); and to Tract VI (VI. 3, VII. 8-11, VIII. 1-4, VIII. 23-28)—Total stanzas	28
(iv a)	Doubtful gloss to be included in the Tract as misplaced text (XVII. 5-6 under Tract III)—Total stanzas	2
Total Stanzas		139
Deduct for counting twice		22
Total stanzas		117

1. Including the 20 stanzas of group (iii a) and 2 of group (iv a) below. In the above statement they are counted twice.

For the "Original" *Gītā* and its eight Doctrinal Tracts Otto postulates eight different authors (I-VIII) on the assumption that Tract IV and its appendix, Tract V, have but one author. For the 117 stanzas of "Glosses" to which authors other than those of the Doctrinal Tracts have to be postulated, we would require one *Sāṅkhya* glossator (No. IX), one Brahman-theologue (No. X), and at least one other Vedāntic corrector (No. XI), one Viśiṣṭādvaita (No. XII) and one Dvaita (No. XIII) glossator, and between 5 to 7 miscellaneous¹ glossators. The minimum number of "authors" who, according to Otto, are responsible for the present text of the *Gītā* is thus exactly 18; and for the sake at least of that sacrosanct number one ought to be inclined to consider Otto's mercilessly scientific dissection of the Holy Poem with some reverence! To understand clearly where the work of one author ends or is intercepted and that of the other begins or is resumed the following concordance will perhaps be found of service. It is arranged in the sequence of the present *Gītā*.

CONCORDANCE TO THE PROPOSED STRATA AND AUTHORSHIP

Gītā Reference	Nature of the Text	Author No.
I. 1-47	Original Poem	I
II. 1-13	Original Poem	I
II. 14-19	Gloss to Original Poem	IX
II. 20	Original Poem	I
II. 21	Gloss to Original Poem	IX
II. 22	Original Poem	I
II. 23-28	Gloss to Original Poem	IX
II. 29-37	Original Poem	I
II. 38	Gloss to Original Poem	IX
II. 39-72	Tract VII	VI
III. 1-8	Tract VII	VI
III. 9-18	Gloss to Tract VII	X
III. 19-43	Tract VII	VI
IV. 1-23	Tract VII	VI
IV. 24-32	Gloss to Tract VII	X

1. Namely the Bhakti glossator to Tract VI (No. XIV), Imitator of Tract VIII (No. XV), Converter of *ghoṣarūpa* to *Vīṣṇurūpa* (No. XVI), the Mythological glossator (No. XVII) and at least one author (No. XVIII) for small miscellaneous insertions here and there.

Gita Reference	Nature of text	Author No.
IV. 33-34	Tract VII	VI
IV. 35	Gloss to Tract VII	X
IV. 36-42	Tract VII	VI
V. 1-5	Tract V	V
V. 6-7	Gloss to Tract V	X
V. 8-9	Tract V	V
V. 10	Gloss to Tract V	X
V. 11-17	Tract V	V
V. 18-22	Gloss to Tract V	X
V. 23	Tract V	V
V. 24-26	Gloss to Tract V	X
V. 27-29	Tract V	V
VI. 1-2	Tract VI	VI
VI. 3	Gloss to Tract VI	XIV
VI. 4-26	Tract VI	VI
VI. 27-32	Gloss to Tract VI	XII
VI. 33-47	Tract VI	VI
VII. 1-7	Tract VI	VI
VII. 8-11	Gloss to Tract VI	XV
VII. 12-30	Tract VI	VI
VIII. 1-4	Gloss to Tract VI	XVIII
VIII. 5-22	Tract VI	VI
VIII. 23-28	Gloss to Tract VI	XVII
IX. 1-6	Gloss to Tract VI	XIII
IX. 7-14	Tract VI	VI
IX. 15-19	Gloss to Tract VI	X
IX. 20-34	Tract VI	VI
X. 1-8	Original Poem	I
X. 9-11	Gloss to Original Poem	II
X. 12-42	Tract VIII	VIII
XI. 1-6	Original Poem	I
XI. 7	Gloss to Original Poem	XVI
XI. 8-12	Original Poem	I
XI. 13	Gloss to Original Poem	XVI
XI. 14	Original Poem	I
XI. 15-16	Gloss to Original Poem	XVI
XI. 17	Original Poem	I
XI. 18	Gloss to Original Poem	XVI

Gita Reference	Nature of Text.	Author No.
XI. 19-36	Original Poem	I
XI. 37-40	Gloss to Original Poem	XVI
XI. 41-51	Original Poem	I
XI. 52-55	Tract I	II
XII. 1-20	Tract I	II
XIII. 1	Tract IV	V
XIII. 2	Gloss to Tract IV	XI
XIII. 3	Tract IV	V
XIII. 4	Gloss to Tract IV	XI
XIII. 5-11	Tract IV	V
XIII. 12-18	Gloss to Tract IV	X
XIII. 19-25	Tract IV	V
XIII. 27-28	Gloss to Tract IV	XI
XIII. 29	Tract IV	V
XIII. 30	Gloss to Tract IV	XI
XIII. 31-34	Tract IV	V
XIV. 1-27	Tract II	III
XV. 1-11	Tract II	III
XV. 12-15	Gloss to Tract II	X
XV. 16-20	Tract II	III
XVI. 1-24	Tract III	IV
XVII. 1-22	Tract III (including the "gloss" XVII. 5-6)	IV
XVII. 23-28	Gloss to Tract III	X
XVIII. 1-4	Tract III	IV
XVIII. 5-6	Gloss to Tract III	XVIII
XVIII. 7-12	Tract III	IV
XVIII. 13-17	Gloss to Tract III	IX
XVIII. 18-44	Tract III	IV
XVIII. 45-46	Gloss to Tract III	XVIII
XVIII. 47-49	Tract III	IV
XVIII. 50-57	Appendix to Tract III	VI
XVIII. 58-61	Original Poem	I
XVIII. 62-65	Interpolation in Ori- ginal Poem	II
XVIII. 66	Original Poem	I
XVIII. 67-71	Interpolation in Ori- ginal Poem	II
XVIII. 72-78	Original Poem	I

We have, in what has preceded, spared no pains in setting forth Dr. Otto's most interesting thesis fairly and squarely. If there has been any mistake or misrepresentation, it is hoped that it will be imputed to oversight. In printing the texts of the "Doctrinal Tracts" by themselves we have perhaps facilitated the understanding of the very complicated argument which we had to piece together from the three publications on the Bhagavadgītā which have recently emanated from the Doctor's pen; and it was thought worth while taking all this trouble, because no other European publications on the Bhagavadgītā since Garbe's time have evinced so much critical penetration and acumen. Our comments on the Author's thesis have been already made in the course of the preceding pages; but it would be advantageous to focus them to a point.

Be it here said at the outset that we have no objection—nay, we would welcome—the analytical study of a work however ancient or sacred. The analytical studies of the plots of Shakespeare's Plays in relation to his "Sources," or investigations into Pāṇini's Vocabulary (*Wortschatz*), or of Similes and Metaphors in the R̥gveda have yielded valuable and gratifying results; and there is no reason why the same may not be the case with the labours of Otto. But surely nobody presumes to deny the originality and the creative genius of a Shakespeare simply because one is able to say from what source he has borrowed a specific incident or part of an incident in the story, or from what sphere of experience he has picked up a given simile or a phrase. There is no reason why similar considerations should not hold in the case of the Bhagavadgītā.

Let us concede for the sake of argument that the "Brahman-theologue" was the last redactor of the Bhagavadgītā. Otto has given ample evidence illustrating his activity all along the line, and particularly the ingenuity with which he steps in after every few lines with an "interpolated" line or lines calculated to "twist" the current context and bring it into the service of his own specific dogma. Now such a working over of an original material would have been a likely enough supposition to make if the Poem in question, just before this "Brahman-theologue" stepped in with his holy oar, had contained a uniform and self-consistent teaching, as Garbe at any rate believed. Otto however discovers in the Poem strata beneath strata or superstructures above superstructures as in an archaeological excavation. But in archaeology when we pass on from the consideration of one stratum to the one above or below it, we know that the lower stratum must have normally existed as a complete whole for some time before another could be superimposed

ed upon it ; and there is generally also an indication of the reason and motives for such superimpositions. Whereas the several putative "compilers" of the Bhagavadgītā, in Otto's showing, come forward each with his own bricks and timber—and a few of them with a ludicrously insignificant stock of them at that—and deposit layers of their material planlessly and aimlessly at the first convenient (or inconvenient) place on which they can lay their hands. Would not a more reasonable hypothesis be to suppose that all these builders petty and great were invited, employed and supervised by a master architect who knew the angularities and idiosyncrasies of the artisans under his charge, but who had faith in his own power of compromise and co-ordination to produce out of the motley material a synthetic whole for the admiration of posterity ?

We would of course be told in reply that mere analogy is no argument. If there were a synthetic purpose imposed upon the whole Poem, who, we would be asked, who of all the commentators and interpreters ancient or modern, Indian or non-Indian, has given that master interpretation which all would be fain to accept ? In return, however, may we not also be permitted to ask, which is the master exposition of, say, Hamlet's character which all Shakespearean scholars have unanimously accepted ? The literature on the Bhagavadgītā is already vast and is continually growing. It would be hazardous to say that one has read even the most important publications bearing on the subject ; but it can be safely asserted that every fresh attempt at reinterpreting the Poem—not excluding that of Otto himself—is taking us steadily nearer the goal. I have myself taught the poem more than a dozen times to advanced graduates and undergraduates in the Universities. I am still teaching it and improving and correcting my own earlier understanding and interpretation of the Bhagavadgītā at each fresh essay ; and I do not despair of one day reaching the ideal. However, even assuming that we are unable to solve a specific crux of the Gītā interpretation in only one way on the basis of the evidence of the Poem itself, just as we are not able, as a matter of fact, to give one and only one answer to the question of Hamlet's age or madness from the available documentary evidence, would that seriously justify the conclusion that Shakespeare was a hotch-potch compiler of the Play we name Hamlet, and that there was no central purpose in it at all ? It is inconceivable that, if the Bhagavadgītā were simply an ill-assorted cabinet of contrary opinions and dogmas, it should have maintained its position of eminence even in India for such a long time. Furthermore, when critics of the same persuasion, like Garbe and Otto, exhibit such fundamental differences as we have set forth above

(p. 114), would it not be safer to declare "*Ubhau tau na vijānītaḥ*," or at any rate to suspend judgment? To give up the attempt at a sympathetic interpretation as *ipso facto* foredoomed to failure is neither helpful nor difficult. There is more courage if, after the brilliant analytic study like the one that Otto has devoted to the Poem,—and in fact, just because of such a study—Otto were himself to rear up on its basis a still more creditable superstructure of a synthetic exposition. Otto knows how the Dvaita, Viśiṣṭādvaita, and Śuddhādvaita schools of Bhakti, or those of the rationalistic Sāṃkhya, the mystic Yoga and the monistic Vedānta, gradually and almost imperceptibly shade off into one another. He would therefore be fully well equipped to understand the art and the aim of the "synthetic" elaborator and give him his due credit for his achievement, which certainly must have been prompted by specific needs of the age and the society. The distinction between such an attempt at synthetic interpretation and that which Hopkins ridiculed as exemplified in the person of Dahlmann is too obvious to cause any misgiving or misunderstanding. May we not respectfully request Dr. Otto himself to advance "once more unto the breach"?

S. K. BELVALKAR

P.S. Alas ! Dr. Otto is no longer amongst the living to resume the argument, and I feel it most keenly that neither Garbe nor Otto should have been spared long enough to read and reply to my criticisms of their respective theses. *Kṣaṇikā sabbe Saṃskārā, dukha-padubbhāvā nibbedamāyanā !*

ANTIQUITIES OF GUJARAT

I

TWO ILLUSTRATED MANUSCRIPTS OF *RATIRAHASYA* OF THE GUJARAT SCHOOL OF PAINTING

A Gujarāṭi School of Manuscript-illustrations flourished from the 13th to the 17th century, after which it was more or less modified by Mughal and Rājput influences.

The majority of pictures of this type have hitherto been classified as "Jaina Painting" principally because most of the specimens in the shape of illustrated MSS were found in works of Jaina theology or legends.

It now appears that this peculiar style of illustration had nothing to do with Jainism as a creed, or with any distinctive traditions of Jaina aesthetics, but that it was indigenous to and characteristic of Gujarāt, at least during the interval mentioned above. It must, however, be recognised that Jainism did furnish the principal clientèle, if not the central inspiration to the School of Gujarāṭi painters.

The geographical limits of Mediæval Gujarāt were much wider than now, and included much of what is now known as Rājputāṇā. This was probably the region which the Buddhist historian Tārānātha (writing in 1608) refers to as the home of the "School of the Ancient West." Gujarāṭi painting is thus no doubt in the direct line of descent of the older fresco-paintings, and a continuation of the early Western style, the Rāṣṭrakūṭa and the Paramāra frescoes of Ellūra, representing an intermediate stage in the development.

The Hindu art is mainly hieratic, but side by side with this canonical art, there exists the popular form of pictorial expression—the secular art—which is really the survival of the early folk-art.

By way of relief from the stereotyped patterns of a hieratic art as reflected in paintings from the life-stories of Mahāvīra and other holy persons, we come across a number of secular paintings which have a long tradition.

The Kāmasūtras of Vātsyāyana are closely connected with what the classical philosophers called the achievement of the purpose of life. The ideal of life according to Vātsyāyana is one in which the



Makardhvaja (Cupid) from a MS. of *Rafi-rakasya* (early 15th century).

एकाग्रानुनमः श्रीमकरधडाया ॥ यनाका रिप्रसप्तमचिरा
 दधनारीश्वरवंदायनापि त्रिपुरङ्गायिनाद्यातिषावाक्युषा
 णां शंदाभिर्मन्त्रसङ्गत्य तिसुदोभामवामप्रचारादवः श्रीमान्
 सवस्सुदोदेवतंचित्रङ्गना ॥ १२ ॥ विद्वानपादस्ते
 ग्रश्रेणीपिकाः पटुबंदिनादिन करभित्तछत्रमन्त्र
 क्षिपामलयानिलाः कृशतनुधनु वेत्तीलीलाकटाक्ष
 न्नारावल्लीमनसिङ्गमदाराङ्गास्य नाङ्गयैति विस्तृतया ॥ १३ ॥
 क्काकनाम्ना कविनाम्नाऽयं श्रीविद्यदत्तस्य कृत्स्नदेवस्य न
 विनाक्षतोकामकलाशुधीराः प्रदीपकाल्यावचसो विभुः ॥



three elements of Dharma, Artha and Kāma are harmoniously blended together.

The early erotic bas-relief of Bādāmi and the figures as are found on the sculptured walls of the Khajurāho, Bhuvaneśvara and Koṅārka temples, point to the prevalence of a taste for such eroticism in sculpture and painting among the artists and their clientèle.

The celebrated and accomplished courtezans in India used to maintain picture-galleries in their residence which included among other things scenes depicted in accordance with the Kāmaśāstras. Hemacandrasūri (11th century) has noted in his Triṣaṣṭi-śalākā-Puruṣa-Carita that Koṣā, the accomplished *gayikā* of Pāṭaliputra maintained a gallery of such pictures.*

A MS. of the *Ratirahasya* from Gujarāt has a beautiful miniature painting on the first folio. It is reproduced on Plate 1 and gives a very characteristic portrait of Makaradhvaja (Cupid.).

This rare MS. belongs to the collection of Mr. Amritlal Bhojak of Pattan (N. Gujarat) who was good enough to place it at my disposal, through the kind offices of Muni shri Puṇyavijayaaji, of Sāgar-no-Upāśraya, Pattan, an ever-willing helper to inquisitive people.

The other specimen is a stray folio from another MS. of the *Ratirahasya*, from the collection of Mr. Sārābhāi Navāb. It is believed to have been sumptuously illustrated, as the extant folio is painted on two sides, illustrating the consecutive verses 3 and 4 from the *Saṅkhalā Adhikāra*.

*(i) कोशनिधाया वेदवाया रुहे ना चित्रमालिका ।

विभिन्नकामशास्त्रोक्तकरणालेखमालिनी ॥

परिशिष्टपर्व, सर्ग ८, ११५

(ii) See also *Anaṅgarāṅga* (16th century) Ch. IX for the adornment of bedrooms with pictures.

(iii) In the "*Mādhavānandakāma-kandalāpṛabandha*" (Sarhvat 1594) of poet Gaṇapati from Amod (Broach district) edited by me and now being published in the G. O. Series, the bed-room — मदन-आवास — of Kāma-kandalā is described to have similar paintings :

"चित्रमालि साही रही, खति लूती दष्टि ॥ १०५

कामशास्त्र कोटिपरि आसन लिखिया अनेक ।,

वरति न को बंधो सकइ, खेवमाहि किन छेक ? ॥ १०६ — अंत्य ५

The discovery of these two specimens from Gujarāt is important inasmuch as it provides one more document testifying to the prevalence of the provincial tradition of painting in Gujarāt.

The examples of non-Jaina or secular themes already introduced to the art-world, are the picture-scroll of *Vasant Vilāsa*¹ and the illustrated MS. of *Bālagopāla-Stuti*.²

The announcement of a further find of 12 folios of *Saptasatī* (*Candimāhātmya*) illustrated in the identical Gujarāṭi style is reserved for a future occasion.

Now to turn to the *Ratirahasya*,³ the subject-matter of the secular miniature painting.⁴ It is a comprehensive treatise on Erotica, treating of the secrets of enjoyment and is composed by Kukkoṭa, son of Vidyādhara, who flourished in the early part of the 13th century, in Konkan. The author has employed elaborate metres and claims to have used the cognate works of his illustrious predecessors Nandi-

1 N. C. Mehta.

- (1) "*Rupam*," No. 22-23 (April-July 1925).
"Indian Painting in the 15th century: an illustrated MS."
- (2) "Studies in Indian Painting," Ch. II, Secular painting in Gujarāt: XVth century" (1926).
- (3) "Gujarati Painting in the 15th century: a Further Essay on *Vasanta Vilāsa*." (1931, London).

2 O. C. Gangoli.

- (1) "A newly discovered illustrated Indian manuscript," *Andhra Historical Research Society Journal*, Vol IV, (1929).
- (2) "A newly discovered illustrated Indian manuscript," *Indian Arts and Letters*, Vol. IV, No. 2, New Series, (1930).
- (3) "A newly discovered illustrated Indian manuscript," *Mala-viya Commemoration Volume*, (1932).

Prof. W. N. Brown.

- (1) "Early Vaishnava Miniatures, *Eastern Art*," Philadelphia, pp. 167-206, (1930).

M. R. Majumdar.

- (1) "Some illustrated MSS. of Gujarāt School of Painting," VIIIth Oriental Conference Proceedings; pp 827-835 (1933.)

3 A printed edition of *Ratirahasya* is available with *Dīpikā* of Kānāināth (Benares 1912).

4 Illustrated MSS of later works on Erotica, like *Ananagaranga* of Kalyāṇamalla in the 16th century at the Court of Ibrahim Lodi are said to have been traced; but as none of them could be consulted, no observations can be offered on the point of their style of pictorial expression.

—Vide Dr. Hirananda Shāstri's monograph on "Indian Pictorial Art as developed in Book-illustrations," *Gachwad's Archaeological Series* No. 1, p. 3 (1936.)



Nāri kuhjara, illustrating Chnp. II, verse 3, from *Rajj-rakasya* about
melting of Śaśikālā (the droplets of the moon) from a straw leaf.

ऊर्ध्वतिस्मरमिंदिरकरिक
 रक्तीडांघ्रिग्याजानुनीयु
 ल्यायुष्टपरा निचषतिमुक्क
 निघ्नंतितिरात्मना। इत्यंबक
 जयंति। यचासिकला। मालिं
 गमज्जंति। शीनोचापल
 पत्रिकांवाक्त्रिकरस्मृष्टामि
 वात्रयसी॥३॥



keśvara, Goṣikāputra as well as Vātsyāyana while compiling his work.

It appears that the work was much popular in Western India and Gujarāt so much so that good many versions of the work such as "Koka-Caupāi"¹, "Kokasāra" and "Bilhaṇapāṇicāśika"² in Old Gujarati verse are met with. The version of Koka (a shortened name of Kukkokā) purports to be a story, woven round the various sections of *Ratirākāśya* by a member of the Jain clergy, who, it is said, was ex-communicated for his irresistible attraction for the subject, profane to his holy order.

The popularity of and the close acquaintance with the text of *Ratirākāśya* among the Gujarāti poets is further evidenced by the Gujarāti version of Bilhaṇa's 50 verses in *Vasantatilakā*, early in the 15th century by Jñānācāryya, another Jaina Yati. The prologue of his version which first invokes King Makaradhvaja in preference to the Goddess Sarasvatī, very well suggests the nature of the theme that is to follow.

The following invocation is quite reminiscent of the first three stanzas of the *Ratirākāśya*.³

“मकरध्वज महिपति वर्णवृ, जेहनुं रूप अवनि अभिनव ।
कुसुम बाण करि, कुंजरि चहई; जास प्रवाणि घरा धडहड ॥
कोदंड कामिनिनुं टंकार; बागलि अलि-संज्ञा संकारि ।
पाखलि कोइलि कलरव करइ, निर्मल छत्र खेत शिर भरइ ॥
त्रिभुवनमोहि पढावइ साद; ‘छई को मुर नर मोहइ वाद ?’ ।
अबला-सैनि सबल परचरिउ, होइई मनमथ मण्डरि भरिउ ॥

1. Composed by Narbadācāryya at Burhānpur, (Khāndesh) in Śaṅkavāt 1696.

2. Composed by Jñānācāryya Muni, in 15th century A.D.

3. (१) अनङ्गेनाचलासङ्गाजिता येन जगत्प्रयी ।
स चित्रचरितः कामः सर्वकामप्रदोऽस्तु वः ॥ १ ॥*
- (२) देनाफारि प्रसन्नमभिरादर्शनारीधरत्वं ।
दग्धेनापि त्रिपुरजविना, उयोत्तिषा चालुषेण ॥
इन्दोर्मित्रं स जयति मुदा धाम वामप्रचारो ।
देवः धीमान् भवरसमुजा दैनतं चित्तजन्मा ॥ २ ॥
- (३) परिजनपदे मृदुश्रेणी पिङ्गाः पटुवन्दिनो ।
हिमकरसितच्छत्रं मत्तद्विधो मलयानिलः ॥
कुशतनुधनुर्वल्ली लीलकटाक्षरावली ।
मनसिजमहावीरस्त्रोच्चैर्जयन्ति जगज्जितः ॥ ३ ॥

* This introductory verse is wanting in the text of the illustrated folio.

माधवमास सोह्र सामंत, जाततणइ जलविधिमुत्त मित ।
 दूतपणुं मळयानिल करइ, सुर नर पन्नय आण आचरइ ॥
 तासतणा पय हुं अगसरी, सरसति सामिणी इइवइ धरी ।
 पहिलें कंदर्प करी प्रणाम, मळउं येव रचिवि अभिराम ॥”

Kāma is described according to the *Matsya-Purāṇa*¹ as bearing the symbols of a bow and arrow made of flowers, when he has two hands. The image of Manmatha, who is identical with the Pradyumna of the *Saktivyāha*, should, according to the *Silparatna*, be made to carry a bow of sugarcane in the left hand, and to hold in the right, five flowery arrows, when the image is two-handed.²

The figure of Makaradhvaja in Plate I. is very elegant and typical. The *tri-bhanga* pose gives a lyrical delicacy to the portraiture. The five-petalled arrow in the left hand with the bow in the right, balances the entire composition. The bow is presumably of sugarcane, and round about the blossoms of the flower bees are seen humming.

Among the striking points in the miniature may be mentioned the short beard, the dhoti, the *mukūṭa* and the U-shaped Vaiṣṇava mark on the forehead, over and above the special characteristics of the Gujarāṭi School of Painting, which it shares in common.

The outstanding feature of the three-quarter profile; the angular face, the eyes drawn out to the ears, further eye protruding beyond the facial line, eye-brows in simple curves, pointed nose, and the form of anatomy, particularly of the crossed legs—these are in the general dialect of the pictorial language, used in illustrating the pictures of the Gujarāṭi style.

The strange thing about the Gujarāṭi miniatures up to the 16th century, already observed and noted by Mr. N. C. Mehta,³ that the Hindus appear to have had the same liking for the short beard as the Mussalmāns, which seems to be a remnant of old Indo-Iranian custom, is noticeable, not only in the figure of Makaradhvaja here, but also in the other representation of Cupid, mounted on the nine-women elephant—Navanārīkuṇjara, to be noticed in the latter part of the paper. Over and above the short beard of the Cupid, his long hairs are shown tied in knots at the back. This

1. “दक्षिणे पुष्पबाणं च वामे पुष्पमयं धनुः ।”

2. “वक्ष्ये मनसिजं देवमिषुचापधरं सदा ।

पञ्चपुष्पमयान्वाणान्मित्राणं दक्षिणे करे ॥”

3. N. C. Mehta : “Studies in Indian Painting,” p. 18 (1926).



The reverse of a folio illustrating Chasp. II, verse 4 of *Rafi-Rahasyn*

एकरोकाशुक्तीदः ॥ २४ ॥ अदरीः पंचबाणाः सन्त्यः । रद्या तालकं । एषमीघं । हृद
 यकचट्टाजीसुहृदुद्यक्रमण । स्वाताघतसुन्दर्यो । निजताप नः धन । प्ररितेः
 स्तपतक्तिः । स्पदेतसुन्दरीणां । हलदनलनिना बिंदवः । कामचारी ॥ ४



description agrees considerably with the notes¹ given about the picture 13 in the *Vasantavilāsa* :²

"Shows the God of Love elaborately dressed, *bearded*, haloed and *holding a lotus-stalk in his left hand*."

The figure of Cupid is shown to wear dhoti reaching up to the ankles with a short scarf thrown across the shoulders. The head-dress which is usually employed in paintings of this period is the *mukuta*—a kind of peaked cap. The *tilaka* is simply a conventional symbol used by the Gujarāṭi painters for males, without any relation to the theme or religion.

In absence of the date of the MS., we have to rely on stylistic grounds referred to above, as well as other extraneous circumstances. We shall take into account the nature of the material on which the miniature is painted.

The size of the paper folio is $3\frac{3}{8}'' \times 9\frac{1}{2}''$, the size of the panel of the miniature being $3\frac{1}{4}'' \times 2\frac{1}{4}''$.

In the centre and on two sides of the leaves of the MS. little dots indicating rubrications are marked in red colour for the binding string, after the manner of palm-leaf *pothis*, which being never used survive only as vestigial ornament.

It is, therefore, assignable to a period when paper had just begun to come in vogue, and when palm-leaves were becoming rare. It is remarkable that the upheaval in Jain learning in Gujarāt, due to the preachings of Ācāryya Somaśundara-Sūri (Ācārya in Saṁvat 1457, Nirvāṇa in Saṁvat 1499 : the hero of the '*Somaśaṁbhāgya-Kāvya*') and his disciples were responsible for having hundreds of rare and valuable MSS. on palm-leaf copied on paper to be distributed over a number of Bhaṇḍārs. The Wādi Pārēvanātha Bhaṇḍār at Pattan (N. Gujarāt) preserves a good number of MSS. of this period.

The other thing worth taking account of is the calligraphy of the MSS. The style of writing the *mātrā* on the left side of the letter instead of on the top known as "*Pratimātrā*"—(*mātrā* opposite the letter) or "*Prsthamaṁtrā*" (*mātrā* on the back side of the letter)—style suggests a pretty early date for the MS.

Thus the MS. of the *Ratirahasya* can be assigned with the least doubt to the latter half of the 15th century.

The stray folio from the *Ratirahasya* (Plate IIa & IIb) containing verses 3 and 4, has a bearing on the Candrakalā Adhikāra,

1. "Gujarāṭi Painting in the 15th century : a further essay on *Vasantavilāsa*," p. 12 (London, 1931.)

which forms the second chapter of the work. Fifteen places in the female body are mentioned here in the order of the situation of the Candrakalā (digits of the Moon) on the respective dates of the white as well as the black half of the month, which could be excited by one who knows them to get full sexual enjoyment.

A coloured sketch of a woman, illustrating the theme, with old Gujarāṭi verse is also traced from a Jaina Yati's collection. (Plate No. III).

The third verse has a casual reference to "*Kari-Kara-Kriḍā*"—the dalliance of the trunk of an elephant. Of course, the suggestion in the text that is charged to this phrase is rather technical; however, the painter of the text has been tempted to visualise a queer elephant, which can hardly exist in this world of reality.

This is the well-known Nava-nārī-kuñjara composition—a sort of a composite animal, formed by nine ladies, with its varying import and significance.¹ It has been associated not only with the legend of Kāma and Rati but also with Kṛṣṇa and the Gopis.

The march of Madana (Cupid) on elephant-back, with his paraphernalia, as described in poetry, has been portrayed in Plate IIa. Another representation of a similar description is met with in a miniature, painted on the margin to the right side of the 16th folio of a richly illustrated MS. of the *Kalpasūtra*. It belongs to the early part of the 15th century and was painted at Port Gāndhāra near Cambay, the MS being now deposited at Śrī Dayāvimalaḥ Śāstrasamgraha Bhāṇḍāra, in Ahmedabad. (Plate IV).

It is interesting to note that the remaining three margins of this *Kalpasūtra* folio have also been decorated respectively with a horse, a Maṅgala-kalāṣa and a cart—all represented in the same composite form made up of ladies, suggesting thereby that symbolism in some form or other is a leading characteristic of the Hindu Art.

The composition of the elephant in this illustration has a close resemblance to the one in the *Ratirahasya* folio (Plate IIa). The bearded Cupid is shown in his triumphant march, with lady-soldiers parading in his front. The general atmosphere and the style of other accessories is almost identical.

The Vaiṣṇava representation of the Navanārī-kuñjara scene, depicts Kṛṣṇa playing on the flute in a seated posture on the back of an elephant, simulated by nine Gopis who have cleverly so disposed themselves in a mutually interlocked position as to create a complete

1. Vide my paper on "Significance of Nārīkuñjara Pictures" VIIIth Oriental Conference Proceedings, pp. 823-826.

PLATE III



A female figure, illustrating positions of Amṛta-kālā, which have to be melted on respective dates of the white and the dark halves of the month, for proper enjoyment.

illusion of an elephant. A Gujarāṭi origin of this artistic invention on various grounds has been suggested by me elsewhere.¹

Whether the artistic creation of such animals is real or false has been considered by the editor, *Journal of Indian Art and Industry* for 1914 on "Indian Animals, true and false in Art," etc. in a short note. It is remarked that "Composite figures formed of human beings are not altogether imaginary" and in its support the reader is referred to an extract from the *Travels of Tavernier*, who wrote them in 1676 in French. The French traveller refers to an actual performance by nine dancing women of the kingdom of Golkonda for the diversion of Abdulkutub Shah who reigned from 1611 to 1672.

The same phenomena has been noticed by Sir William Jones in his article "On the Gods of Greece, Italy and India" in *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. I. (1799) on the strength of a whimsical picture of Nārīkūnjara which he came across. Dr. Moore has been tempted to identify this incident with Apollo and the Muses of the Greeks in his "*Hindu Pantheon*" (2nd edition 1864, p. 293.).

Thus, by the find of a new set of materials of secular nature from Gujarāt, we are now in a position to assert without any hesitation that besides many illustrated manuscripts of the *Kaṭpasūtra* and the *Kālahūcāryakathānakam*, there are several illustrated works which are purely secular. Their pictorial phase can best be expressed by calling it the Gujarāṭi School of Painting in preference to Jaina Painting; for though, at present, most of the material of this School comes from Jaina sources, there can be no doubt that the peculiar style was indigenous to Gujarāt and continued to be so, at least till the end of the 17th century.

II

A RARE IMAGE OF SOMA FROM GUJARAT.

The celebrated Sun-temple at Modhera, a village in the Cāpas-mā tālukā of the Méhsānā District of the Gaekwād's territories is still an imposing structure. No finer or more interesting structure remains in a tolerably well-preserved state in Northern Gujarāt.

This temple has a tank in front of it. It is called Sāryakuṇḍa and is also known as Rāmakuṇḍa. It is rectangular, and measures

1. Vide my chapter on "Samyojanā Citra" (Composite Pictures) in "Citra Kalpadruma" in Gujarāṭi, (1935), pp. 72-94.

176 feet from north to south, by 120 feet from east to west. (Part V). Though much damaged, it is still complete. A small rectangular recessed bay projects outwards from the middle of each of the sides, and in the middle of three of these on the first terrace below the ground level, small detached shrines stand, each facing the tank.

In the small temples at the tank are the interesting figures of Śeṣa, Rāvaṇa, Brahmāṇi, etc. Among these, however, the most interesting is that of Soma or the Moon.

This beautiful image of Soma, upto now to my knowledge, has not been noticed anywhere else. The Nava-grahas, including Soma, in varying orders are found carved on the lintel of some of the temples in India, in rather a miniature form.¹ But no independent image of Soma has been met with yet. Hence the importance of this find.

In the *Rūpamañjara*,² the hitherto unpublished Sanskrit text on Iconography, the five planets—Mercury, Venus, Mars, Jupiter and Saturn, and also the ascending and descending nodes of the moon called Rāhū and Kētū are described as the well-known Nava-grahas or the nine planets.

It has been stated in Hindu texts on Iconography that all these are worshipped in certain temples where their images are installed. While describing the respective positions of the various planet-images, in a sun-temple with twelve images of Sūrya, it is stated that the Moon should be on the east of the temple (पूर्वस्थां दिशि चन्द्रमाः । ह्यमन्दने स्तो० ६७)

Candra or Moon is known as Soma. His figure according to the *Akṣumadbhédāgama*, may be represented either as standing or sitting. If sitting, the seat upon which he is to sit, should be 'Simhāsana.' The colour of Candra should be perfectly white, and his head should be surrounded by a halo or Prabhāmaṇḍala. He should also be adorned with various ornaments and a garland composed of all sorts of flowers and should be clothed in white garments. He should have two hands, each of which should hold a white water-lily (Kumuda). On his chest there should be shown

1. Beautiful, separate and striking images of Śukra, Sanī, Rāhū, and Kētū are however seen at the Rājputānā Museum, Ajmer; but Soma is not there.

2. Published as No. XII in the Calcutta Sanskrit Series, (1936).

PLATE IV



A Nāri-kūñjara mounted by Cupid : from the margin of an illustrated folio of the *Kaṭhasūtra*, enlarged. (early 15th century).

a golden Yajñopavīta, and his countenance should be beautiful and possess a peaceful look.¹

In the *Rūpemaṇḍana*, the Sanskrit text on Iconography popular in Gujarāt and Western India during the glorious period of Hindu rule, references are available regarding the colour,² the conveyance³ and the hands⁴ of the Soma-image. Regarding the diadem and earrings, the references common to all the planet-images, apply to Soma also.⁵

The image of Soma on the Sūryakuṇḍa at Modhērā is in the sitting pose and measures about 3 feet by 1·5 feet. (Plate VI).

The description of the image, which establishes its identification with that of Soma as given in Sanskrit texts on Iconography, is as under :

The image has

- (1) a face which is shown surrounded by a halo (प्रभामण्डल-संयुक्तः)
- (2) the face is beautiful and shows a peaceful temperament (सौम्यवक्षकः)
- (3) it has two hands (द्विभुजः) but it is not known what things were held by them as they are broken ;
- (4) it appears to be in a sitting posture (आसीनः)
- (5) it has a golden Yajñopavīta (हेमवक्षोपवीताङ्गः)
- (6) it is adorned with various ornaments and garlands (सर्वाभरणभूषितः) and
- (7) has also a diadem (किरीटी) and
- (8) earrings (रत्नकुण्डलशोभित)

—the latter two items being common to all the Graha-images, according to the *Rūpa-maṇḍana*.

We find on comparison that the description of the image corresponds in main to that given in the *Ansumadbhedāgama*. Hence

1. सोमस्तिहासनासीनः कुन्दशङ्खसमद्युतिः ।
प्रभामण्डलसंयुक्तो द्विभुजस्सौम्यवक्षकः ॥
आसीनो वा स्थितो वापि कुन्दोऽज्ज्वलकं करः ।
हेमवक्षोपवीताङ्गस्तसर्वाभरणभूषितः ॥
शृङ्खलवस्त्राश्रितस्सर्वपुष्पैरलङ्कितः ।
सोम एवं समाख्यातः क्षेत्रपालस्तथोच्यते ॥

— अंशुमद् भेदागमे ४९ पटले.

2. " श्वेतः सोमः । " श्लो. ६१ ।
3. " बन्दो दशहयः स्मृतः । " श्लो. ६४ ।
4. " पद्महस्तो भवेत्सोमः । " श्लो. ६२ ।
5. " प्रहः किरीटिनः कार्या रत्नकुण्डलशोभिताः । " श्लो. ६६ ।

we might without much hesitation identify the image as that of Soma.

III

A TRILINGUAL INSCRIPTION ON A STEP-WELL IN PETLAD

Petlād has played a very prominent part in the history of Gujarāt both during the Moghul period and thereafter. As the *Mīrāt-e-Akmaḍī* shows, it has passed and re-passed from one hand to another oftener than any other Paragaṇā, the reason being that for revenue purposes it furnished a rich source of income.¹

There is the usual amenity of town-life in Petlād in the shape of a pond called *Parmāṇiyuṣ Talāva*; near it is a step-well, at present called *Śikotari Mātāḍī Vāva* named after Śikotari Mātā, an evil deity held in great awe and respect by village-folk. The niche bearing the inscription is worshipped as the Mātā. (Plate VII).

In this niche, to the right as we go to the well by the principal entrance is an inscription in three languages, Persian, Sanskrit and Gujarāṭī. Sanskrit and Gujarāṭī are mixed up in one inscription which begins in Sanskrit and ends in Gujarāṭī. The Persian inscription is at the top and consists of verse as well as prose.

The Sanskrit and Gujarāṭī part of the inscription gives very detailed and important information such as, that Petlād was called in Sanskrit पेटवट्ट, and in Gujarāṭī પેટલડ, that Petlād was given to Muhammad A'zam Shāh, one of the Princes of Aurangzeb in Jāgīr, that a Revenue and Police (Military) officer—an Amīn and a Fauzdār—administered the jāgīr as the Prince's agent, and that the latter had his own head-clerk, Peshdast, a Hindu, without whose permit it would not be possible to erect a building of public utility, that the name by which the part was known two hundred years ago was different, and so on.

Recitals in a legal document and in a public inscription, considered essential then, viz., that the name of the reigning Prince of the time, the names of his ministers, administrators and officers should form part of the contents, that in describing them, Hindu honorific titles, such as राजपति, नरपति, श्रीपति etc., should be prefixed to their names, are found here. It also mentions the old name of the Pond as *Pāṇḍava Talāva*.

1. 'In the reign of the Emperor Muhammad Shāh, after the death of Najm-ud-daula, when the Marathas conquered the district, the fort (of Petlād) occupied by the Fauzdār was destroyed. Petlād is one of the best paragaṇās and was often made Khālsā in the reign of Aurangzeb.' p. 167 Supplement: *Mīrāt-e-Akmaḍī*. (G. O. S. No. XLIII.)

PLATE V



Suryakundha at Modhera (North Gujarat).

The Persian section (Plate VIII) which is at the top of the stone, begins with a line which resembles the lines found in a map drawn to scale. The inscription proper consists of an invocation to God, six hemistichs (verses) in the first line, and below it a statement in prose. At bottom in the right hand corner is a small note, stating that the work was done with the help of one Mādhu Rāmji Naveḍā.

The translation of the Persian inscription is as follows :—

[PERSIAN PORTION]

"O Perfector of weighty affairs.

- (1) The secret that Rāmji's mind harboured was
- (2) that he should be firmly planted in the high Heaven.
- (3) (Therefore) He built a water-fountain (well) outside the city.
- (4) As he was possessed of noble feelings, though of little property,
- (5) I feel sure that in the year in which he built this well,
- (6) He laid a firm foundation for himself in Paradise.

This is the composition of Moḥārjī, son of Rudraji belonging to the holy Nāgar caste. In the whole of the sixth hemistich would be found the year of the building of the well by the help of Mādhu Rāmji Naveḍā."

According to the peculiar system of calculation called the Abjad system in Persian, where certain letters of the Alphabet carry a particular numerical value, the year found in the sixth hemistich in the original Persian is A. H. 1110 (July A. D. 1698).

Be	2
Nun	50
Ya	10
Dal	4
Be	2
He	5
Shin	300
Te	400
Kaf	20
Re	200
Dal	4
He	5
Mim	40
He	5
Kaf	20
Mim	40

1110

The Persian verses are worthless from a literary point of view and so is the prose portion. Its only feature worth notice is that the composer is a Hindu of the highest caste, a caste very familiar with and learned in Persian literature.

The inscription is important inasmuch as it records three kinds of era, prevalent in India; one is Kali or Yudhiṣṭhira era, which preceded the Vikrama era by 3044 years, the other is Vikrama Saṁvat, and the third is Hijri.

The Gujarāṭi prose in the inscription

‘सर्वं लोकने जलपानने अर्थे मगोहर वापी करावी ।’

etc., furnishes specimen of the prose that was used for documentary and other miscellaneous purposes. It was, however, not the prose that was in popular vogue at the time.

The text in Nāgarī¹ is as follows :

पश्चि

- १ श्री गणेशाय नमः ॥ अयंति हेरंस्तुखारविदाविमानि मेघध्वनिगर्जिताणि ॥ खद-
प्रिसंस्थानपरा द—
- २ रिद्रा धनेश्वरत्वं भुवि संलभते ॥ १ ॥ दिगोशचूडामण्डितेवितांघ्रि तमादिदेवं
शरणं प्रपद्ये ॥ यदीक्ष्णगात् स्था—
- ३ वरजंगमानां बभूव सर्वत्र च मंगलानि ॥ २ ॥ मुरासुरशिरोरत्नधुक्कुरत् किरण-
मंजरी ॥ पिबरीकृत पादाब्जद्वंद्वं व—
- ४ दामहे शिवं ॥ ३ ॥ श्रीमद्गुरुंरमंभळे क्षितितल्लेकारगुहं पुरं पूर्णं सर्वगुणैर्द्विजै-
ब्रह्मवैः श्रीपेठपत्राभिर्भ ॥ यत्रत्यै—
- ५ द्विजगणैरपि कृतैर्दानैः सुविस्मापितो देवेशो धनदोदमित्यतिमदं मुक्तैव संव-
र्तते ॥ ४ ॥ यत्रावसन् रामजि नाग—

1 Dr. H. H. Dhruva in his paper "The Antiquities and Archaeological Finds in Baroda Territory," read at the VIIIth International Congress of Orientalists, Stockholm in 1889 has observed vaguely in a note on p. 121 : "One of the Emperor's (Aurangzeb's) inscriptions is also dated in Yudhiṣṭhira Saṁvat 4799 (संदीकादि [दि ?] युगोन्मित) and its V. S. is 1755."

It is well-nigh certain that Dr. Dhruva refers to this inscription.

2. This text was first published by Mr. B. B. Mehta in "Pustakālaya" (Gujarāṭi monthly) for March 1928, but without any translation or explanatory note etc. The Petlad Municipality has since the discovery of this inscription restored the old name पंडित लक्ष्म by putting up a sign-board bearing that name.

PLATE VI



Image of Sôma (Moon) (11th century).

- ६ रेंद्रो पिता य व (स्योत्तम) भीमजीशः श्री भीमजिद्वंधु सुसिंह [पद्मा]
भाईआभिधां रामजी मातुलोभूत् ॥ ५ ॥ भंदी
- ७ काद्रिगुगो ४७९९ म्मिते कलिंगते श्रीक्रिमाकंभोरध्वे पंचशरादिभू १७५५
परिमिते संवत्मानेऽधुना ॥ आधि—
- ८ नात्ति घनत्रयोदशी । सत्तिथी कविदिनेऽयहस्तने ॥ व्योमरम्भपगते हिमसुती ।
रश्मिचंचविततेभिजितक्षणे ॥ ६ ॥
- ९ कारिता जन्मनोहरा उडा । बापिका पुरि सुपेदपदके ॥ रामजि द्विजवरण सादरं
पौरलोकाजलपानहेतवे ॥ ७ ॥ वस्याः सुता—
- १० कलशैर्जलहारिणीनां । नीरे सुखैः स्नानयुगैः प्रविर्भूमाणां (वैः ?) ॥ आत्मान्यमूनि
कमलानि रथांगवाक-द्वंद्वानि चेति किमु यत्र—
- ११ वदति संतः ॥ ८ ॥ स्वस्तिश्री जयमेगलमभ्युदयश्च ॥ स्वस्ति संवत् १७५५
वर्षे ॥ अश्विन वदि १३ शुक्रदिने अक्षपति
- १२ गजपति नरपति पातशाह श्री ॥ अवरंजजेव विजयराज्ये ॥ शाहजादा श्री
आचम तारानी परगणे ये—
- १३ टखद आधीर । ते शाहजी वाजम तारानी आहाबकी पेटलादना अमीन
फोजदार मिरज्याधी ५ मुस्तफा कूलि ये—
- १४ य । तेहना पेशदस्त ठाकुर श्री ५ रायमल ॥ तथा बदनगरा देशाई श्री
मथुरादास तथा सोमलजी । तथा भाई सम—
- १५ स्त । श्रेष्ठगोधी मनजी द्वारकादास । एवं पंचकुलप्रतिपत्तौ ॥ श्रीमदाश्वेतर
नागर बदनगराहातीय ठाकुर [चूनेला] य—
- १६ हेथी विष्णुजीसुत भीमजीसुत ठाकुर रामजी । पांडवतलावपश्चिमभागे सर्व
लोकने अलपानने अर्थे मनोहर—
- १७ बापी कारिता कराबोति श्रीसदाशिव श्रीभवांनी प्रियतां ॥ मई रामजी पितृव्यक
मई नरसिंह । तथा माता परमसाप्पी
- १८ बाई नांकी कीचोबाई । तथा मातुल पद्माभाईआ तथा पीतांबर । तथा फदयो ।
तथा राघवजी नारायणजी नागर अडा—
- १९ श्रीआ । तथा पितृव्यक सुता वीरबाई । तथा ए बाय्यना प्रेरक मई श्रीकमजी
नरसिंह । ए बाय्यना कामना कर्ता उदीच्य डोल—
- २० क्रीडा पंड्या नाराणजी तथा भाई नांनना नाथा स्तनतीर्थना । कडीयाकाम
कर्ता सलाह सोमपरा बलभ द्वारकादास कपड—
- २१ यजी ॥ श्रीनोबहालीय पाठक गोपालसुत सुरजीसुत पाठक देवेश्वर लिखित ।
धर्मेनी फोई बाहली ॥ श्रीः शुभमस्तु ॥

Two lines and a half on the left-hand side of the inscription are as under:—

- १ श्री सदाशिवजीनी कृपाएयी ए बाण्य ठाकर रामजी भीमाजी एकराची ते श्री भवानोशंकर श्रीयंतो ए बाण्यनी समीप गोसा—
- २ ई मानगौर रह छे । आ पथर ऊपर पोदनार सळट राएवंद रहिया भमदाबादी । ए बाण्यनो छोइनार कापडी लोहंम बीरा पंमाली—
- ३ ए बाण्ये दरच थड ते मोदी वीठळदास कृष्णदास पीसाबालने डाट ॥

Translation of the Sanskrit and the Gujarātī portions of the inscription is as under :—

(Line)

[SANSKRIT PORTION]

1. A bow to Śrī-Gaṇeśa. These thunder-like grunts from the lotus-like face of Heramba (Gaṇeśa) reign supreme. The poor remaining engaged
2. in worshipping his feet, acquire riches, in this world (1) And I seek resort to him, the first amongst gods, whose feet are adored by the excellent of the quarter-regents, and by whose grace (lit : sight), things blissful to the immoveable and the
3. moveable ones, came to happen everywhere. (2) To Śiva (lit. the auspicious one), whose pair of lotus-like feet, is made reddish yellow by the row of rays emitted from the crest-jewels of gods and demons,
4. We bow. (3)
In the glorious region of the Gurjaras (viz., Gujarat) there is a town Peṭapadra by name, the ornament of the earth-surface, full of flawless houses of the twice-born (Brāhmins) savants.
5. The Nāgara Brāhmins, residing there, even have given so much in charity that the Lord of gods (Kubera) has been wonder-struck and has forsaken his excess of pride, viz., that "I am the giver of wealth". (4) There lived Rāmji, the eminent
6. Nāgara. His father was (good) Bhīmji. The brother of Bhīmji was Nṛsiṃha and the maternal uncle of Rāmji was (Padma) Bhāiā, by name (5).

PLATE VII



The step-well at Petlad (Central Gujarat).

7. In this age measured by Adri (7) and Yuga (4) by figures shown by Nanda (9) Anka (9) 4799 years of Kali (or Yudhiṣṭhira) era have passed. And at present it is the 1755th year of Vikrama Era. It is the auspicious
8. Friday, Dhan-Terash (13th of the dark-half) of the Ashvin month. The sun is far off (in course of the winter solstice). It is Abhijit when the sun-rays are full-blown (?) (6) At that time, this long preserving step-well, in the
9. town of Petlad, fascinating to the people, was constructed by Rāmji, the prominent Brāhmin, with due honour for the (water) drinking purpose of the citizens (?)
10. where, owing to the lovely faces and pairs of breasts of women, fetching water with fine copper-pitchers being reflected in its water, good men exclaim 'Are these indeed the lotuses or the pairs of the cakravāka birds? :
11. Hail ! Triumph ! Bliss and prosperity ! (It is) the auspicious year 1755 of the Vikram Era.
12. The Ashvin month, 13th of the dark half, Friday.

[GUJARATI PORTION]

- 12-17. During the glorious rule of Emperor Avarangzeb, the lord of horses, elephants and men, and in the ceded territory of the prince Ajam Tārā, in Petlad district, with the consent of Prince Ajam Tārā, Rāmji Thākura, the son of Bhīmji, the son of great Viṣṇuji Thākura, belonging to Vadnagarā caste, and to the auspicious Ābhyantara section, dug and got built, this beautiful step-well for the drinking purpose of all men, with the sanction (consent) of the four men by name, Amin Fojdar Saheb Mustafa Kuli Beg, his subordinate Thākur Rāimal, and Vadanagarā Desāi Mathurādāsa and Sāmalji and all brothers and worthy Gāndhi Manji Dvārakādāsa and others. May it please (auspicious) Bhavānī śaṅkara ! (great is) Rāmji, uncle Narasiṅha and mother Bāi Nānī Kikibāi, the saintly lady, and maternal uncle Padma-bhāi,
19. and Pītambara and aunts (father's sisters) and Adāsā-nāgar Rāghavji Nārāyanji, and Vīrbāi the daughter of paternal uncle,

20. The doer (Supervisor) of the well-work (is) Tolakiā Udī-
cya Paṇḍyā Nārāyaṇī and Nānhā Nāthā of Stam-
bhatīrtha. The masonry worker (is) Somaparā Salāt
Vallabh Dvārakādās Kapadvanjī (of Kapadvanj). It
was written by Deveśvara Paṭhaka, son of Sūrjī, son of
Gopāla Pāṭhaka of Śrīgod community. Dear is the deed
of merit ! (May) Śrī (Bliss) prevail !

[LINES ON THE SIDE]

By the grace of Sadāśiva (always auspicious), the step-well was
made by Thākar Rāmji Bhīmji. May it please great
Bhavānīśaṅkara ! Gosāi Managīra is staying in proxi-
mity of the step-well. The inscriber of this stone is Salāt
Rāicandra Rahiā Ahmedāwādī. The plaster work is
done by Kāpaḍī Tīkam Vīrā, Khambātī. The expenses
for the step-well are recorded at the shop (firm) of
Deesāwāl Modī Vīṭhaldāsa Kṛiṣṇāsa.

The metres of the various stanzas in the Sanskrit portion are

- 1-2. उपजाति
3. अनुष्टुप्
4. शार्ङ्गलविकीर्णित
5. उपजाति
6. 2 lines (half a stanza) of...शार्ङ्गलविकीर्णित...the
other two giving a वैताल्य,
7. वैताल्य
8. वसन्ततिलका

The Sanskrit portion gives पेटपत्र (३) (verse 4) and पेटपदक (verse
9) for Petlād, whereas in the Gujarātī portion (lines 12, 13) it is
पेटलाद् the modern name.

Petlād is referred to by Vinayacandra in his '*Kāvya-Sikṣā*'¹
while enumerating the 84 deśas, etc. A palm-leaf mss. of the work
is preserved in the Pattan Bhandāra. He mentions Petlād, as one

1. Referred to by the late C. D. Dalal in '*Kāvya-Mīmāṃsā*' (G. O. Se-
ries No. 1.) p. 248, explanatory notes (Third Edition, 1934.)

“पतन्यादि द्वादशकम् । मातरादिष्वनुविशतिः । खड्ग इत्यादि षट्विंशत् । भालि-
जादि चत्वारिंशत् । हर्षपुरादि द्विपञ्चाशत् । श्रीनारदप्रभृति पद्विंशत्यष्ट । जम्बूवर-
प्रभृति षष्ठीः । इर्मावतीप्रभृति चतुरशीतिः । पेटलापद्रप्रभृति चतुरस्रशतम् ।
पथिरालुप्रभृति दशोत्तरशतम् । धवलकप्रभृति पञ्चशतानि ।”

of the prominent places among a group of *one hundred and four* villages, thus : “*पेटलापट्टप्रवृत्ति चतुरस्रसहस्रम्* ।” and, under the accepted phonetic rules prevalent in Prākṛit, the word naturally evolves into the present form *चरोतर* through three intermediate links, *viz.*, *चड उतर* and *चरोतर*.¹

Thus Petlād must have been the head-quarters of the district for political and administrative purposes as early as the 12th century. The trans-Mahī area which forms what is known as ‘Carotar’—from the ancient name of a group of 104 villages, obtained by dropping the latter part of the compound *चतुरस्र सप्तम्* is one of the historical divisions of Gujarāt, noted for the high fertility of its soil.

And in the territories of His Highness the Mahārājā Gāekwād, Petlād has maintained its pristine political importance throughout the last eight centuries and is still the head-quarter of the tālukā and of the sub-division of that name.

The impression and the photographs illustrating this section have been supplied by the Archaeological Department of the Baroda State and the writer is greatly obliged to Dr. Hiranand Shastri, the Director of the Department, for the help so rendered.

I beg to acknowledge with thanks the contribution of Diwan Bahadur K. M. Jhaveri, in editing the inscription so far as the Persian Section is concerned.

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M. R. MAJUMBAR

1. The difficulty of deriving this word had not escaped the notice of Gujarātī Scholars. Various suggestions were made, in absence of any positive data from old MS. or inscription. For instance, (1) the word *चतुर* was considered to be an adjective, qualifying the word *भूमि* the meaning of the whole expression being ‘the charming land, owing to its fertility’; or, (2) the word was broken into *चरो+तर* = the land where pastures abound; or, (3) it was even split into *चड+उतर* to justify an extant form *चिडोतर* meaning the land which is high and low [due, according to one scholar, to the flow of large rivers]; and, (4) Nāvalrāma, seeking to explain the mystery underlying the word gives the following couplet thus :

“आपे जणाय छे आव्युं चरोतर, वोली ने दुद्धि ज्यां जाडी रे ।

जादी पग घाडी फसवाडी, धधे कोसरे हद वाडी ।

रमिये मुजराते रे ॥”

THE ANTIQUITY OF THE CASTE-NAME 'SENAVI'

The *Bombay Gazetteer*¹ describes the 'Senavis' as a caste of Brahmins in Gujarat, also called *Sārasvats*, said to have been shipwrecked strangers purified with fire by Parashurāma." It further states that the term 'Senavi' is a "name of doubtful meaning" (Vol. XVIII, pt. i, pp. 175-180) and that the *Senavis* also call themselves *Sārasvats* and *Gauḍa Brahmins*. The *Gazetteer*² also states that the origin of the name *Senavi* is disputed. According to one account it is "Shakāna" or ninety-six from the number of the families of the original settlers. A second account derives the name from *Senā*, an army, because many *Senavis* were warriors.³ A third account derives it from "Shākambhog" which we are told is the Canarese term for village accountant. Of these three accounts the last seems to find favour with the well-informed. The *Senavis* had great influence at Scindia's court about 1797 A.D.⁴ The *Gazetteer* further states that the District of *Senavis* coincides with the Konkan.⁵ One of the special traits of the *Senavis* recorded

1. *Bombay Gazetteer* Vol. IX, pt. i, pp. 436, 438. Further information about *Senavis* in the different districts of the Bombay Presidency will be found in the following references:—*Ratnagiri* Dist. X, 116; *Peculiarities in the dialect of Senavis*, X, 116, note 6; *Savantwadi* State X, 411; *Kolaba* Dist. XI, 45, 46; *Thana* Dist. XIII, 85; *Nasik* Dist. XVI, 41; *Ahmednagar* Dist. XVII 63 64; *Poona* Dist. XVIII, pt. i, 175-180; *Satara* Dist. XIX, 56; *Sholapur* Dist. XX, 38-40; *Belgaum* Dist. XXI, 90-92; *Kolhapur* State, XXIV, 63; *Dharmar* Dist. XXII, 98; *Bijapur* Dist. XXIII, 89; *Kanara* Dist. XV, pt. i, 139, 168.

2. *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XVIII, pt. i, p. 175—foot note 1.

3. The Prākṛta form for *Senapati* is *Senāpai* (सेनापई) see *Prākṛta Grammar* by Pischel § 72 (line 7). This form has been used in the *Mṛcchakatika* (101, 21). I am indebted to Dr. V. S. Sukthankar for this reference. Sir R. G. Bhandarkar in his *Wilson Philological Lectures* (R. G. B. Works Vol. IV, p. 419) has the following entry regarding *Senavi* :—

"M. (=Marāṭhī) इ or य name of a Caste, Pr. (Prākṛta) सेनापद् Skr. (=Sanskrit) सेनापति"

One बाळाजी शेणवी was Sidi's Sardar who was killed in A.D. 1736 in the battle of Charhai (see *Peshwa Daftar Selections*, No. 3, letter No. 192 dated 2nd May 1736).

4. *Ibid*, Vol. XVIII, pt. ii, 276.

5. *Ibid*, Vol. I, pt. ii, p. 10 (Introduction to the History of Konkan).

by the Gazetteer is that they "eat fish and mutton" even though Brahmīns. In the Maratha chronicle called the *Sabhasad Bakhar*¹ composed in A.D. 1697, *Pitambar Senavi*,² the administrator of the then chief of the Savantwadi state is styled as "मत्स्याहारी ब्राह्मण." This reference proves that the fish-eating habit was common with the Senavis in Shivaji's time and that the name "Senavi" was also then current. This reference, therefore, pushes back the antiquity of the name *Senavi* to about A.D. 1600.³ The question may now be asked regarding the exact antiquity of the usage of the name *Senavi* and its variations. This question is difficult to answer successfully for want of records prior to Shivaji's time. I intend to record in this note the references I have been able to collect about the actual usage of the name *Senavi* and its phonetical variations.

Mr. Bhave⁴ in his History of Marathi Literature called the "*Mahārāṣṭra Śārasvat*" mentions certain works called '*Mestakas*' or 'systems of account' as explained by him in the same context. He calls it '*likhita-paddhati*' also. Hemādri, the author of the *Caturvarga Cintāmaṇi* was reputed to be the father of this *paddhati*. Subsequent writers modelled their *mestakas* on Hemādri's work. One Govind Kavi composed a work called "सेनवाई पद्धत" and Mr. Bhave states that the contents of this work are identical with the

1. See *Siva Caritrapradīpa* (pub. by Bharata Itihasa Sans. Mandal, Poona, 1925) ed. by D. V. Apté and M. S. Divekar, p. 71. The date of composition of the *Sabhasad Bakhar* is Saka 1619 (= 1697 A.D.) see extract from this *Bakhar* on p. 128 of *Shivaji Souvenir*.

2. See *Shivaji Souvenir*, ed. by G. S. Sardesai, 3rd May, 1927, p. 128. In the biographical notices given on p. 184 of this book the following information about *Pitambar Senavi* is recorded:—"He was the *Kārbhārī* of the Savant of Kudāl deputed to negotiate with Shivaji in A.D. 1659. In 1670 A.D., Shivaji captured Kolavāṇa and demanded the right of 'Cauthāi' from the Portuguese of Goa. In this connection Shivaji had appointed *Pitambar Senavi* but *Pitambar* died in 1678 A.D. before his mission was completed."

3. See document No. 41 (Sources of the History of Gomāntak published in *Itihasa Samgraha* by Parasnis) dated Saka 1616=A.D. 1694. The following Senavis are mentioned in this document:—

कृष्ण सेणवी, भाव सेणवी, मान सेणवी, विठ सेणवी, रामकृष्ण सेणवी, सोम सेणवी, लख सेणवी, अनंत सेणवी, बहावल सेणवी; Document No. 42 which is dated Saka 1617=A.D. 1695 contains the following names:—गोरख सेणवी छाड, देवजी सेणवी, मुकुंद सेणवी कोसवे, अनंत सेणवी सुकटणकर, दीप सेणवी सुकटणकर, राम सेणवी भिस्ता, रामाजी सेणवी वागळे and others.

4. *Mahārāṣṭra Śārasvata*, Poona, 1919, pp. 33-34.

mestakas ascribed to Hemādri. We are concerned in this reference with the term “शेणवाई” which is a phonetic variation of the term “शेणवी” and the system may have been called “शेणवाई” probably because the *Seṇavīs* had something to do with accounting as indicated by the name ‘*Shāhānbog*’ which is a Kanarese term for the village accountant as mentioned above.¹ As the ‘शेणवाई वेस्तक’ of Govind Kavi is modelled after Hemādri’s *mestakas* it must have been composed some time after A.D. 1270 about which time Hemādri wrote his *Caturvarga Cintāmaṇi*.²

The meanings of the term ‘*Seṇavī*’ not recorded by the *Bombay Gazetteer* are supplemented by Rao Bahadur S. S. Talmaki in his excellent monograph on the *Sarasvat Families*. These are :—(1) The name *Seṇavī* is derived from the word *Srenī* in Northern India; (2) Its origin is also ascribed to *Sarman* or *Sarman Arya*; (3) It is derived from *Shāyā*’ which in the Konkani has the form ‘*Shano*’ and means learned, and from which arose the forms ‘*Shane*’ (plural of *Shano*), *Shanei*, *Shenai* and *Shenai*. Mr. Talmaki states further that the term ‘*Shenai*’ is used as an affix to names as a mark of respectability e.g., Shama *Shenai*, Vinayak *Shenai*, Vithoba *Shenai* and so on. According to him *Shambhog* in Kanarese has the same meaning as *Shenai* in Konkani and it may therefore be presumed that the former was derived from the latter. “The province of Goa had been under Kanarese rulers for about 1200 years and the word ‘*Shanavai*’ assumed that shape during their regime and may have been carried thence to other regions governed by them outside Goa.”

It is not the purpose of this note to hold a brief for any of the forms of the term ‘*Seṇavī*’ recorded above but to record data which might prove useful for the solution of the problem.

It appears from the inscriptional evidence recorded below that the term ‘शेणवी’ was current in the 13th century in Mahārāṣṭra. Mr. K. A. Padhye of Bombay has reproduced at the end of his *Life of Hemādri*⁴ a stone inscription in the temple of God Viṭhobā

1. S. S. Talmaki in his “*Sarasvat Families*,” Part I, Bombay, 1935, makes the following remarks about the efficiency of these *shambhogs* :—

“If an independent testimony of the quality of work done by these *Shambhogs* were required, we may quote here the words of Major Munro who carried on the work of Survey Settlement in Kanara. Writing in 1800 about the accounts kept by these *Shambhogs* he says that they were in such a state of perfection and preservation as to furnish a complete abstract of land-rent during a period of more than 400 years.”

2. P. V. Kane : *History of Dharmadāstra*, Vol. I, p. 354.

3. *Sarasvat Families*, Part I, Bombay, 1935, pp. 19-20.

4. *Hemadri Caritra*, by K. A. Padhye (in Marathi) Bombay 1931.

of Pandharpur which bears dates Śaka 1195 to 1198, i.e. A.D. 1273-76. This inscription records numerous names of donors who donated some money for the construction of a part of the temple buildings. Among the names of these donors the following names are found :—

Page 36—" मां धोलिबाबा सेणवी "

Page 38—" सालिदे यादो सेणवी ए "

Page 40—" बीचके न १ मुद्रहस्त सेणवी "

Page 42—" बामरसा सेणवी आदेए "

Page 46—" लाड हरिदेवे "

In the first four entries recorded above the affix 'सेणवी' has been added to the personal name and this use is analogous to that pointed out by Mr. Talmaki as in the names 'Shama Shenai' 'Vinayak Shenai' etc., where the term 'Shenai' is used as a mark of respectability. It seems probable that in the 13th century the term सेणवी may have been used more as a caste-name than as a mark of respectability. It appears to me that it may have been used exactly in the same sense in which the term शेणवी is used at present as a caste-name. The fifth entry from the inscription quoted above, contains the surname "लाड" which is now current among the Śenavis.

In view of the inscriptional evidence recorded above the antiquity of the term शेणवी has been amply proved and though its exact genesis is yet a matter for investigation we may expect even earlier usages¹ of this term with or without variations of form in inscriptions or elsewhere.

P. K. GODE

1. One such earlier usage is supplied to me by Rao Bahadur Wasudeva Anant Bambardekar of Bandra in a private communication dated 21-2-1937. In the *Kaśfī* Copperplate grant of Śaka 1113 (=A.D. 1191) we find the endorsement "शिपील सेणवी हरिदेवे" [Vide Proceedings of the Bharata Itihasa Mandal for Śaka 1835 (=A.D. 1913), p. 220]. Rao Bahadur Bambardekar thinks that the term "सेणवी" in the above endorsement denotes vocation and not caste.

RECONSTRUCTION OF SECONDARY EDUCATION IN INDIA.*

That the system of education prevalent in India to-day requires substantial alteration is very widely recognised. Some even go to the extent of asking for a thorough overhaul of the whole system, though what they definitely mean by an overhaul has not been made clear. The most unsatisfactory unit in the system according to the critics is that which deals with secondary education. That there is immense need for the extension of primary education is everywhere admitted, but no great alteration in the existing system is contemplated. Critics of university education have many things to suggest but they all presuppose changes in the content and method of secondary education as well. Hence much of the advocacy of educational reconstruction in India centres round secondary education. It is very gratifying to note that the Central and Provincial Governments also see vividly the need for re-organisation of the institutions and methods of education. The Government of Bombay appointed a Committee to make recommendations about educational reforms on this behalf as early as 1928, and now the governments of U. P., the Punjab and Bengal are seriously considering schemes for improving and modifying secondary and higher secondary or intermediate education in their provinces. Also the Government of India have issued a circular on this topic to the Provincial Governments. The Madras and Bombay Universities have for a number of years at a stretch been considering and reconsidering their curricula and seem to have now made up their mind that discretion is the better part of valour and that the most discreet thing for them to do is to keep to the orthodox course of prescribing for their matric candidates nothing but languages, mathematics, history and geography, and science. The leading heads in these two universities do not seem to be blind to more practical and economically useful courses of study but they seem to believe that their prime care being university education they may be excused if they do not succeed in tackling those aspects of secondary education that do not definitely pertain to the selection of candidates to the university classes.

* Report submitted at the Nagpur Session of the All India Federation of Educational Associations in December, 1935.

The prevailing opinion in many parts of India—both official and non-official—is that an attitude of indifference to the wider problems of the social and economic welfare of the country is incompatible with a sense of magnitude and importance of the privilege and responsibility of guiding and controlling secondary education either alone or in co-operation with other responsible bodies. At any rate this was the view most clearly presented in the third Conference of Indian Universities held at Delhi in March 1934. It was a remarkable conference of leaders of all-India repute who have long periods of distinguished service to their credit, and who represented the Government of India, the Public Service Commission, the Indian Institute of Science, and all the 17 universities of India. His Excellency the Viceroy (Lord Willingdon) gave a clear lead to the conference when in unmistakable terms he suggested "that many boys and girls would benefit if the content and method of their school education were not based so rigidly on the assumption that they all desire, and are competent to receive, admission to a university." Unfortunately secondary education has regularly been conducted and controlled on this assumption, which all sensible people now recognise to be shortsighted and detrimental to the best interests of the country. His Excellency recognised the need of vocational education in the country and referred to the existence of two schools of thought in this respect in the following words :—"Some favour the inclusion of several forms of vocational training as optional subjects for matriculation, and subsequent university examination, which would be taken concurrently with ordinary literary subjects ; others advocate more drastic treatment and suggest that the whole scheme of secondary education should be recast, as a result of which many students who now throng universities would be diverted at an earlier stage either to occupation or to separate and self-contained vocational institutions."

The first school of thought try to introduce the elements of vocational education into schools in order that an interest in manual or technical work may be created in the young and that this interest may be helpful to them in facilitating their going into occupations or vocational studies after their course. It is also believed that the introduction of practical or vocational subjects will be helpful even in the pursuit of the literary subjects now provided in the school. The idea is that when a boy who has not much aptitude for his literary studies is interested in practical work and succeeds in that work, the success he attains there serves as a stimulus to him to do his literary studies also with greater success. The confidence he gains through his industrial work reacts favourably on

his book-work. In this connection we may learn some thing from the central schools of England concerning which Mr. K. P. Chatopadhyaya, Education Officer of the Calcutta corporation, spoke to us in the Primary Education Section of the Delhi (All India Educational) Conference. "The object of the central schools is to prepare boys and girls for immediate employment on leaving school, and the instruction should be such that children should be prepared to go into business houses and workshops at the completion of the course without any special training. In order to achieve their purpose Central Schools have been organised in London with a (1) Commercial, or (2) Technical bias. Some schools have both a commercial and technical bias. The local conditions in each part of London and different circumstances of the pupils are carefully considered in determining the nature of the bias to be given to the institution. As eleven is too early an age to decide on the bias, the first two years at a Central School are spent on general education. This course includes English, History, Geography, Mathematics, a foreign language (usually French, less often German or Spanish), practical Science, Art, Handiwork, Physical Training and Music. Schools with a technical bias lay stress on wood and metal work, applied science, practical Mathematics and technical drawing for boys and house-craft, needle-work and art for girls. In schools with a commercial bias, short-hand and book-keeping are introduced in the third year. Commercial practice and typewriting are included in the fourth and fifth years. Most members of the staff in addition to being trained teachers, are specialists in some subjects of the curriculum. It is obvious that the training given in the Central School, while it is cultural and a preparation for life generally, at the same time equips the pupil to meet the requirements of modern industry and commerce." Principal Vakil of Kolhapur has for years been drawing attention in the press and on the platform that this kind of education has been extensively tried and found successful in the Philippines, and that what has been successful in the Philippines can be equally successful in this country where conditions in many respects are similar, provided of course that the same thoughtfulness and energy and determination are devoted to the purpose.

These parallel courses can be introduced in India also, especially in those centres where there are industrial establishments, if those who direct education and educational workers can be relied on to plan a little adventurously and to spare a little extra time and effort which will be found necessary in working up such a new venture. I know of at least two complete recognised high schools in two different parts of the Maharashtra where without any special

advantages the workers have been able to introduce in the first place an industrial and in the other an agricultural course of studies along with the regular book-work of the high school, and there is nothing to show, to say the least, that the latter has adversely been affected thereby. What is so exceptional in Bombay is considered a matter of course in Dacca, where the Board of Intermediate and Secondary Education has laid down that "each candidate for the High School Examination shall produce from the Head Master of the High School from which he appears a certificate to the effect that he has undergone a course of training for at least one year in one of the following :—carpentry, smithy, book-binding, bamboo and cane work, spinning and weaving, tailoring and sewing, or the following for girls only :—fruit preserving, cooking including invalid cooking, drawing and painting, and music. Mysore has the customary five subjects of the ordinary high schools and has provided for an additional subject which may be general or one of a series of 23 vocational subjects, such as accountancy, printing and book-binding, electric wiring and fitting, sericulture, horticulture, weaving, pharmacy, etc ; but it is also possible that students can avoid all these vocational subjects and take higher mathematics or an additional language. The Board of Secondary Education in Delhi has included a few commercial subjects in its optionals. The High School Board in C. P. also has a number of practical subjects such as agriculture, carpentry, metal-work, type-writing etc. as optionals. The Administration Report of Travancore (Education Department) says that "during the year under report (M. E. 1109) Inspecting Officers were engaged in making a complete survey of all Vernacular Middle Schools in the State with a view to deciding in which schools vocational bias curricula may be introduced if possible in the next school year". Our Conference will do a useful service if we insist on the need of such vocational courses throughout the land. We should also consider whether it is advisable to enforce on all students the participation in some kind of a vocational course in at least some of the standards of a high school. If a vocational study is merely optional in the various studies included in the secondary course, many students may not care to make use of the option.

After these words were written we have the good news of the recently started Central Advisory Board of Education having concluded its first sitting with a clear endorsement of the opinion widely held in the country that secondary education should be reconstructed with a view to giving a definite bias for vocational education. The Board is also reported to favour the appointment of career masters in all big schools as in England, and that it is

also of opinion that expert advice (presumably from abroad) would be of value in organising a scheme of reconstruction. The last recommendation, however, needs careful consideration before acceptance.

The Delhi University Conference and, following that, the Central Board of Education have recommended that the scheme of school education should consist of definite stages. The Board has recommended (as reported in the Times of India, dated 23-12-35) that these stages should be :

(a) The Primary stage, which should aim at proving the minimum general education and training, and which will ensure permanent literacy,

(b) The lower secondary stage, which should contain a self-contained course in general education and which should constitute a suitable foundation either for higher education or for specialised practical courses, (In rural areas a course at this stage should be provided which would aim at the development of practical aptitudes and be made compulsory.), and

(c) The higher secondary stage, in which would be included institutions with varying lengths of courses (1) preparing students for admission to universities in arts and sciences, (2) for training teachers in rural areas, (3) for agricultural training, (4) for clerical training, and (5) for training in selected technical subjects, which should be chosen in consultation with employers.

Where separate institutions are not possible for diversified courses some of them might be incorporated in higher secondary subjects and would end in a leaving certificate. Certificates granted to pupils completing specialised courses should receive Government recognition. At the end of the lower secondary school course there should be the first public examination. Those who desire to join subordinate clerical services can enter their services after the examinations that close the lower or upper secondary course.

The University Conference has recommended that all these three stages should together cover 12 years : 4 or 5 years for the primary stage, 5 or 4 years for the lower secondary or middle stage, and 3 years for the higher secondary (high school and intermediate) stage. If a boy or girl goes to school for the first time in the 5th year he or she will have completed according to this scheme the higher secondary course at the 17th year.

Schools with a vocational bias are not enough to meet the difficulties of unemployment among the educated classes. What is wanted is so to re-organise the post-primary course of education

that along with the schools where the young folk are given a general and cultural education with vocational bias there should be regular vocational and technical schools (as suggested by the Central Advisory Board and many others) into which scholars may be diverted at the end of the middle and higher secondary course. When such vocational and technical schools are established a large number of students who now flock to the universities as they do not know of anything better to do will enter those institutions.

Technical education of three progressive grades has been suggested (1) for those who finish the middle school stage, (2) for those who complete the higher secondary course, and (3) those who take the graduate and post-graduate courses. After the middle school stage a number of students who do not show any special aptitude for scholastic studies and who now ordinarily move on to the high school and Intermediate College would be encouraged to go into vocational institutions. After the higher secondary (high school and intermediate) education also there should be technical institutions for those people who have no special qualification for University education. As Mr. N. S. Subba Rao of Mysore suggested and as resolved by the University Conference the universities can also help in the matter by instituting or recognising by grant of diploma or certificate technological courses of a predominantly practical character to those who have passed the University Entrance Examinations. Universities need not think that the only thing they should do to the industrial life of the country is to start technological courses of degree and post-graduate standards, which they should undoubtedly do and not leave the former undone. That if technical courses were available students would be very ready to make use of them was testified to by the Vice-Chancellor of the Bombay University in the Bombay Education Week held in April last (1935) (a copy of whose speech the Registrar very kindly sent me). As a member of the Board of the V. J. T. Institute, Bombay, he knew how difficult it was for students to secure admission as only a limited number can be admitted to the various departments. It is then surprising that with only one technological institution in the U. P. a number of persons who had qualified there were not, according to Prof. Jha of Allahabad, able to find employment. On the other hand we have Pandit Malaviya's assurance that the 300 boys who had diploma in engineering in the Benares University after matriculation were doing splendid work in all parts of the country. At any rate there is no doubt that the Delhi Conference and the Central Advisory Board have laid the country under obligation by their unequivocal opinion that "a practical solution of the problem of

unemployment can only be found in a radical readjustment of the present system of education in schools in such a way that a large number of pupils shall be diverted at the completion of their secondary education either to professions or to separate vocational institutions". The provision of technical courses will incidentally help to raise the standard of university education. When only students who are fit for the course go to universities more satisfactory provisions can be made there for higher studies and for research.

Another aspect of education that requires immediate attention concerns the medium of instruction. It is a pity that for years together education has been conducted through the medium of English in Secondary Schools. According to the present system three or four years to say the least are spent by boys and girls marking time as far as progress in the subjects is concerned. They spend in some cases as much as a full third of the total time available in the school to the mastery of a foreign language through which then or later they would learn to pick up useful knowledge. National leaders have been asking for the mother-tongue of the educands to be made the medium of instruction, and slowly their labours have begun to bear fruit. In C. P., Bombay, Bengal, Madras, the Punjab, Delhi, Mysore, and Hyderabad they have now made it either optional or compulsory, in most places the former, for teachers to teach and students to write their answer papers in the vernacular of the school population. The Delhi University Conference has recommended that in the primary and middle stages the medium of instruction should exclusively be the vernacular and in the higher secondary stage it should be the vernacular whenever it is practicable. In passing it may be noted that in spite of the effort of stalwarts like Pundit Malaviya and Mr. Satyamurti and Sir Akbar Hydari that Conference failed to pass a resolution recommending the vernaculars as media of instruction in the universities also, a failure which some of us are much inclined to regret as "vernacularisation" cannot become a vital reality in schools until it is accepted at least as an ideal for the higher educational institutions as well. Sir Akbar Hydari did not evidently overstate his case when he said that "the greatest defect in the system of Indian education was this imparting of instruction through a language which was not the students' own. It is not merely the loss that India and our vernaculars had sustained by the use of English, that he was referring to, but he held that the loss had been to the world. Every nation had its natural genius for which its tongue was its natural medium of expression. No nation could make its proper contribution to humanity at large through a foreign tongue, and humanity would therefore suffer a proportionate

loss by continuance of English as the medium of instruction." The predominance of English in the Universities makes some people keen on having even secondary education through the medium of English even where the Government is prepared to adopt the vernacular medium. Perhaps that is how we can explain some of the opposition of the teachers of Bengal as reflected in the *Bengal Teachers' Journal* (Vide editorial notes, pp. 541-542 of 1935) concerning the proposal of the Government of Bengal to convert all English Middle Schools into Vernacular Middle Schools. The Education Reforms Committee of Travancore has accepted the optional adoption of vernacular as the medium of instruction in that state. Though most of Travancore is a single language area it is not sure how far the people would be anxious to immediately adopt the vernacular for this purpose, for we learn from the education report that the Inspectors were instructed to ascertain how many schools were willing to adopt the change. Public opinion for vernaculars to be used as medium of instruction is still to be educated in this respect in most parts of the country.

Another much discussed problem in secondary education is concerned with its control. The problem is particularly urgent and acute in Bombay, Bengal and the Punjab. In Assam U. P., C. P., and Delhi separate Boards are established by the Government to manage and control secondary education. In States such as Mysore, Cochin and Travancore also there are Boards that work with a clear and amicable understanding with their respective Universities. In the Punjab the recent educational reforms Committee recommended the control of Secondary and Intermediate Education to be transferred to a special Board to be appointed for the purpose but the senate of the University did not consider it a wise step. In Bengal the teachers of private schools as is seen from their official organ disapproved of the attempt of the Government to take away from the University its control over High Schools. In Bombay both the Department and the University are authorised to recognise schools and we have the irritating situation on occasions of some schools unregistered by the Department being duly recognised by the University.

A word more before we close. We have been considering some of the felt needs of secondary education and we are proud that Vice-chancellors of Universities and Directors of Public Instruction have thought it worth their while to consider the reorganisation of secondary education as worth their official and personal attention. But unemployment is not the only problem to be solved, nor is there any guarantee that the huge sums necessary for the establishment

of vocational schools and for the introduction of vocational bias in the existing schools will be forthcoming as easily as plans of reconstruction come out from the fertile brains of our great educational leaders and educational authorities. The humdrum work of the humble teacher of letters will have to go on, if the nation should not become intellectually and culturally bankrupt. He must also get a minimum living wage and some security of tenure. Again he must have professional training for his work. In one of the biggest provinces in India with about 1200 high schools only about 120 graduate teachers are trained every year, and no wonder that there the percentage of trained high school masters is not above 12. Even in one of the most advanced Indian states it is hardly more than 30%. So also, without moral culture and training in character no amount of school work will be of much help in nation-building, and these are hard to ensure without giving attention to the spiritual and religious life of the young. Mr. Chintamani in his convocation address at Mysore and the Nawab of Bhopal in a similar position at Allahabad, to mention two recent educational pronouncements in high places, referred to the need of religious education. It is true that we in India have great difficulties in this direction, but that should not daunt adventurous teachers who try to widen the interest of the young in as many healthy and creative lines as possible from facing the situation and finding a right solution for the difficult problem that presents itself in this particularly religious country. All talk of educational reconstruction is futile if we have no time, money and energy to spend over such important aspects of education as are here suggested.

ANJILVEL V. MATTHEW

REVIEWS.

The Buddhacarita of Āśvaghoṣa, (Cantos I—XIV) (in two parts.)
By DR. JOHNSTON. Punjab University Oriental Publications,
Nos. 31 and 32. 1936.

The Buddhacarita of Āśvaghoṣa describes the life of Buddha in 28 cantos of which only I to XIV are extant in Sanskrit. Cantos XV to XXVIII are known only from their Chinese and Tibetan translations. Dr. Johnston has recently published the English translation of these latter cantos—(XV—XXVIII) in an European journal (*Acta Orientalia*, Vol. XV). Let us hope, that in the next edition, translation of these cantos also will be added as an appendix.

Up to this time the only available translation into English, was that of Cowell published in the year 1893, in S. B. E. series Vol. No. XLIX. In the year 1911-12, cantos I to V being prescribed for the F. Y. A. Class of the Bombay University, four editions were published by Messrs. Joglekar, (Bombay), Sohoni, (Poona), Lokur, (Belgaum), and Nandargikar, (Poona). These editions deal with all such topics as are necessary for a university student. Nandargikar indeed gives us a carefully edited text, based on an important manuscript from the Punjab, while Sohoni discusses in detail the problem of the author's date. Dr. Weller again during 1926-28, brought out his well known German translation of Cantos 1 to XVII in two parts. But it was of little use to the English-knowing public.

Thus there was a long-felt need for a critical text and English translation of the 'Buddhacarita' and Dr. Johnston deserves our congratulations for having supplied this long felt need. Dr. Johnston has already published 'Saundarānanda', another work of Āśvaghoṣa in the same series. In this edition of 'Buddhacarita' he has made use of all the available sources. In his notes he has discussed the various readings and made full use of the Chinese and Tibetan translations.

His introduction to 'Buddhacarita' covering nearly 100 pages is very valuable. He has divided it into four sections. Section I (pages 1-24) deals with the life and the works of 'Āśvaghoṣa'. Regarding the date Dr. Johnston remarks 'Poet lived not later than Kanishka and his vocabulary suggests a date not far removed from

that of Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya* (p. 16). Section II (pp. 18-44) discusses as to what School of Buddhism our author belongs and concludes that he was a follower of the Bāhuśrutika school. Section III (pp. 44 to 79) deals with his scholarship. This whole section is very important for those who are interested in the study of the textual criticism (specially pp. 57 to 79) where the author has collected peculiarities of Aśvaghoṣa's syntax. Section IV (pp. 79 to 98) deals with Aśvaghoṣa's poetical achievements.

At the end, there is an index to important words occurring in the text and notes. A bibliography of all the books and articles connected with the Buddhacarita is also given at the beginning of the book.

D. S. PHATAK

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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EXCHANGES

- Academy of Sciences W. R. SSR, MINSK.
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- Anthropos*: International Zeitschrift für Völker- und Sprachkunde, Revue Internationale d'Ethnologie et de Linguistique, St. Gabriel-Modling, (near Vienna) Austria.
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† General Editor, Indian Science Abstracts, 1, Park Street, Calcutta.

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* Part V for abstracting purpose only.

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